

Barcode : 99999990010462
Title - epigraphia indica vol.33
Author - sircar, d.c.
Language - english
Pages - 518
Publication Year - 1959
Barcode EAN.UCC-13



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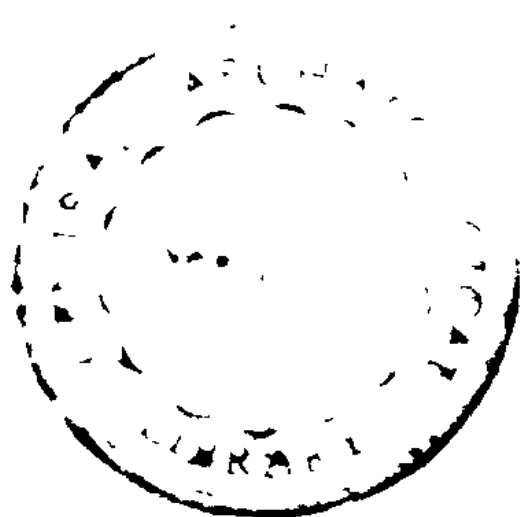
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXIII

498-5



PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110 011
1987

Reprinted 1987

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Price : 135.00

**Printed at S. Narayan & Sons, 7117/18, Pahari Dhiraj,
Delhi-110 006**

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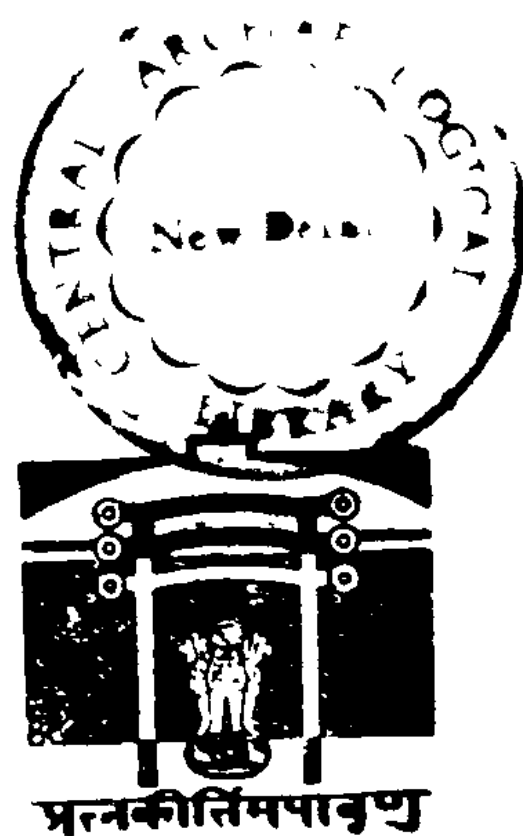
VOLUME XXXIII

1959-1960

EDITED BY

Dr. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph. D., F.A.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.N.S.

Retired Government Epigraphist for India



R-117.05
E.I

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1963

Accession No. 417.051E-I
Call No. R 417.051E-I

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page** 1, foot-note 2, line 3.—For Rājahmahēndravarmān during the reign read Rājamahēndravarmān during the reign
- „ 1, foot-note 3, line 4.—For *Rāghudēva* read *Raghudēva*
- „ 6, line 19.—For eminence read eminence
- „ 6, foot-note 4, line 2.—For *sthitam* . . . *Gōdāvarī* read *sthitam* | . . . *Gōdāvarī*°
- „ 6, foot-note 5, line 2.—For *vīpra* read *vīprā*
- „ 7, lines 6-7.—For Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit read Pratāpakapilēsarapura in the Oriya
- „ 8, foot-note 2, line 2.—For *Kṛishnā* read *Kṛishṇā*
- „ 10, line 37 and page 18, text line 128.—Add note—*Madhubibhūra* may be a mistake for *madhubhūruha*.
- „ 11, line 34.—For *Upājati* read *Upajāti*
- „ 12, text line 3.—Read *yah* |
- „ 13, foot-note 2.—Add note—Or read *putrau kīrti-pratāpā*°.
- „ 13, foot-note 4.—Read *saṃprā*°
- „ 14, text-line 44.—For *sukhham* read *sukham*
- „ 15, text lines 65 and 80.—The correction of °*san* = *Yaju*° is unnecessary
- „ 16, text line 93.—Read [*sa**]*ttamah*
- „ 16, text line 100.—Read *nishṇātaḥ* |
- „ 17, text line 115.—For *mataḥ* read *mataḥ* ; for *svād*° read *syād*°
- „ 18, text line 126.—For *mana*° read *mahā*°
- „ 18, text line 138.—For Lakshmi read Lakshmi
- „ 20, lines 6-13.—Add note—If the author used the word *rasa* in the sense of 'eight', the year would be Śaka 1378 (current). As the second of the two suggested dates falls in the next lunar year, the first one may be regarded as the correct date of the record.
- „ 21, foot-note 4.—Omit.
- „ 23, line 8 —Read *nāḍu*(*i-nnāḍu*°)
- „ 26, text line 13.—For *idha*. read *i-dha*-

Page 27, line 19.—For *ātman* read *ātman*

„ 28, line 18.—For *Pullempet* read *Pullampet*

„ 28, line 28.—For *Renāṇḍu* read *Rēnāṇḍu*

„ 28, foot-note 4, line 1.—For *Daśvarmma*^o read *Daśavarmma*^o

„ 28, foot-note 4, line 2.—For *vīra* read *vīra*

„ 28, foot-note 6.—Read *°mūḍa Deṇkaṇā*^o

„ 29, text line 3.—Read *(kh-ākhi)la*

„ 29, text line 5.—Read *(dī)p-ā*^o

„ 29, text line 25.—Read *Baraṇāsi*

„ 32, line 23.—For *indentify* read *identify*

„ 34, text-line 5.—The correction of *kakshyaḥ* is unnecessary.

„ 34, foot-note 1.—For *daṇḍa* read *daṇḍa*

„ 35, text-line 27.—For *kētum* read *hētum*

„ 36, line 21.—For *Pūrṇirmānta* read *Pūrnimānta*

„ 37, line 24.—For *presnt* read *present*

„ 37, line 31.—For c. 1255-70 A.D. read c. 1155-70 A.D.

„ 38, line 22.—For *exacavated* read *excavated*

„ 41, foot-note 1, line 2.—For *Huitzsch* read *Hultzsch*

„ 47, foot-note 7.—Add note—*Āśvayuja sudi 11* seems to have been the date of the grant and not of the festival.

„ 49, foot-note 3.—For *karaṇīuam* read *karaṇīyam*

„ 52, line 5.—For *as* read *us*

„ 56, line 3.—For *all sins* read *great sins*

„ 58, line 13.—For *bhikshunī* read *bhikshuṇī*

„ 59, line 15.—For *Enlightment* read *Enlightenment*

„ 61, line 29.—For *definity* read *definitely*

„ 63, text line 8.—For *sa-paṇcha* read *sa paṇcha*

„ 68, foot-note 9.—For *°ādriḥ* read *°ādriḥ*

„ 69, text line 5.—For *śri* read *śrī*

- Page 69, text line 10.—For [°]*āva'ta*[*m̐*] read [°]*āvata*[*m̐*]
- „ 70, text line 18.—Read *śuchi*[°]
- „ 71, line 31.—For *Karṇāta* read *Karṇāṭa*
- „ 73, line 32. For *discused* read *discussed*
- „ 74, text line 8.—For *Janḍimalamitarē* etc. read *Janḍimala*[*ē*]*m̐*(*lē=ˈn*)*tarē* etc. [H.K.N.]
- „ 75, text line 16.—For *nagare=va*[°] read *nagarī=va*[°]
- „ 75, foot-note 4, line 4.—For *below* read *below as*
- „ 75, foot-note 15, line 2.—Read *not sana*[°]
- „ 77, foot-note 1, line 1.—For *Nolḷipayva* read *Nolḷipayya*
- „ 80, line 7.—For *thi* read *this*
- „ 89, lines 33-34, and page 91, text line 20.—Add note—*Uñchh-ādi-parihartavyē samūdhṛ-sahitam* may mean ‘together with an agreement in respect of the exemption of *uñchha*, etc.’
- „ 92, text line 25.—For *Sua* read *Sia*
- „ 93, line 34.—For *Dēvapāladeva* read *Dēvapāladēva*
- „ 94, text line 1.—For *Srī*[°] read *Śrī*[°]
- „ 97, line 19.—For *Dhanesar* read *Dhaneswar*
- „ 102, line 29.—For *as* read *has*
- „ 104, para 4.—Add note—The verb in *santi lōkē=sm̐n* in verse 5 may suggest that Mallikārjuna was living at the time when the record was drafted or engraved. In that case, verse 11 merely indicates that Gaurī made her husband Mallikārjuna free from his debt to his ancestors by performing their *śrāddha* at Gayā on her husband's behalf.
- „ 104, foot-note 2, line 3.—For *abave* read *above*
- „ 105, foot-note 3, lines 3. 4.—For *Dhruvēśvara* read *Dhruvēśvara*
- „ 107, text line 1.—For *lasa.* read *lasa-*
- „ 108, para. 3, line 7.—For *magam*[*] read *maga*[*m̐**]
- „ 109, line 4.—For *in that Narasiṃha* read *in that of Narasiṃha*
- „ 113, text line 16.—For *kkā*[[*]] read *kkā*[!]
- „ 114, lines 25-30. —Add note—If *Vijaganagara-simhāsana-kartala* is taken to refer to Achyutarāya, it was he who was made free from his debt to his ancestors by Timmananna by performing their *śrāddha* at Gayā on the king's behalf.

Page 118, line 20. — *For Konkoṇḍala read Konakoṇḍala*

„ 118, foot-note 10, line 5. — *For munīśvaraḥ read munīśvaraḥ*

„ 118, foot-note 10, line 7. — *Read pūjit-ōtkṛishṭa*

„ 120, text line 15. — *For °rlēṃpi read °rlēpi*

„ 120, text line 24. — *For varḡgaiṃś = cha read va'ḡgaiś = cha*

„ 120, foot-note 1. — *For ramge read raṃgē*

„ 121, line 29. — *For awap read away*

„ 122, lines 13-14. — *Add note*—The 21 generations are generally understood to indicate the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations of a person together with his own generation.

„ 123, foot-note 1, line 1. — *For ths read the*

„ 128, text line 1. — *For parārdhē read parōrdhē*

„ 132, line 15. — *For Rodam read Roddam*

„ 137, line 17. — *For 2f read of*

„ 139, text line 14. — *For vidhāya read vidhāya*

„ 139, text line 14. — *Read s'gandhīni*

„ 144, text line 7. — *For lañchhana read lāñchhana*

„ 144, text line 22. — *Read bhūpatir =*

„ 146, text line 54. — *For uttarāyaṇna read uttarāyaṇa*

„ 146, text line 56. — *For °ashta read °asṭa*

„ 154, text line 20. — *For °utkirṇṇā read °utkīrṇā*

„ 156, line 15. — *For to whom read to which*

„ 158, foot-note 3. — *For Tthre read There*

„ 161, text line 2. — *For yiratṭar read Yiratṭar*

„ 161, text line 3. — *For dēvarkru read dēvarku*

„ 161, foot-note 11. — *For Pudukottai read Pudukkottai*

„ 173, line 2. — *For Tirupparan° read Tirupparan°*

„ 194, line 39. — *For 959 A.D. read 995 A.D.*

„ 213, text-line 25. — *For vipula[n*] read vipulā[n*]*

Page 217, line 4.—For *Kōṇkaṇa* read *Kōṇkaṇa*

„ 220, line 39.—For *Bhakttrāja* read *Bhaktirāja*

„ 220, foot-note 3.—Read pp. 239 ff.

„ 221, last line.—For *Sūrya* read *Sūraya*

„ 225, line 36.—For *bring* read *being*

„ 228, last line.—Read *70 tam*

„ 231, text line 124.—Read *cha*

„ 234, foot-note 1.—For *this* read *this*

„ 237, text line 12.—For *sarvvaṃ* read *sarvadā sarvvaṃ*

„ 237, text line 15.—Read *cha bhagavatā* and omit foot-note 1.

„ 252, foot-note 1, line 2.—For *sdescription* read *description*

„ 256, line 32.—For *nscription* read *inscription*

„ 258, foot-note 5.—For *Māvāli* read *Māvali*

„ 260, foot-note 3.—*Add note*—For the female name *Nāgavasū* with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 64.

„ 265, foot-note 2.—For *Chōḍaganga* read *Chōḍagaṅga*

„ 280, foot-note 8, line 3.—For *Kāmbamumetta* read *Kāmbamumetta*

„ 283.—For *74 Yarrā* read *74 Yarrā*

„ 284.—For *101 Sōmayayulu* read *101 Sōmayāyulu*

„ 285, foot-note 5.—For *Śārdūlavikrīṭa* read *Śārdūlavikrīṭa*

„ 287, text line 31.—For *Rigredi* read *Rigvēdi*

„ 287, text line 37.—For *°pu(ṇa)lli* read *°puli*

„ 289, text line 86.—For *Yarrā* read *Yarrā*

„ 290, text line 141.—For *dḥri* read *dari*

„ 291, text line 177.—For *tādi* read *tūdi*

„ 291, text line 178.—For *nīlla* read *nīlla*

„ 293, line 23.—For *seems to register* read *seems to be to register*

„ 302, text line 20.—For *nama* read *nāma*

„ 302, text line 21.—Read *°aidida[ru]*

Page 304, line 3.—*For* characters *read* chartrds

„ 304, foot-note 8, line 2.—*Add at the end of the sentence*—as well as in the Gunaighar plate of 507 A.D. (ibid., p. 331).

„ 309, line 27.—*For* calléd *read* called

„ 315, line 26.—*Read* ð

„ 316, line 5.—*For* Ballālasēna *read* Ballālasēna

„ 318, line 36.—*For* is *read* are

„ 320, line 41.—*For* snpported *read* supported

„ 323, text line 31.—*For* grāma-samāvāsita *read* grāma-parisara-samāvāsita

„ 328, line 43.—*For* sence *read* sense

„ 331, foot-note 9. --*For* va *read* vā

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIII

1959-1960

No. 1—TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA

(6 Plates)

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(Received on 30.8.1957)



In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions, I visited **Rajahmundry** in January 1956 in order to examine the copper-plate charters in the collection of the Andhra Historical Research Society. Among the records, kindly shown to me by Mr. R. Subba Rao, the enthusiastic Secretary of the Society, one was a grant of Raghudēva, which Mr. Subba Rao, as I was told, was trying to publish in the Society's journal.¹ On the same occasion, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry was also kind enough to show me a copper plate with inscription on both sides, which was lying in his possession. It was found on examination that this plate contains the central part of another charter of the same Raghudēva. Although Mr. Krishna Rao's plate thus offers us only the fragment of a document, it is interesting because it contains all the details of the grant made by the donor by means of the record in question and also because the introductory stanzas offer an additional information about the genealogy of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa as found for the first time in the other epigraph referred to above. The ancestry of the great Kapilēśvara or Kapilēndra, the founder of the said dynasty, is shrouded in mystery and traditions on the subject found in such works as the *Mādalā Pāñjī* (i.e. the chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri) have unfortunately made the confusion worse confounded. We have now very welcome light on the subject. Both the charters are edited here as they are of considerable interest to the students of Orissan history.

The donor of the two grants under study is already known to us from two inscriptions. One of these comes from Tirupati in the Peddapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District and shows that Raghudēva-narēndra-mahāpātra was the governor of Rajahmundry during the reign of Gajapati Kapilēśvara in 1458 A.D.² The other record was discovered in the fort of Warangal in the District of that name, formerly in the Hyderabad State but now in Andhra. This epigraph is dated in 1460 A.D.³ The inscriptions of Raghudēva published here bear dates in 1455-56 and

¹ Cf. *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 163 ff; also *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 275 ff.

² See *SII*, Vol. V, No. 100 (pp. 36-37). The inscription, engraved on a pillar at the entrance of the Śrīraṅgarāya temple, records that on Jyēsthā-badi 13, Monday, in the year Bahudhānya (i.e. Śaka 1380 expired), while Raghudēva-narēndra-mahāpātra was ruling at Rājahmahēndravaram during the reign of Kapilēśvara-mahārāya, one Trinētradēvaganapiḷaru, the officer of the temple treasury, restored the lands of the temple of Śrīraṅgarāya, which were being illegally enjoyed by the *Mahājanas* of the village of Tirupati during the period of Viśvēśvara-purōhita's service. Raghudēva is also mentioned in Kapilēśvara's Puri inscription (*JASB*, 1893, p. 99, No. 11).

³ *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, No. 15-4-5. The date of the inscription is quoted as Kali 4561, Pramāthin, Māgha-sudi 10, Saturday. Taking the Kali year to be current, the date corresponds regularly to the 2nd February 1460 A.D. The record mentions Virabhadra Raghudēva-narēndra as the son of Paraśurāmadēva-rāya of the solar race. As will be seen below, this information is supported by the inscriptions now published. Raghudēva seems to have accompanied Hambīra, son of Kapilēśvara, in Hambīra's expedition against Warangal which he conquered about this time. Hambīra's own inscription in the Warangal fort, an inaccurate transcript of which has been published in *SII*, Vol. VII, p. 372, No. 733, bears the date Pramāthin, Māgha-sudi 10, Va (i.e. *Vaddarā*, Saturday), regularly corresponding to the 2nd February 1460 A.D. The record actually reads *Gajapati-Kapilēndra-mahārāya-kumārūṇḍa[n] [A]mbīradēva-kumāra-mahāpātri(tru)ṇḍu Vōru[ga*]mṭṭi-kōṣa gonenu ||* For the two inscriptions, see also *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 53 and 55. Raghudēva's Warangal inscription has been edited below, pp. 125 ff.

1456 A.D. Since the earlier of the two records now under review, viz. the one dated 1455-56 A. D., is fragmentary and its introductory part gets some elucidation from the other epigraph, dated 1456 A.D., we shall take up the latter first for discussion.

The two known records of Raghudēva, together with the two now under study, show that he was Kapilēśvara's governor at Rajahmundry at least from 1455 to 1460 A.D. But he seems to have been placed in charge of the Gajapati province of Rajahmundry some time earlier. The province in question appears to have comprised roughly the present East and West Godavari Districts together with some of the adjoining areas. This was the Rājamahēndra-rājya or the kingdom with Rājamahēndrapura (or 'nagara) or Rājamahēndravaram (i.e. Rajahmundry) as its capital, which Kapilēśvara conquered from the Reddis and annexed to the Gajapati empire a few years before the earliest date in Raghudēva's known records.

The struggle of the Reddis of Rajahmundry with their kinsmen, the Reddis of Kondavidu, led to the decline of both the houses and to their complete subjugation by the Vijayanagara king Praudha-Dēvarāya (Dēvarāya II) who had ascended the throne in Śaka 1346 (1424 A.D.). This also speaks of the success of the Vijayanagara king against the contemporary Gaṅga monarch Bhānu IV (c. 1414¹ to 1434-35 A.D.) of Orissa because the latter's attempt to annex the Rajahmundry kingdom to the Gaṅga empire failed. An inscription² points to the presence of the Vijayanagara general Teluṅgarāya at Simhachalam in the year Plavaṅga (1427 A.D.) while the Mūḍa-bidure inscription³ of Śaka 1351=Saumya (1429 A.D.) describes Dēvarāya II as the lion in destroying the crores of elephants of the Mātaṅgarāja (Gajapati) and the very Agastya to the ocean of the armies of the Andhra kings (i.e. the Reddis). The latest date for Virabhadra, the last Reddi king of Rajahmundry, is the month of Phālguna in Śaka 1359=Piṅgala (1438 A.D.),⁴ when he was apparently a vassal of the Vijayanagara monarch. But a Draksharama (Ramachandrapuram Taluk, East Godavari District) inscription of the reign of Dēvarāya II, dated Śaka 1366 (1444 A.D.), seems to suggest that the Reddi king was still living as late as that date.⁵ An inscription⁶ at Penugonda (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District), dated Śaka 1370=Vibhava (1448 A.D.), however, speaks of the rule of the Gajapati king, i.e. Kapilēśvara. The Rajahmundry kingdom was thus conquered by Kapilēśvara between 1444 and 1448 A.D. There is a tradition that he conquered the country named Mahēndra (or Rājamahēndra) or Mahēndra (i.e. Rājamahēndra) in the fourteenth *Anka* year of his reign.⁷ Since he ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., his 14th *Anka* or 12th actual regnal year would correspond to 1446-47 A.D. Raghudēva may have been stationed at Rajahmundry soon after the annexation of the Rājamahēndra-rājya to the Gajapati empire, i.e. sometime before 1450 A.D. How long he served in the same capacity after 1460 A.D., the latest date known from his records, cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming.

1. Raghudēvapura Grant of Śaka 1378

The set consists of six plates, of which only five bear writing on both sides. The plates are each 10½ inches long and 5½ inches high. The inscribed plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals, the figures being engraved in the left margin on the obverse, very near the ring-hole

¹ This is the earliest known date found in his records. But the real date of his accession cannot be determined. See *JOR*, Vol. XXII, pp. 47 ff.

² *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 205.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1352 and 1355.

⁵ M. S. Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, pp. 192-93.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193; *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, No. 15-4-4. The Gutti fort was besieged by Gajapati Hambīra during the reign of Praudha-Dēvarāya (*A.R.Ep.*, 1921, p. 114, No. 10 of App. A).

⁷ *Mādalā Pāñjī*, ed. A. B. Mahanti, Cuttack, pp. 44, 46. Cf. *Kaifiyat of Jagannātham* quoted by Sastri and Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, p. 84.

which is about $\frac{2}{3}$ inch in diameter. The ends of the ring passing through the hole are soldered beneath a **seal** bearing the figure of a standing caparisoned elephant fixed on its surface. The diameter of the ring is about $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches while that of the seal is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The five plates together weigh about 271 *tolas*. The weight of individual plates varies between 50 and 58 *tolas*.

There are altogether 149 lines of writing on the ten faces of the five plates and they are distributed in the following order : IA—16 lines, IB—15 lines, IIA—17 lines, IIB—16 lines, IIIA—16 lines, IIIB—15 lines, IVA—15 lines, IVB—15 lines, VA—17 lines, VB—7 lines. There is a linear drawing at the end of the epigraph on the reverse of the last plate. The same kind of sketch is also found on the other charters issued by the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa, in some of which it looks clearly like the representation of a sword or dagger (or several swords or daggers).¹ The figure apparently stood for the signature of the donor on the original document later engraved on copper plates.

The inscription is written in **Telugu** characters and in the **Sanskrit** language and, excepting a short *maṅgala* passage in prose at the beginning of line 1, the whole record is written in verse. Its **palaeography** is characterised by the use of almost similar signs for letters like *ch* and *bh* in some cases and for others like *bā* and *bhā*, *bi* and *bhi*, etc. There is no distinction between *p* and *v* when used as subscripts in conjuncts. The mark distinguishing *bh* from *b* is generally a curve added to the top of the right limb of *b*. It is rarely a small vertical below the letter (cf. *Tallu-bhaṭṭa* in line 82) : but sometimes it is a curve at the same place (cf. *tanū-bhava* in line 81). The indication of aspiration of this second type is found in *chh* (cf. *chchhū* in line 12) and sometimes in *th* (cf. *stambhō=thā* in line 126) in the form of an inward curve in the bottom line of the letters. In a few cases, an inward loop takes the place of the curve (cf. *chchhā* in line 51). The same medial signs have been used for *ā* and *e* and for *ō* and *o* as the distinction between the short and long signs did not develop or was not popular as yet. There are two forms of *t* (cf. *°dātayata* *stah* in line 15). A noteworthy characteristic of the **orthography** of the record is the representation of *th* by *dh*, *ddh* by *dhdh* and *ph* by *p* in a large number of cases. In some cases, *l* has been written for *l*. The letter *t* is often reduplicated after the nasal (cf. *jaganitti* in lines 1-2) while *h* is often represented by *hv* and *y* by *yy*. Another peculiarity is the substitution of the class nasal by *anuvāra* which is again invariably used in the place of final *m*. *Visarga* followed by *ś* or *s* has very often been changed to the respective sibilant in *Sandhi*. In several cases, medial *ri* has been represented by *ru* (cf. lines 103-04, 107).

The **date** of the charter is quoted in verse 30 in lines 58-59. It was the **twelfth of the bright half of the month of Śuchi in the year Dhātri** of Jupiter's Southern Cycle corresponding to the **Śaka year** counted by *vasu* (i.e. 8), *śaila* (i.e. 7) and *viśva* (i.e. 13), i.e. **1378**. The month of Śuchi is Jyēṣṭha according to some authorities and Āṣāḍha according to others, although in Oriya lexicons it is recognised in the latter sense only. The date thus appears to correspond to the **15th June 1456 A.D.**

The inscription is divided into four sections, one separated from another by one or more floral designs. It is interesting to note that the stanzas of Sections I and II are numbered, but that the numbering is not continued from Section I to Section II in which the verses have consecutive numbers beginning again from 1. Section III actually begins with a *Siddham* symbol.

Section I may be subdivided into two halves, the first containing adoration to gods and the second a description of the donor's ancestry as well as of the donor and the grant he made. It consists of 33 stanzas in various metres engraved in lines 1-64 on the four faces of Plates I and II.

¹ Cf. the Chiruvroli grant of Hambīra in *Bhārati*, November, 1941, p.530 ; the Balasore copper axe-head inscription of Purushōttama in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 335 ; the Velicherla plates of Pratāparudra in *Bhārati*, August 1936, p. 273 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 211 ; etc.

Section II gives a list of the donees in 40 stanzas in the *Anushtubh* metre, which runs from line 65 at the beginning of the obverse of Plate III to the first half of line 119 in the middle of the second side of Plate IV. Section III describes the boundaries of the gift village. It consists of 14 stanzas mostly in the *Anushtubh* metre, which are engraved in lines 119-35. Section IV contains the imprecatory and benedictory part in 8 stanzas in different metres, which are engraved in lines 135-49. There are thus altogether 95 stanzas in the inscription.

Section I begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala*: *avighnam=astu*, after which there is another *Siddham* symbol. The above is followed by several verses invoking the protection of a number of deities. Verse 1 contains a prayer to the tusk of the *Līlāvarāha*, i.e. the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, for the protection of the world from danger, while verse 2 contains a similar prayer to the god Gajāśya (i.e. Gaṇeśa). The next two stanzas (verses 3-4) likewise seek for the favour respectively of the goddess Earth and the feet of Kamalāpati (i.e. Viṣṇu). After this, the donor's family is gradually introduced. Verses 5-7 describe the god Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Viṣṇu) and the next stanza (verse 8) speaks of Viriñchi (i.e. Brahman), the god of creation, who was born out of Nārāyaṇa's navel and whose two arms produced the martial race (i.e. the Kṣatriya clan). According to verse 9, in this race came into being the Sun and the Moon (*pushpavantau*) from whom sprang two dynasties (i.e. the solar and lunar races). Verse 10 states that there was a *Nāyaka* named **Kapilēśvara** who was one of the many rulers (*nṛipa*) born in the solar and lunar races and was the crest-jewel of a number of *Nāyakas* (i.e. was one of the foremost *Nāyakas* or had several *Nāyakas* under him). The real meaning of the word *nāyaka* used in this context is uncertain. An inscription¹ of Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) from Srikurmam, e.g., mentions the *Nāyakas* of Kalinga either in the sense of royal officers or ruling chiefs, while the Oriya lexicons recognise the word in the sense of a ruler or a leader of forces. There is thus no doubt that **Kapilēśvara**, described not only as a *Nāyaka* but also as a *nṛipa* or ruler, was a person of some importance, apparently a small ruling chief. The family names *Nāyaka* and *Paṭṭanāyaka* are still current among the people of Orissa.

Verse 11 mentions **Jāgēśvara** who was the son of the above-mentioned **Kapilēśvara** and represents him as a great hero and a possessor of numerous elephants. The next stanza (verse 12) speaks of **Balarāma** as the eldest among Jāgēśvara's sons who were all famous for their prowess. Verse 13 states that Balarāma and his father Jāgēśvara died on the battle-field while fighting with certain enemies even though they had already obtained victory in the contest. The following three stanzas (verses 14-16) deal with **Kapilēśvara**, the younger brother of Balarāma. This **Kapilēśvara**, named after his grandfather, was the celebrated founder of the *Sūryavaṁśī* Gajapati family of Orissa. A passage in verse 14 says that **Kapilēśvara** acquired the exalted position (*vibhava*) of the **Dantirāja** (i.e. Gajapati) by dint of his prowess (*śaurya*). This no doubt refers to his occupation of the throne of Gajapati Bhānu IV, the latest known ruler of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty.² Verses 15-16 vaguely describe the heroism of **Kapilēśvara**. Verse 17 introduces **Paraśurāma Harichandana** as the younger brother of **Kapilēśvara**, while the following stanzas describe **Paraśurāma**'s son **Raghudēva** who was the donor of the grant under study. Verses 17-18, 20 and 23-24 of this part are also found in the *Dōrapāleṁ* grant of **Raghudēva** edited below, although a stanza in that record, mentioning **Rāma** as the younger brother of **Paraśurāma**, is not

¹ *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

² The title *Gajapati* became popular with the latest rulers of the Gaṅga family gradually. Bhānu I is called *Gajapati* or *Gajaghaṭṭapati* in a *Draksharama* inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, p. 361, No. 1084) of Śaka 1196 (1274 A.D.) and **Narasimha III** *Gajapati-Peda-Narasimha* in a *Simhachalam* record of Śaka 1305=1383 A.D. (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 285, No. 752). **Narasimha IV** is called *Gajapati* in some inscriptions from *Simhachalam*; cf. *Gajapati* in one of Śaka 1328=1406 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 277, No. 731), and *Gajapati* or *Gajanivahapati* in another of Śaka 1305=1383 (*ibid.*, p. 286, No. 753). Similarly **Bhānu IV** is called *Gajapati* in two *Simhachalam* inscriptions respectively of Śaka 1336=1414 A.D. and Śaka 1339=1417 A.D. (*ibid.*, pp. 447-48, No. 1113; pp. 417-18 No. 1040) Cf. below, p. 44.

met with in the present epigraph. Verse 19, which is not found in the Dōrapālem grant, discloses the fact that the name of Raghudēva's mother was Mallikā. Verse 20 says that, owing to his prowess and his conquests Raghudēva was *putrikṛita* by his uncle Kapilēśvara. The expression *putrikṛita* may suggest that Raghudēva was adopted by his uncle as a son; but the idea may also be that Kapilēśvara treated Raghudēva as one of his own sons. The second alternative seems to be supported by Raghudēva's Warangal inscription of a later date (1460 A.D.) representing him as the son of Paraśurāma and not of Kapilēśvara. It is difficult to say whether the claim had anything to do with the title *Kumāra* enjoyed by Raghudēva.¹

Verse 33 represents Raghudēva as a *Narēndra*, i.e. a ruler, although he is generally called a *Kumāra*, *Nṛip-ātmaja*, *Rāja-tanaya*, *Narēndrarāja-putra* (or *°sūnu*) and *Narēndra-dharaṇīpāl-ātmaja*, i.e. a prince, and verses 26-27 state that he owed his position to the grace of **Kapilēśvara** whose viceroy apparently he was. That he was a servant of Kapilēśvara is also clearly indicated by the word *sevā* used in verses 25 and 29 with reference to his service to his uncle. Verse 27 may suggest that the title or position of *Kumāra* was assigned to him by Kapilēśvara. But the reference to his *dig-vijaya* (verses 20, 25 and 26) and to his rule over 'the earth' (verses 22, 24), his comparison with the ancient imperial ruler Kārtavīrya (verse 22) and the vague reference to the prowess of his arms in many of the stanzas show how the official *praśastikāra* was trying to endow a provincial governor with the glory of an emperor.

Verse 27 states that Raghudēva had his headquarters at the city of **Rājamahēndra** (i.e. Rajahmundry) and that the province over which he ruled extended from **Simhāchala** to **Giripraja** which may be a mistake for *Girivraja*. Simhāchala is no doubt the place of that name in the Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh; but the other limit of the province under Raghudēva is difficult to identify. We know, however, that the kingdom of the Redḍis of Kondavidu, which also was conquered by Kapilēśvara and made a province of the Gajapati empire, lay on the other side of the territory ruled by Raghudēva. It is thus not impossible that *Girivraja* (literally 'the cowherd settlement on the hill') was the Sanskrit form of the Telugu name *Koṇḍaviḍu* (literally, 'the city on the hill'). The rendering may of course have been influenced by the names of the celebrated cities called Girivraja, which were the capitals of the ancient Magadha and Kēkaya countries.² It may be noted that, when Raghudēva was ruling over the district around Rajahmundry, Kondavidu was the headquarters of Gāṇadēva, another of Kapilēśvara's viceroys. Gāṇadēva's inscriptions bear dates in 1454 and 1455 A.D.³ It seems that the province under Raghudēva lay between two other provinces of Kapilēśvara's empire, which had their headquarters at Simhachalam and Kondavidu.

¹ This case reminds us of a Simhachalam inscription (*SI*, Vol. VI, No. 1088, pp. 437-38) of Śaka 1381 (1459 A.D.) recording the gift of Hāmbīra-kumāra-mahāpātra of the Sūrya-vaṁśa. In the Chiruvroli grant and Warangal record, the donor Hāmbīra is represented as the son of Kapilēśvara. The date of the record, the title *Kumāra-mahāpātra* and the descent from the solar lineage no doubt suggest that Hāmbīra of the Simhachalam inscription was the same as the homonymous son of Kapilēśvara, although the title may mean 'a *Mahāpātra* of the status of a *Kumāra*'. But Hāmbīra-kumāra-mahāpātra is described in the Simhachalam epigraph as the son of Saṇḍudēva-mahāpātra. Since it is impossible to believe that the emperor Kapilēśvara has been mentioned as *Mahāpātra* Saṇḍudēva in a record of 1459 A.D., the only possibilities are that Hāmbīra of the Simhachalam inscription, even though he must have been a close relation of Kapilēśvara, was different from the emperor's son of the same name, or that Saṇḍudēva's son Hāmbīra was adopted by Kapilēśvara as his own son sometime after 1459 A.D. as a reward for Hāmbīra's success in the southern campaigns. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 286-87.

² See N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. Girivrajapura. Cf. the Palampet inscription in *Hyd. A.S.*, No 3.

³ The Chintapalli inscription (*A.R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 70) of Gāṇadēva is dated Śaka 1376, Bhāva, Vaiśākha-sudi 15, Thursday. The date may be the 11th April 1454 A.D. His Kondavidu plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 390 ff.) were issued in Śaka 1377=Yuva corresponding to 1455 A.D. Chintapalli is in the Sattenapalle Taluk and Kondavidu in the Narasaraopet Taluk, both in the Guntur District of Andhra. The forts of Addanki and Vinukonda lay within Gāṇadēva's province.

The importance of the genealogical part of the inscription, discussed above, is that it throws welcome light on the ancestry of the great founder of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati family of Orissa. Very little information was so far available on the ancestors of Kapilēśvara. The tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*¹ and several other works of the type states that, in the early part of his life, Kapili (i.e. Kapilēśvara), a Sūryavaṁśī Rāuta, was a cowherd in the employ of a certain Brāhmaṇa and that he was picked up by the last Gaṅga king (Bhānu IV) and brought up in his palace. He is also stated to have begun his life as a thief. It is said that the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha advised the king in a dream to adopt Kapilēśvara as his successor. During the last years of the Gaṅga king's rule, the Muslims are reported to have invaded the Gaṅga kingdom and demanded a large ransom. The king sent Kapila to the Muslims for negotiating a settlement, but died shortly afterwards. The Muslims then sent back Kapila to rule the Gaṅga kingdom. A tradition recorded in the *Gaṅgavaṁśānucharita*,² however, says that Kapilēśvara was one of the ministers of the Gaṅga king and that he usurped his master's throne when the latter was away from the capital in connection with a campaign and that the Gaṅga king after his return from the expedition retired to Guḍārikāṭaka where he spent his last days in obscurity. This no doubt seems to be a more sensible account of Kapilēśvara's accession to the throne of Gaṅga Bhānu IV. As regards Kapilēśvara's ancestry and early career, our inscriptions now show that he was not a mere cowboy receiving the sovereignty over the Gaṅga empire merely through God's grace but that his ancestors were people of some importance and that his rise to the sovereign status was really from a platform of eminence created not only by his own prowess but also by the exploits of his forbears. His grandfather, bearing his own name, is stated to have been a *Nāyaka* who was one among the rulers of the solar and lunar races while his father Jāgēśvara, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balarāma lost their lives while fighting against their enemies. Thus the great Kapilēśvara was born in a family of ruling chiefs. The tradition describing him as a *Rāuta* (derived from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* and known to be a title of subordinate rulers), which was scarcely understood so long, can now be appreciated in its proper significance.

That Jāgēśvara was the name of the father of the great Kapilēśvara is suggested also by his own Veligalani grant³ issued in 1458 A.D. when he was camping on the bank of the Gōḍāvarī. Verse 11 of the record in the Sanskrit part speaks of the grant of the village of Veligalani named after himself and his father or parents (*sva-pitr-ākhyayā*)⁴ while the next stanza refers to the grant of Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana lying to the east of the united rivers Kṛishṇā and Vēṇṇā.⁵ At the commencement of the Telugu section beginning on the obverse of the third plate, the gift village is mentioned as Veligalani *alias* Kapilēśvarapura (*Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapurānaku*) and the

¹ Op. cit., pp. 42 ff. Similar traditions are found in the *Kaṭakarājavāṁśāvalī*, Kaifiyat of Jagannātham etc. See Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 82 ff.

² *Kaṭāṅgādēśacharitra* (Telugu), p. 344.

³ An inaccurate notice and an extremely faulty transcript of this fragmentary inscription were published respectively in *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, p. 69 (C. P. No. 17) and *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 94 ff. The record is dated in Śaka 1380 (*vyōma-ibha-vahni-indu*)=Bahudhānya, Vaiśākhi (i.e. Vaiśākha-sudi 15) corresponding to the 28th April 1458 A.D. The inscription describes Kapilēśvara's military successes in the passage (with correction of the minor scribal errors): *Haṁpā kaṁpam=agāt tat=ōdhika-tarā Dhārā cha bhār-ātura-dvārā Kalbarigā vimukta-turagā Dhillī cha Bhillī-vritā* (lines 1-4, verse numbered as 7). The same stanza also occurs in the Chiruvroli grant of Hambīra (*Bhārati*, November 1941, pp. 514 ff.), verse 5.

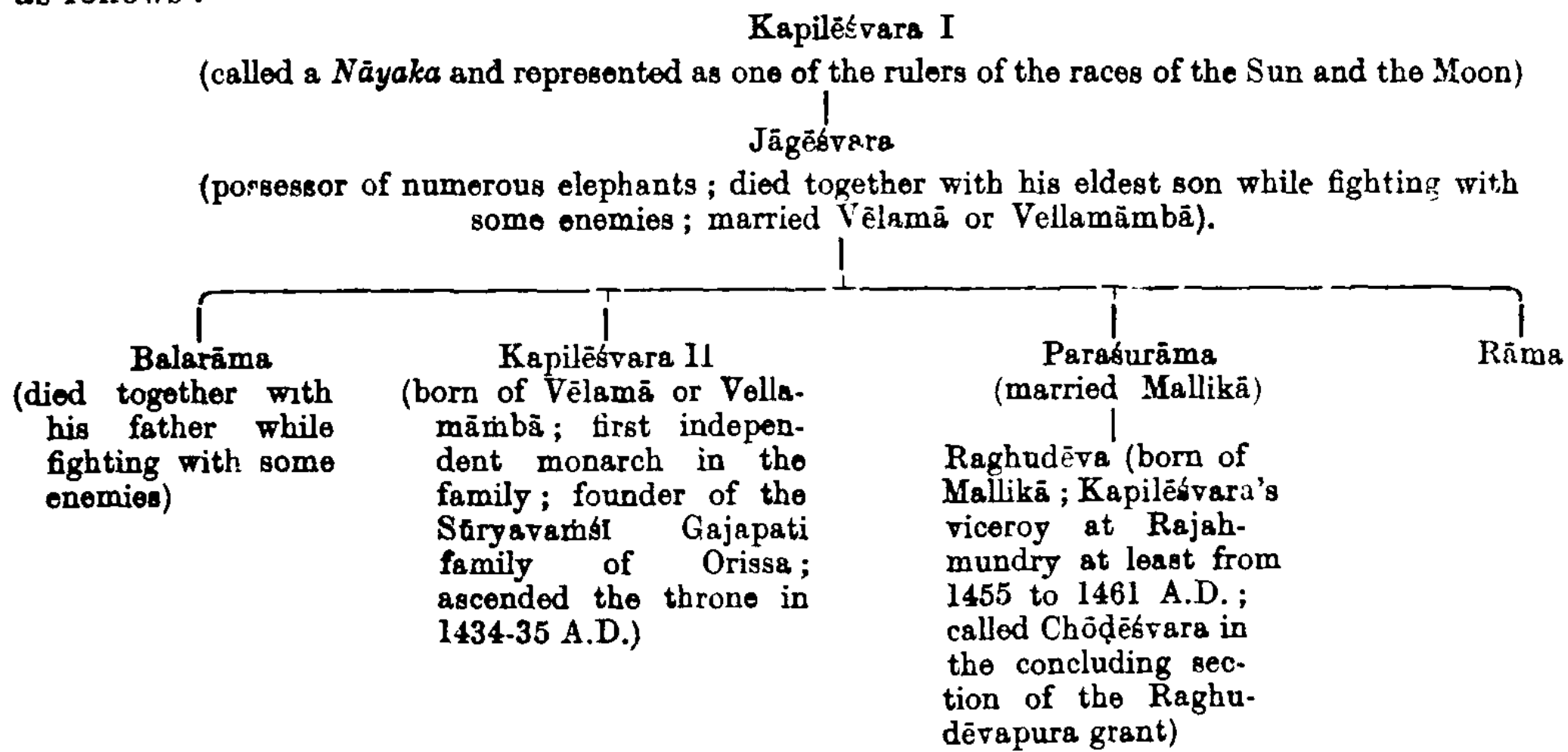
⁴ The stanza (after removing small scribal errors) reads: *Śāk-ābdē Bahudhānya-nāmnī gaṇitē vyōm-ibha-vahn-indubhir=Vaiśākhyām Kapilēśvarō Harigukā-Mēdūri-sīmni sthitam vimēatyaḥ vidushām śatāya cha vasaṇ Gōḍāvari-sukātē nihēśham Veligalani-nāmakam=adād=grāmam svā-pitr-ākhyayā* || The name of the village has to be read *Veligalni* for the sake of the metre. The Śaka year is indicated by the words *vyōma* (i.e. 0), *ibha* (i.e. 8), *vahni* (i.e. 3) and *indu* (i.e. 1), i.e. 1380.

⁵ The stanza (after removing small scribal errors) reads: *Kṛishṇā-dakṣiṇa-vāhinī vijayatē Vēṇṇā-nadī-saṁgatā tat-prāchyām Vijayapratāpakapilēndr-ākhyām mahā-śāsanaṁ | tat=ābhānti śatam cha vimēati-param vipra Vasishṭh-ōpamās=tad-dātā Vijayapratāpa-Kapilēndrō bhāti dharm-ōttarāḥ* ||

120 donees receiving shares in the two localities are then enumerated in the following order : (1) northern part of Jāgēśvarapura (*Jāgēśvarapurapu vīdhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi*)—20 Brāhmaṇas ; (2) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi*)—20 Brāhmaṇas ; (3) northern part of Vellamāmbāpura (*Vellamāmbāpurapu vīdhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi*)—20 Brāhmaṇas ; (4) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi*)—20 Brāhmaṇas ; (5) northern part of Kapilēśvarapura (*Kapilēśvarapurapu vīdhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi*), called Vijayapratāpakapilēndra-mahāśāsana in the Sanskrit part—20 Brāhmaṇas ; (6) southern part of the same (*dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi*)—20 Brāhmaṇas. It appears clear from this enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into three parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and another Vellamāmbāpura. This further suggests that the word *pitri* in the passage *sva-pitr-ākhyayā* means not merely 'father' but both 'father and mother' and that the name of Kapilēśvara's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā. The third part of the gift village was named after the donor and the village was sometimes referred to as Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapura.¹

The female name Vellamāmbā looks like Telugu in origin and it may be suggested that Kapilēśvara had Āndhra blood in his veins. This is of course not improbable in view of the fact that his success in conquering wide areas of the Telugu- and Tamil-speaking lands, then under the hegemony of the Vijayanagara king, was due, to a very considerable extent, to the help he received from Āndhra generals.² But the question cannot be satisfactorily solved without further light on the subject, since the Oriya supplement³ of the Veligalani grant mentions Vellamāmbāpura as Vēlapura or Bēlapura and *Vēlamā* or *Bēlamā* may be supposed to have been made *Vellamāmbā* in Telugu. It has, however, to be admitted in this case also that *Vēlamā* or *Bēlamā* does not look like a typical Oriya name either. On the other hand, it reminds us of the Velama caste, one of the front-rank agriculturist communities of the Āndhra country, to one of the sub-divisions of which belong the Rajas of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Pithapuram and Nuzvid.⁴

The genealogy of the early Sūryavamśī Gajapatis of Orissa, as found in the Raghudēvapura grant with its information supplemented by the Dōrapāleṇ and Veligalani grants, now stands as follows :



¹ The Oriya part of the document also suggests that the village of Veligalani was divided into three parts, one named after the king's father, another after his mother and the third after himself.

² Many of the celebrated Gajapati generals were Āndhras. Some of those who served under Kapilēśvara were Gajarāvu Tippa and Dāmera Timma or Tamma and Tamma's son Basava-bhūpāla (cf. Sastri and Venkataramanayya, op. cit., pp. 86-87 ; A. R. Ep., 1892, No. 208 ; etc.).

³ This part of the inscription is carelessly engraved on both sides of the last plate, lines 1-10 on the obverse and line 11 on the reverse. For the text, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 279-80 ; *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.

⁴ See Thurston and Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, pp. 336 ff.

The concluding part of Section I of the record (verse 29 ff. in lines 55 ff.) states that **Raghudēva**, stationed at **Rājamahēndranagara** (Rajahmundry), paid a visit to **Kaṭaka** (i.e. modern Cuttack on the Mahānadi, which was the capital of his master Kapilēśvara) in connection with some service to be rendered to **Kapilēśvara** and there he met on the way a large number of Brāhmaṇas together with their wives and heard their case. For settling these Brāhmaṇas, he then resolved to create an *agrahāra* within the territory under his governorship. The number of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the *agrahāra* is given in verse 30 as 40 only. But the list of the donees quoted in Section II (lines 65 ff.) shows 42 names. As will be seen below, it appears that the *agrahāra* was divided into 40 equal shares meant for 40 Brāhmaṇas but that actually 2 of the shares had to be subdivided equally among 4 Brāhmaṇas.

The donees of the grant were mostly Yajurvēdin Brāhmaṇas with only a few pertaining to the Rīgvēda. They belonged to various *gōtras*. The *gōtras* of the 42 Brāhmaṇas enumerated in the list are: Ātrēya (6), Bhāradvāja (3), Gautama (1), Hārīta (7), Kāśyapa (9), Kaundinya (5), Kauśika (6), Kutsa (2), Lauhita (1) and Śrīvatsa (2). The information about the donees as found in Section II is supplied below in a tabular form. It will be seen from the list, that although the donees are stated to have been met by the donor at Kaṭaka (Cuttack), they do not appear to have been Oriya Brāhmaṇas. Their names indicate that most, if not all, of the donees were Brāhmaṇas of the Āndhra areas. Probably they went to Kaṭaka with a view to securing some favour from Kapilēśvara, and Raghudēva, having met them there, represented their case to his master and granted them the *agrahāra* with the latter's consent and permission necessary for the purpose. Although the credit for the donation is appropriated by Raghudēva in the record under study as also in the other document edited below, generally a provincial governor was not fully entitled or empowered to create rent-free holdings without the consent and permission of his master in some form. Whether, as a member of Kapilēśvara's family and a close relation of Kapilēśvara and as the governor of a newly conquered territory, the viceroy enjoyed a special position in this respect cannot be determined. It has, however, to be noticed that, even though charters recording the creation of rent-free holdings by rulers who were purely provincial governors without any reference to their master are not generally known, we have several instances of the kind, besides the two charters of Raghudēva edited here, in such viceregal Gajapati records as the Kondavidu plates¹ of Gūṇa-dēva-rāutarāya-mahāpātra who was Kapilēśvara's viceroy at Kondavidu and claimed to have been a member of his master's family, and the Chiruvrōli grant² of Prince Hambīra who claims to have been a son of Kapilēśvara and was the leader of the Gajapati forces in the campaigns in the Telugu- and Tamil-speaking areas.³ It is interesting to note that Kapilēśvara himself is also known to have made grants of land in the territories ruled over by the southern viceroys.⁴

No.	Donee.	Donee's father	Gōtra	Vēda or Sākhā
1	Vēdagiri-dvēdin (dvivēdin)	Varad-ārya	Kāśyapa	Yajus
2	Ananta-bhaṭṭa	Āditya	Ātrēya	do.
3	Mallu-bhaṭṭa	Narasimha	Hārīta	do.
4	Sōmaya	Dēvarē-bhaṭṭa	do.	Agravēda (Rik)

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, pp. 390 ff.

² *Bhārati*, November 1941, pp. 514 ff. The charter recording the grant of the village of Chiruvrōli, situated on the Kṛishnā and renamed Hambīrapura after the donor, was issued in Śaka 1383 (*Rāma-ibha-lōka-dvijapati*)= Vṛisha, Bhādra-badi 15 (*kuḥu*), Friday. The date corresponds to the 4th September 1461 A.D. For some other inscriptions of Hambīra, see Nos. 148, 157 of 1913, etc.

³ Cf. *Kumāra-Hambīra-vibhūtyad-āyāyā vijītya kārīnta-dīśam pratāpavān | aśōdhayach=chhātrava-śōpit-ōkshītām kripāṇikām Dakṣiṇa-sāgar-āmbushu* || in Kapilēśvara's description in the Anantavaram plates of Pratāparudra (*JRCOI*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 39; *Kaṭīngadēśacharitra*, App., p. 104).

⁴ Cf. The Veligalani grant referred to above.]

No.	Donee	Donee's father	Gōtra	Vēda or Sākhā
5	Annam-ārya	Mallu-bhaṭṭa	Kauśika	Yajus
6	Śiṅgan-ārya	Brahma	Hārita	do.
7	Annam-ārya	Narasimha	do. . . .	do.
8	Kāman-ārya	Āditya	Kauśika	do.
9	Vēdagiri	Mallan-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
10	Prōlan-ārya	Bētan-ārya	Kauśika	do.
11	Nāgan-ārya	Gōpāl-ārya	Bhāradvāja	do.
12	Nāya(Nāgaya ?)-bhaṭṭa	Tippaṇ-ārya	Kaundinya	do.
13	Aubhal-ārya	Vallabh-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
14	Tallu-bhaṭṭa	Kāman-ārya	Laubita	do.
15	Kāman-ārya	Mallan-ārya	Kāśyapa	do.
16	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Vallabh-ārya	Kaundinya	do.
17	Āditya-bhaṭṭa	Kāman-ārya	Kauśika	do.
18	Kasavan-ārya	Kamehan-ārya	Bhāradvāja	do.
19	Timmaṇa-sāstrin	Aubhaḷ-ārya	Ātrēya	do.
20	Viśvēśvara	Nṛsimha-sūri	Kāśyapa	do.
21	Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭa	Peddan-ārya	do. . . .	do.
22	Dēvarē-bhaṭṭa	Viśvēśvara	Kutsa	do.
23	Pōti-bhaṭṭa	Viśvēśvara	Kaundinya	do.
24	Kāmārya-bhaṭṭa	Lakshmana	Ātrēya	do.
25	Appal-ārya	Kāman-ārya	Kauśika	do.
26	Nāgan-ārya	Vallabha	Kaundinya	do.
27	Duggan-ārya	Mallaya	Kāśyapa	do.
28	Aubhal-ārya	Gangan-ārya	Śrīvatsa	do.
29	Bollan-ārya	Śiṅgan-ārya	Ātrēya	Bahvricha (Rik)
30	Bhāskara	Brahmānanda	Hārita	Yajus]
31	Yaru-bhaṭṭa	Aubhaḷ-ārya	Ātrēya	do.
32	Dēchi-bhaṭṭa	Āditya	do. . . .	do.
33	Mallana	Śrīgi (Śrīgiri ?)	Hārita
34	Sōma	Mallana	Bhāradvāja
35	Aubhaḷ-ārya	Appalē-bhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	Yajus
36	Yaran-ārya	Narasimh-ārya	Śrīvatsa	do.
37	Rāmachandra	Peddi-yajvan	Hārita	do.
38	Śiṅgana	Yajñan-ārya	Kaundinya	Bahvricha (Rik)
39	Narasimha	Anant-ārya	Gautama	Yajus

No.	Donee	Donee's father	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
40	Sūrap-ārya	Mallan-ārya	Kāśyapa	Yajus
41	Mādhava	Yallanna	Kauśika	do.
42	Vissana	Bhāskara	Kutsa	do.

Of these Nos. 33-34 and 41-42 are specifically stated to have received only half a share each. This seems to suggest that the other Brāhmaṇas received one full share each. There were altogether 40 shares ; but 2 shares were divided equally among 4 Brāhmaṇas.

Verse 29 of Section I (lines 55-58) shows that the land granted by the charter under study was called **Kriddēvy-uttarakhaṇḍa**, i.e. the northern part of Kriddēvi, while the next verse mentions the land granted by Raghudēva in favour of the 40 Brāhmaṇas as **Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa** situated on the bank of the **Gōdā**, i.e. the Gōdāvarī (called **Gautamī** in verse 1 of Section III). The three concluding stanzas of the section mention **Raghudēvapura** which was made an *agrahāra* (i.e. a rent-free holding for being owned by Brāhmaṇas) by Raghudēva. It is thus clear that the northern part of what was formerly called Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa was made an *agrahāra* and granted in favour of a large number of Brāhmaṇas and that the *agrahāra* was re-named as Raghudēvapura after the donor Raghudēva. The grant was made for the *pūti* or favour of the god Vāsudēva (Vishṇu). It was endowed with the privileges of *aṣṭa-bhōga* and *aṣṭa-bhūti*.¹ There is no doubt that Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa or Raghudēvapura on the Gōdāvarī or Gautamī is the same as modern Raghudēvapuram, about 14 miles to the north-west of Rajahmundry, headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the East Godavari District of Andhra. It is situated on the left bank of the river.

Section III of the inscription (lines 119 ff.) describes the **boundaries of Raghudēvapura** situated on the bank of the **Gautamī** (i.e. Gōdāvarī). To the north and north-west of the village, the **Vṛiddha-Gautamī** (i.e. bigger Gautamī) was flowing and, to the east of the river, there was an *antarīpa* (an island or a promontory) and the **Laghu-Gautamī** (i.e. the smaller Gautamī) flowed beyond it. To the east of the Laghu-Gautamī, there was a big stream flowing from the Gautamī and, to the east of this stream, there was a row of palmyra trees and beyond them a big Pippala tree. On the way to the Pippala tree (or, at the same place near it), there was a big Vāṭa tree and near it, on the same mound (*sētu*), some palmyra trees. To the north-east of these, there were two bamboo bushes and to their east a tamarind tree. To the north-east of that tree, there was a Bahā tree and to its east another tamarind tree. There were two Palāśa trees to the north-east of that tree and a Plaksha tree stood to the north-east of the Palāśas, and near them, on the same mound, there were the Gōdinēni-taṭāka (tank), one Pippala tree and two Vāṭa trees. To the north-east of these, there was a stone pillar while a second stone pillar stood towards the east of it. From the second pillar towards the east began a big mound (*sētu*) which ran towards the south. There was a big Pippala tree on it and also the bank of the Muḍikāva (possibly the name of a tank or stream). To the south of these, there were some Kadamba trees and, to the south-east of the trees, there stood a Madhubibhūra [tree] very near a stone pillar. There was Kēśava's tank to the south of the pillar and behind the tank there was a curved road marked by a pointed stone, which came from or led to the locality called Kōṭēlapuṇṭa. On the said road towards the south-west, there were several Ghōsha and Tāḷa trees and to the west of them stood two Pippala trees on the road to or from **Mugguḷlu**. To the north of them, there was a big Pippala tree as well as a temple of Śaṅkara (Śiva). Behind the temple, the Gautamī was flowing in the west and there were the temple of Chintamma and a big Pippala tree on its bank. To the west of these, the Gautamī flowed straight in a small stream, to

¹ The same privileges are also referred to in such other records as the Kondavidu plates of Gāṇadēva. Cf. *a-iṭvavy-āṣṭakam=aṣṭa-bhōga-saḥitam* in lines 31-32 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 391).

the west of which there was an island and beyond it ran the bigger stream of the same river. Between these two streams of the Gautamī, there was an *antarīpa* and, from that place (*adhvan*) the northern bank of the Gautamī formed a part of Raghudēvapura.

The concluding section of the inscription in lines 135 ff. contains some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. But they are preceded by two stanzas containing the prayer of Śrī-Narēndra (i.e. the illustrious ruler Raghudēva) to the future rulers and that of Śrī-Vira-Chōḍēśvara of the solar race to the Brāhmaṇas, both for the protection of the grant stated in the verses to have been made by the Narēndra or Chōḍēśvara. This seems to suggest that Chōḍēśvara was another name of Raghudēva, the donor of the grant. Whether this suggests that Raghudēva's mother was a Chōḍa or Chōḷa princess cannot be determined. The last verse of the inscription states that the charter regarding Raghudēvapura was *kathita* by Āḍuviḷa Nṛsiṃha under orders from Raghudēva. The word *kathita* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'composed' or 'written'. It is found in a similar context also in some other records.¹

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription include : Katakā (Cuttack) the capital of the empire of Kapilēśvara, Rājamahēndranagara (Rajahmundry) which was the headquarters of the province under the rule of Raghudēva, the gift village originally called Kriddēvy-uttara-khaṇḍa or Kriddēvi-khaṇḍa and re-named as Raghudēvapura, and the river Gōdā or Gōdāvarī or Gautamī and its courses called Vṛiddha-Gautamī and Laghu-Gautamī on which the gift village was situated. As already indicated above, the province of the Gajapati empire, which was under Raghudēva's rule, is stated to have been bounded by the Simhāchala (Simhachalam in the Taluk and District of Visakhapatnam, Andhra) on one side and by what is called Giripraja (probably standing for *Girivraja*) on the other. This Giripraja or Girivraja was apparently situated towards the west or south-west of Rajahmundry and, as already suggested above, was probably the name applied to another province of the Gajapati empire, which had its headquarters at Kondavidu in the Guntur District.

The location of Raghudēvapura, the new name applied to the gift village formerly called Kriddēvi, has already been discussed above. In the description of its boundaries, mention is made of the Mugguḷḷu-mārga, i.e. the road coming from or leading to Mugguḷḷu which is still known to be a village about a mile to the south of Raghudēvapuram and about 13 miles to the north west of Rajahmundry. I am unable to identify the few other places mentioned in this connection.

TEXT²

[Metres : Section I—verses 1-2, 6, 8-11. 16 *Upajāti* ; verse 3 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Harinī* ; verses 5, 7, 31. 33 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 12, 14, 25-27. 29-30 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 13, 21-24, *Mālabhāriṇī* ; verse 15 *Sragdharā* ; verse 17 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 18 *Gītī* ; verses 19-20, 28 *Prithvī* ; verse 32 *Svāgatā*. Section II—verses 1-40 *Anuṣṭubh*. Section III—verses 1-9, 11-14 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 10 *Upajāti*. Section IV—verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 3 *Śālinī* ; verses 4-8 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

Section 1

First Plate, First Side³

1 Siddham⁴ [*] avighnam=astu [*] Siddham⁵ [*] Pāyād=apāyāt=paramasya pums[ō]
Lilāvarāhasya jaga-

2 mtti(ti) damshtrā | vaṭa-prarōh-āgra-daḷasya lakshmīm yad-agra-lagnā vasudhā babhūra | 1 |

¹ Cf. the Chiruvroli grant (*Bhārati*, November 1941, pp. 514 ff.), line 31.

² From impressions.

³ The figure 1 is engraved in the left margin of the plate, near the beginning of line 8.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol which is preceded by a floral design.

⁵ Expressed by symbol

- 3 Sa-candra-lēkhaṇī¹ gaganam nirikṣhya muhurmura(r-muru)mōd-āmbuda mēchakam yah
khēla[n*]=pi-
- 4 tṛi-prānta-charō Gajāsya²vyād=Aj-ādyair=abhivaṇḍyamānaḥ | 2 | Yām uddidhīrshur-
jala-
- 5 rāsi-līnām dēvō dhar-ōdbhēda-vidhāna-chumchuh | sanstabdha³-rōm=ājani Mādhevō=pi
saukaryatas=sā
- 6 Vipul-āstu bhūtyai | 3 | Pradha(tha)yatu mudatā pād-āmbhōja-dvayam Kamalāpatē[r]=
nata-
- 7 ripu-śira[h*]-srēṇvās sadm-āvati(tī)rṇa-jaya-śriyaḥ | vinamad-amari-da(dha)mmill-āsta-prapu-
(phu)lla-su-
- 8 ra-du(dru)ma-prasava-patālī-irva(vē)shṭi(shṭi)bhūta-pramōda-parākramam(mam) | 4 | Asti
vastu chid-ā-
- 9 naṇda-mayam advayam achyutam(tam) | avidyā-dvaya-nā(sā)chivva-vivarttita-jaga[t*]-
- 10 trayam(yam) | 5 | Sahasra-saṁkhyaiś-charaṇaiḥ śirōbhir=nētraiḥ karair=vvyāpya jagad=
vasanttam(tam) | vilōchanī-
- 11 bhūta-rav-indu-bimbam vibham mahātmānam-ajījanad-yat | 6 | Utpatti-sthiti-samhvā-
(hā)ra-hē-
- 12 tu-bhūtō yam-avyayaḥ | Nārāyaṇō=bhava-ch-chhīrīmān⁴ tri-guṇ-ātmā trayī-mayaḥ | 7 |
- 13 Tan-nābhi-padmād=udabhūd=Virinichī[h*] srashṭā samastasya char-ācharasya | chatur-
mukhasy=āsyā ma-
- 14 hātmanō-bhūd=varṇō bhujābhyām jaya-labtha(bdha)-varṇaḥ | 8 | Kīrti-pratāpā-iva mūrti-
man-
- 15 tau tau pushpavānttā(tā)v-uditau yata staḥ | yasaḥ-patākā jagatām tatō=bhūd=vaṁśa-dva-
- 16 yī bhāgya-pa[raṇ]parābhiḥ | [9 |*] Tat-sūrya-sōm-ānvaya-bhūmi-pāla-varṇs-āgrajānām n[ri]-

First Plate, Second Side

- 17 pa-san-maṇinām(nām) | viśudhdha(ddha)-vṛittah **Kapilēśvarō**=bhūt=san-nāyakō nāyaka-
maulī-ratnam(tam) | [10 |*] **Jāgēśva-**
- 18 ras=tat-tanayō mahātmā Ragbōr=iv=Ājō bhuvan-aika-sūrah | abhūd=abhūr=vairi-bhuvām bha-
- 19 yānām kīrti-pratāpa-dvaya-bhū[r*] ggaja(j-au)ghaiḥ | [11 |*] Tasy-āsan⁴ tanayāḥ prasidhdha-
(ddha)-vinayā Jāgē-
- 20 śvarasy=ābhavan vīra-chhcha(chchha)trita-kīrttayah kuvalay-ōllāsi-pratāpa-śriyaḥ | tatr=
ādyō **Bala-**
- 21 **rāma** ity=udaya-bhūr=anvardhdna(rttha)-nām-ābhavat=khaḍga-stambhita-sūra-vairi-nikara-
[h*] kīrti-pratāp-ā-
- 22 śrayah | 12 | Asama-samara-sampat-kampit-āris=tad=āyam nija-janaka-samētō yudhdha-
(ddha)-sam(sa)nna-

¹ There seems to be an unnecessary and imperfectly formed ā-mātrā with kh.

² Read *Gajāsyo vō* or *Gajāsya=sō*.

³ Read *samstabdha*.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA —PLATE I

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

i, a

2	...	2
4	...	4
6	...	6
8	...	8
10	...	10
12	...	12
14	...	14
16	...	16

i, b

18	...	18
20	...	20
22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26
28	...	28
30	...	30

Scale : One-Half

32 ನವರಸ... 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38
 40 40
 42 42
 44 44
 46 46
 48 48

	50
50	52
52	54
54	56
56	58
58	60
60	62
62	64

- 23 dhḍha(ddha)-vāḥaḥ | raṇa-bhūvi vijit-āris-tyakta-dēhō vibhinna-dyu-maṇiṣṭṭa-agamad=ishṭya
svar-vadū(dhō)nām
- 24 kuni(ku)ch āgrāṇa(grāṇa) | 13 | Vīra-śrī-**Kapilēśvaras**-tad-anujah kīrtti-pratāpa-dvayī śrī-
vikshālita-
- 25 chakravāla-charam-ōddām-āṁdhakārō=blavat | śaury-āsādita-**Darṁtirāja**-vibha-
- 26 vō bhū-maṇḍal ākhaṇḍalō līlā-svikṛita-dig-jay-ārjita-mahi(hī)pāl-ākḥila-śrī-bharaḥ | [14 | *]
- 27 Dṛik-kōṇē yasya sōṇē raṇa śarāṇa-mukhē saṁmukhaṇ vairi-vi(vī)raṁ vāraṁ vāraṁ varitum
- 28 varam Amarapurī-vāraṇāryasvarāṁvai¹ | ēkā yasy-āsi-putri(trī) nava-jalada-tati-śyāmalā la-
- 29 ma bhūṣhā putraḥ kīrtti-pra²tāpāv=alabhata yamalaṁ curviṇī rakta-raktā | 55(15) | Yasya
āsi-dhē-
- 30 nuḥ samid-agra-bhūmau yav-āṁkurān karpā-vatamsa-bhūtān | dvishad-vadhūnām grasate
- 31 nuvēḷam-apahnuvā[nā] stana-patra-vallih | 16 | Tasya-ānujah **Paraśurāma** iti prasiddhaḥ
(ddhō) nāma padē-

Second Plate, First Side

- 32 na **Harichamdana** ēva sakshāt | yam prasya(pya) yām[ti*] vibudhāḥ paripūrṇa-kāmāḥ
samprā-
- 33 rdtit-ārdhdha[-pha]ladam haraḥ apta ku(ki)rtita(rutim) | 17 | Abhavad-amalō guṇ-aughair-
uditaḥ kūtṭ[yā] cha Paraśu-
- 34 rāma-vibhōḥ | Udaya-grē[h*] si(sī)taruchi(chī) **Raghudēva**-kō(ku)māra-vi(vī)ra-simhvō-
(hō)-yam(yam) | 18 | Anu(sū)ta suta-
- 35 m=aṁganā-kula-matallikā **Mallikā** prabhūtam=iva mali(lli)kā-prasavam=ishṭa-gaṁdham
nṛiṇām(nām) | [yataḥ]
- 36 Paraśurā[ma-rā*]d-abhavad agraṇiḥ putriṇām-asau Raghuvarō vaśi(sī) vibhu-maṇiḥ kaḍamu-
nābavad⁵ | 19 | Putri(tri)-
- 37 kṛitō mahimnā **Kapilēśvara**-damtti(ti)-rāja-si[m*]hvē(hē)na | dig-vijay-ārjita-yaśasā Raghu-
dēva-kumā-
- 38 ra-sūra-[śā*]rdūlaḥ | 20 | Raghudēva-kumāra-vi(vī)ra si[m*]hvē(hē) vidadhānē vijayam
diśām raviṁ(v-īm)dvōḥ | pra-
- 39 tibimbakatā pratāpa-kīrtyōḥ ppa(pa)rivēśhaś=tu Vidhēr=ayam viśēśhaḥ | 22(21) | Raghudēva-
narē-
- 40 mdra-rājaputrē vipulām śāsati Kārttavi(vī)rya-kalpē | girayaḥ paripadhdhi(nthi)nām-
abhūvann=u-
- 41 ta sarv-āpsarasām kuchā nivāsāḥ | 23(22) | Raghudēva-narēndra-rājasūnau raṇa-sannā-
- 42 ha-vidhāyini prakāmaṁ(mam) | śaraṇam cha raṇē tadā bhajaṁtē charaṇē vā maraṇam ripu-
pra-

¹ Read °*nârṇas=ti aramtē*.

³ The syllable *ma* may be omitted for the sake of the metre.

³ The figure 2 is engraved in the left margin of the plate near the beginning of line 40.

* Road sampran'har' a'ha .

^s Read *kathan* = *n = ābharat*.

- 43 vi(vī)rāḥ | 24(23) | Raghudēva-narēndra-rājaputrē jagatīm śāsati khaḍga-śāli-bāhau |
charaṇ-ā-
- 44 vanatās=sukhham bhajamttē(tē) raṇa-sīm-āvanatās=tu jamṇēna¹ | 25(24) | Dhātī-dig-vijay-
ārji-
- 45 tair=bahunai² ratnaiś=cha ghōṭī-śataih śā(śā)ṭi(ṭi)bhi[h*] kkē(ka)riṇām ghaṭābhir=
abhisampūjy=ātughri-yu-
- 46 gmaṁ pituḥ | vīra-śrī(śrī)-**Kapilēśvarasya** bahudhā sēvām vidhāy=ādarādvī(d=vī)ra-śrī-
Raghudēva-rā-
- 47 ja-tanayō labdh-ākhila-śrī(śrī)r=abhūt | 25 | Jitv=āsās=sakā(ka)lā nihatya cha ripūn hṛtvā
- 48 tadīyām(yam) dhanam nānā-ratna-mahēbha-bhapyā(vya)-turaga-śrēṇibhir=aty-ambujau |
vīra-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 49 [śrī]-**Kapilēśvarasya** charaṇau sampūjya tat-sēvayā labdha-śrī(śrī) Raghudē[va*]-rāja-
tanayō
- 50 dharm-ādrikō vardhdha(rddha)tē | 27(26) | Tishṭhan=**Rājamahēndra-nāma-nagarē** samyak=
prajāḥ ppā(pā)laya[n*]-
- 51 n=ā-Simhvā(hā)chalam-ā-Gimpra(vra)jam=imām bhūmim tath=ākamṭakām(kām) | vīra-
śrī(śrī)-**Kapilēśva-**
- 52 **rasya** kṛpayā kurvan Kunnār-āgraṇi(ṇi)rdhi(r=dhī)ra-śrī(śrī)-Raghudēva-rājatanayaḥ Śrī-
(Śrī)śa-priyō'va-
- 53 rdhdha(rddha)tē | 28(27) | Turanga-ju(khu)ra-dhā(dā)rita-kshiti-rajah-kaṇair=vairiṇām
śrāṇsi paṭa-bhāsura-r-a-
- 54 nu-kalam samāchchhāda[ya*]u | mahīsura-gaṇān=punair³=vasubhir=adhthi(rtthi)tais=
tōshayann=asau Raghu-
- 55 nrip-ātmajaḥ pitur-abhīṣṭa-lāḥ sumbhatē | 29(28) | Sēvāyai **Kapilēśva[ra*]sya Katakam**
- 56 gatvā tatō mārḡgatō vyāghupyā(shy=ā)gamanē samikshya dharaṇidēvān sa-bhāḥ(bhā)ryā-
- 57 n=bahūn | tad-rakshā-hita-dhīr=nnarēndra-dharaṇipāl-ātmajō=manyata **Kriddēvy-**
uttara-kha-
- 58 [m]ḍam=ēsha sukṛitī dātum dvijēbhya=sthiram(ram) | [29 |*] **Śāk-ābdē vasu-śaila-**
viśva-gaṇitē sa[m*]vatsarē
- 59 **Dhātari Dvādaśyārṇ** Śuchi-śukla-pakshaga-tidhau(thau) prādādhda(d=Dha)ri-
pri(pri)ṭayē | vīra-śrī-Raghudēva-
- 60 rājatanayaḥ **Kriddēvi-kharṇḍam** param chatvārimsad-abhīṣṭa-bhūsura-vara-śrēṇyai
cha Gō-
- 61 dā-taṭē | [30 |*] **Raghudēvapuram** datvā(ttvā) Raghudēva-nripātmajaḥ | śrī(śrī)matō
Vāsudēvasya pri(pri)ṭa-
- 62 yē=sa(sā)[v=a*]kalputa | [31 |*] Ashta-bhōga-sahitam Raghudēvaś=ch=āshṭa-bhūti-sahitam
cha vidhāya |

¹ Read *tōshanēna*

² Read *bahudhai*^c or *bahu-dhanai*^c.

³ Read *punar*^c

- 63 agra-hāra-Raghudēvapuraṁ tat=sarva-mānyam=adadhākṛipātuḥ¹ | 31(32) | Raghudēvapū-
 64 rasy=āśya likhyatē [bhū]sur-āva[liḥ] | Raghudēva-narēṇdrasya āha[r*]mmāṇām=iva mālīkā
 | 32(33) |²

Section II

Third Plate, First Side³

- 65⁴ nasyapas=sanya(d-Ya)jurvēdi(dī) Varad-ā[r]yya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi(gī) Vēdagiri-dvēdī⁵
 vēd-ādhyāya-pa-
 66 rāyaṇaḥ⁶ | 1 | Ātrēyō=namtta(ta)-bhaṭṭō=pi Yajurvēda-parāyaṇaḥ | bhāgi(gī) prājñō mānā-
 67 vidvān=Ādityasya [ta*]nūbhavaḥ | 2 | Mahā-vidvān=Mallu-bhaṭṭō Hārit-ānvaya-śēkharaḥ |
 Na-
 68 rasimhva(ha)-sutō bhāgi(gī) Yajur-vich=chhāstra-vāk-patiḥ | 3 | Hāritō Dēvarē-bhaṭṭa-
 sutas=Sō-
 69 maya-kōvidaḥ | bhāgi sabhyas=sad-āchārair=agra-vēdi-Pitāmahaḥ | 4 | Kauśikō=pi Yajuś-
 śā[khō]
 70 Mallu-bhaṭṭa⁷-tanūbhavaḥ | Annam-ārya-dvijō bhāgi(gī) Vēda-śāstra-parāyaṇaḥ | 5 |
 Hārita-Brahma-tana-
 71 yō Yajuś-śākhā-parāyaṇaḥ | bhāgi(gī) syāch=Chimṅan-āryō=pi nity-āchāra-nirani-
 72 taraḥ | 6 | Hāritō Yajur-adhyāya-nisṭhō bhāgi dvij-ōttāmaḥ | Annam-ārya-
 73 s=sad-āchārō Narasimhva(ha)-tanūba(bha)vaḥ | 7 | Kāman-ārya[h] Kauśikō=pi bhāgi(gī) bhū-
 74 sura-sattamaḥ | Yajur-vēdas=sad-āchārair=Ādityasya tanūbhavaḥ | 8 | Kā-
 75 śyapō Yajur-adhyāyaḥ(ya)s=sabhya[h*] prāmāṇikō guṇi(nī) | Mallan-āryasya tanayō bhāgi
 76 Vēdagiri[h*] svayaṁ(yam) | 9 | Kauśikō Yajur-adhyāyō Bētan-āryya-tanū-bhavaḥ |
 bhūsur-ā-
 77 grēsarō bhāgi Prōlan-ā[r*]yyaḥ priyamvadaḥ | 10 | Bhāradvājō Yajuś-śākhō Gōpā-
 78 ḷ-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi san-Nāgan-āryō=pi sabhyaḥ prāmāṇika-priyaḥ | 11 | Kaumḍi-
 79 nyō Yajur-adhyā[ya*]s=Tippan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi Nāya⁸-bhaṭṭō=pi vidvad-yājñika-
 sam-
 80 mataḥ | 12 | Kāśyapas=sanya(d-Ya)juś-śākhō Vallabh-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgavān=Aubha⁹
 āryō¹⁰=pi

¹ The intended reading seems to be °adadāt=sa kripālūh.

² There is a floral design here to indicate the separation of the following section quoting the list of donees from the foregoing part.

³ The figure 3 is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of lines 72-73.

⁴ There is another floral design at the beginning of this line.

⁵ The correct form of the word is *dvivēdī*. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 93.

⁶ The two *aksharas rāya* are engraved in the margin.

⁷ The name is written partially in the margin on an erasure.

⁸ Between *Ya* and *ju*, the letter *śā* was engraved and rubbed off.

⁹ One more syllable is required in the name to suit the metre. The intended reading may have been *Nāyaga*.

¹⁰ The correct form of the name is *Aubhala* which is a modification of *Ahōbala*.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 81 prāmāṇika-padhā(th-ā)nugaḥ | 13 | Lauhitō Yajur-adyā(dhyā)yaḥ Kāman-ārya-tanūbhavaḥ
[1*]
82 Tallu-bhaṭṭō=pi bhāgi syād=Vēda-sāstra-viśāradaḥ | 14 | Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāyō Ma-
83 llan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | Kalpasūtra-priyaḥ kāmītaḥ Kāman-āryyō=pi bhāgavā-
84 n | 15 | Kaumḍinyō Yajur-adhyāyō Vallabh-āryya-sutō vaśī | bhaṭṭō Nārāya-
85 ṇō bhāgi karmmaṭhō dha[rma-va*]tsalaḥ | 16 | Kauśikō Yajur adhyāya-pāraṇipā[r*]yya-
parāya-
86 ṇaḥ | Kāman āryya-sutō bhāgi bhaṭṭ-Āditya-dvij-ōttamaḥ ||17|| Bhāradvājō Ya-
87 jur-vēda[h*] |¹ Kāmchan-āryya-sutō mahān | bhāgi syāt=Kasavan-āryyas-tu²
88 sabhyas=samśat-priyō vaśī ||18|| Ātrēyō Yajur-adhyāya-praviṇō
89 bhāgavān=iha | Aubha[l]-āryya-sutas=sabhyaḥ sāstrī Timmaṇa-kōvidaḥ ||19*||
90 Śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtrō=pi bhāgi Viśvēśvaras=sudhīḥ | Nṛsiṁha-sūri-tanayō Yaju[r]-vē-
91 dī guṇ-ōnnataḥ | 20 | Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-nipuṇō bhāgavān=iha | Peddan-āryya-su-
92 tas=sabhyaḥ |¹ Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭas=sabhā-priyaḥ ||21|| Kutsa-gōtrō Yajuś-sākhī Viśvēśvara-
93 tanūbhavavaḥ||(bhavaḥ |) bhāgi syā[d*]=Dēvarō-bhaṭṭas-sāstri(trī) bhūsurā-[sa*]ttamaḥ
||22|| [Kaumḍinyō Ya]-
94 jur-adhyāya-nipuṇō bhūti-bhāsurāḥ ||(|) Pōti-[bha*]tṭō bhava(vē)d bhāgi Viśvēśva[ra-tanū]-
bha-
95 vaḥ ||23|| Ā[trēyō] Yajur-adhyāya-nipuṇō La[kshma]ṇ-āt[majaḥ |] [bhāgi] [Kā]mā[r]y[ya]

Fourth Plate, First Side³

- 96 bhaṭṭa[h*] syād=anna-dāna-pad-ōjva(jjva)laḥ | 24 || Kauśikō Yajur-adhyāyī Kāmanāman-ā-⁴
97 rya-tanū-bhavaḥ | bhāgi(gī) syād=Appal-āryō ni Kalpasūtra-priyō vaśī ||25|| Kaumḍi-
98 nyō Yajur-adhyāya-nipuṇō Vallabh-ātmajaḥ | bhāgi syān=Nā[ga]n-āryō pi | [pañcha-ya]-
jña-pa-
99 rāyaṇaḥ ||26|| Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-nisītō Malla[y-ā]tmajaḥ | | Duḥggaṇ-ā[ryō]
100 pi karmajña(jñō) bhāgi sabhya-manō-haraḥ ||27|| [Śrī]vatsa-[gōtrō] Yajushi nishṇātaḥ
101 sūri-vallabhaḥ ||(|) Aubhaḥāin(l-ā)ryō nīśavān-atra Gaṇḍa[n-ā]ryya sutō vaśī(śī) ||28||
Ā[trē]-
102 yō Bahvṛicha-prashṭhō bhāgi nīśaṭha-ka[r*]mmathah ||(|) Śiṅgaṇ-āryya-sutas-sabhyaḥ(bhyō)
103 Bollan-āryyas=satām priyaḥ ||29|| Hāritō Yajur-adhyāya-viśrī(śru)taḥ
104 śrī(śru)ta-pāragah ||(|) Brahmānamda-sutō bhāgi Bhāskarō yajva-vallabhaḥ ||30 ||[*]
105 Āvrē(trē)yō Yajur-adhyāyō Yaju-bhaṭṭō=pi bhāgavān | Aubhaḥ-āryya-su-
106 tas=sabhyas=sa-dharmmas=sōma-sut-pr[i]yaḥ ||31|| Ātrēyō Yajur-adhyāyī

¹ The *daṇḍa* is redundant.² There is a redundant syllable in this foot of the stanza. Either *syāt* or *tu* may be omitted to rectify the defect.³ The figure 4 is incised in the margin near the beginning of lines 102-103.⁴ Read *Kāman-ā*.

TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA — PLATE II

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

iii, a

66	...	66
68	...	68
70	...	70
72	...	72
74	...	74
76	...	76
78	...	78
80	...	80

iii, b

82	...	82
84	...	84
86	...	86
88	...	88
90	...	90
92	...	92
94	...	94

Scale : One-Half

96	...	96
98	...	98
100	...	100
102	...	102
104	...	104
106	...	106
108	...	108
110	...	110

112	...	112
114	...	114
116	...	116
118	...	118
120	...	120
122	...	122
124	...	124

- 107 Dēchi-bhaṭṭō=pi bhāgavān | Ādityasya sutas=sabhyah(bhya)s=su-śrī(śru)taḥ karmmaṭha-priyah
 108 ||32|| Hāritō Mallanō=py=ardhdha(rddha)-bhāgi(gī) [Śrī]gi¹-namdanah | Bhāradvājō=py=ardhdha(rddha)-bhāgi śō-
 109 mō Mallana-namdanah ||33|| Kāśyapō Yajur-adhyāya-paṭu[r*]=bhāgi satām ma-
 110 taḥ || (|) Appalē-bhaṭṭa-tanaya¹ Aubhaḥ-āryyas=sabhāh(bhā)-priyah ||34|| Śrī(Śrī)vatsa-gōtrō

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 111 Yajushi prasidhdbō(ddhō) bhāgavān=iha | Narasimhvā(h-ā)ryya-tanayō Yaṣan-āryyas=sa-
 112 tām mataḥ ||35|| Hāritō=pi Yajur-vēda[h*] Peddi-yajva-tanūbhavaḥ ||(|) bhāgi jyō-
 113 tirvidām śrēshṭhō Rāmachandra-budh-āgrāṇiḥ ||36|| Kaumḍinyō Bahvṛicha-śrēshṭhō Ya-
 114 jñan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ | bhāgi Śiṃgana-viprō=pi sat-saṃg-aika-parāvaṇah ||37|| Gau-
 115 tamō=pi Yajuś-śākhā-paṭur=bhāgi satām mataḥ | Narasi[m*]hva(ha)s=sabhēya[h*]svād=Ana-
 116 nt-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ ||38|| Kāśyapō=pi Yajuś-śākhi(khī) Mallan-āryya-tanūbhavaḥ [l*]
 117 sat-saṃga-niratō bhāgi Sūraṇ-ā[r*]yyah priyah(ya)s=satām(tām) ||39|| Śrī(Śrī)mat-Kau-
 118 śika-Kuts-ākhyā-gōtrau Mādhava-Vissanau | Yallana-Bhāskara-sutau Yājushā-
 119 v=ēka-bhāginau ||40||²

Section III

- Siddham³ [l*] Ētad-vipra-nivāsasya Gautamī-ta(tī)ra-sōbhinaḥ | Raghudēva-
 120 purasy=ā[s]ya si(sī)mā-chihnam vilikhyatē ||[1*] Raghudēvapur-ōdīchyām vāyavyām Vri-
 121 dhdha(ddha)-Gautamī | tat-prāg-diśy=amtaripaś=cha tad-agrē Laghu-Gau[ta*]-mī ||[2*] Tat-prāchyām ma-
 122 hati(tī) kulyā Gautamyā nirgatā spuṭam(sphuṭam) | tat-prāchyām tāla-pa⁴n[k*]tiś=cha tad-agrē sthūla-
 123 pipa(ppa)lah ||[3*] Tad-adhvani vaṭa sthūla⁴=tat-sētau tāla-bhūruhāḥ | tadi(d-ai)śān-yām vaṃśa-ku-
 124 njau tat-prāchyām chimtriṇī-tarū ||[4*] Ttōvi(Tad-ai)śānyām bahā-vṛiksha[s=ta]t-prā-chyām chi[n*]triṇī-taruḥ |
 125 palāśau cha tadi(d-ai)śānyā[mi(m=ai)]śānyām [plakshaka]s=ta[th]ā ||[5*] Gō[dinēni]-ta[ṭā]kaś=cha [tat-sētau] pi-

¹ The name requires one more syllable to suit the metre. It may have been Śrīgiri.

² There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing list of donees from the following description of the boundaries of the gift village.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ This letter had been originally omitted and was later incised in the small space between *la* and *nti*.

Fifth Plate, First Side¹

- 126 ppa(ā)lō vaṭan | śilā-stambhaḥ=ṭadī(d-ai)śānyām śilā-stambhō=tha pūrvata[h*] [[6*]
Tad=ārabhya mana-sētuḥ prā-
- 127 chyām dakṣiṇa-diṇmukhaḥ | s[th]ūlah ppa(pa)lāsas=sētusthō Muḍikāva-mahā-tataḥ
[[7*] Tad-dakṣiṇa-diśi śrēṇi-ka-
- 128 damba-dharaṇi(ṇi)-ruhāḥ | ājñē(gnō)yyām madhubibhūrah ppā(pā)śāṇa-stambha-sam-
gataḥ [[8*] Kēśavasya tatākō=pi
- 129 dakṣiṇasyām diśi sthitaḥ [[9*] Tatāka-paschā[d*]-diśi vakra-mārggō Kōṭēlapuntasya
śil-āgra-lakshmā | tataś=cha
- 130 tatr=ādhvani ghōsha-tāḷa-vṛikshā[h*] prasidhdhā(ddhā) diśi ni[r*]ritēs=cha [[10*]
Prati(tī)chyām diśi **Mugguḷlu**-mā-
- 131 rgga(rggē) ppi(pi)ppala-yugmakah | tata u[tta]ra[taḥ*] sthūlah ppi(pippa)lah Śamkar-
ālayah [[11*] Tatpu(t-pi)shṭha-bhāgam=ā-
- 132 rabhya prati(tī)chyām diśi **Gautamī** | Chintalanim-ālaya sthūla-pippalō Gautamī-tataḥ
[[12*]
- 133 Tat-pratyag-ṛiṇu-mārggēṇa sūkshma-vāhā cha **Gautamī** | pratyag-diśi tatō laṇikā sthū-
134 la-vāhā cha Gautamī [[13*] Vāhā(ha)yōr=ubhayōr=madhyē yō=ntari(rī)pas=tatō=
dhvanaḥ [[*]
- 135 Gautamyās=ch=ōttarō bhāgō **Raghudēvapurasya** hi [[14*]²

Section IV

Grāmam śi(sī)m-āshṭa-chihna-

- 136 spr(sphu)ṭa-vijī(di)ta-lasa[t*]-kshōtran.=ēvam dvij-aughair-āki(kī)rṇam Gautamīyyai(yai)r=
amṛi'a-jala-samai[h*] snā-
- 137 na-pān-ādi-lōlam(lam) | datvā(ttv=ā)sau śri(śrī)-na[rē*]ndrō nikhila-nṛipa-varān=bhāvinō
yāchatē svam [dha]rmma-
- 138 m m[ē] paḷayamtu prakāṣam=iti chiram prāṇjalīḥ brahma-kalpaṁ(lam) [[1*] Lakshmi-
vibhrama-darppaṇā(ṇō)
- 139 Ravi-kula-kshī(kshī)rōda-kalpadrumō nānā-bhūpa-kiri(rī)ṭa-ramjita-padaḥ śri(śrī)-vīra-**Chō-**
dēśvaraḥ | madhdha(d-dha)-
- 140 rma[h*] ppa(pa)ipālyatām=ayan.=iti kshōṇi(ṇi)surān=bhāvinō bhūyah |³ prārdhdha-
(rttha)yatē tadī-
- 141 yya(ya)-charaṇa-dvaidva-sprīśā mauḷinā [[2*] Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētu[1*]=nṛi-
pāṇām kālē
- 142 kālē pāṇānyō(yō) bhavadbbih | i[ttha]m sarvān=bhāvina[h*] pārdhdhi(rtthi)v-ēmdrānbū-
(n=bhū)yō bhūyō

¹ The figure 5 is not clear in the left margin.

² The intended reading may be *taṭē*.

³ There is a floral design after this to indicate the separation of the foregoing description of the boundaries of the gift village from the concluding part of the inscription that follows.

⁴ The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 143 yāchatē Rāmacha[m]draḥ || 3*] Ēk=aiva bhagīni(nī) lōkē sarvēśhām=ēva bhūbhujām-(jām) | na bhōjyā na ka-
- 144 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasum̐dharā || 4*] Sva-dattā[d*]=dvi-guṇam̐ puṇyam̐ pa[ra*]-datt-ānupālanam̐(nam) |
- 145 para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dat[t]am̐ nishpa(shpha)lam̐ bhavēt || 5*] Dāna-pālanayō[r*]=madhya(dhyē) dānā[chchrē(ch=chhrē)]-
- 146 yō=nupālanam̐(nam) | dānāt=[s*]varggam̐=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutam̐ padam̐(dam) || 6*] Sva-dattām pa-
- 147 ra-dattām vā yō harēta vasum̐dharām̐(rām) | shashtir=varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām̐ jāya-
- 148 tē krimiḥ || 7*] Raghudēvapuras̐y=ai[tad=Ra]ghudēvas[y]a [śāsa]nāt | Āḍuṇḍa-Nṛisimhvē(hē)na [ka*]-
- 149 dhi(thi)tam̐ dharma-śāsanam̐(nam) || [8*]¹

2 Dōrapālem Grant of 1455-56 A.D.

This is a **stray plate** inscribed on both sides. It is 8½ inches in length and 5 inches in height and contains altogether 26 lines of writing, 14 lines on the obverse and 12 on the reverse. There is a hole (about ¾ inch in diameter) nearly ⅓ inch inside from the left border of the plate. The hole was no doubt meant for a ring bearing the seal of the donor of the grant in question, on which several inscribed plates including the one under study must have been strung. But the ring with the seal and the other plates of the set are now lost. The plate weighs 33½ *tolas*.

The inscription is fragmentary and represents only the central part of a charter. The whole record was probably incised on three plates. The last line on the reverse of the extant plate shows clearly that only a few lines more were required to complete the document which must therefore have ended on the inner side of the next plate. The writing on the obverse of the plate begins with a complete stanza introducing the father of the donor (Raghudēva) as the younger brother of one who must have been mentioned in one or more verses engraved in the lower part of the inner side of the previous plate. The stanza in question is also found in the Raghudēvapura grant of which it is the seventeenth verse. Considering the fact that the present plate contains about 7½ stanzas (engraved in 14 lines) on the obverse and 5½ stanzas (incised in 12 lines) on the reverse, the entire matter of the first sixteen stanzas of the Raghudēvapura grant (running upto a little more than 30 lines and almost entirely covering both the sides of plate I which is slightly bigger in size than the present plate) would have covered a little above two faces of one plate of the size of the plate under study. But it is interesting to note that the description of the donor in the present charter (verses 3-6, i.e. four stanzas only) is much shorter than in the other record (verses 18 ff. in lines 33 ff., more than ten stanzas). It therefore looks very probable that the number of stanzas in the introductory part was considerably smaller in this record than in the Raghudēvapura grant. In any case, only one plate, with the beginning of the document inscribed probably on the inner side, seems to be lost.

¹ This is followed by three floral designs. There is also an ornamental design in the right hand part of the space below the writing. This was the symbolical representation of the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

The inscription is written in **Telugu** characters and in the **Sanskrit** language, the composition being in verse throughout. As regards **palaeography** and **orthography**, the present epigraph closely resembles the Raghudēvapura grant, although there are a few minor differences in the shape of some of the characters and signs. The medial signs for *ē* and *ō* have been used for the corresponding short signs in the name of the village *Dorapāleṁ*; cf. lines 18 (verse 10), 21 (verse 11) and 24 (verse 12). The **date** of the charter is quoted in verse 11 in lines 19-23 as the **Śaka year** counted by *rasa* (i.e. 6), *śaila* (i.e. 7), *rāma* (i.e. 3) and *śāśin* (i.e. 1), i.e. **1376**, the year being **Yuvan** of Jupiter's 60 year cycle as prevalent in South India. There is no other detail of the date but that the grant was made on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse**. It may be pointed out that the year Yuvan of Jupiter's Southern Cycle actually corresponded not to Śaka 1376 (i.e. 1454-55 A.D.) but to the **expired Śaka year 1377** (i.e. **1455-56 A.D.**). There occurred two lunar eclipses in the year, one on the 1st May 1455 A.D. and the other on the 22nd March 1456 A.D. The charter seems to have been issued on either of the two dates.

Verse 1 on the plate, as already indicated above, introduces **Paraśurāma Harichandana**, the father of Raghudēva, as the younger brother of one whose name must have occurred on the lost first plate of the set. From the Raghudēvapura grant, we know that the immediate elder brother of Paraśurāma was the great **Kapilēśvara** who occupied the Gaṅga empire in 1434-35 A.D. Verse 2 of our record speaks of Paraśurāma's younger brother whose name was **Rāma**. It may be noted that Rāma's name was omitted even in the fairly elaborate genealogy of the family found in the Raghudēvapura grant. The next two stanzas represent **Raghudēva-narēndra**, who enjoyed the title *Pātra* and acquired fame for conquering the quarters, as having been regarded, owing to his prowess, as one of his sons by **Kapilēśvara Dantirāja** (i.e. Gajapati). Verse 5 states how, when Raghudēva-narēndra was ruling the earth like king *Kārtavīrya* of old, his enemies fled to the hills or made their resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs. To make one's resting place on the breasts of the celestial nymphs of course refers to one's death. The representation of the governor of a small territory as a ruler of the earth like *Kārtavīrya* is an interesting instance of the exaggeration to which the *praśastikāras* attached to medieval Indian courts were used. Verse 6 again refers vaguely to the military prowess of Raghudēva-narēndra.

Verses 7 ff. introduce the donee of the grant. The first of these stanzas mentions **Sūri-bhaṭṭa** who belonged to the *Kauśika gōtra* and resided at **Bhīmavara**. His son **Śiṅgaṇ-āchārya** is mentioned in verse 8 and **Śiṅgaṇ-āchārya's** son **Tirumalu-bhaṭṭa** in verse 9. Verse 10 states that the *narēndra-bhūnātha* (i.e. the ruler Raghudēva) made a grant of the village of *Dōrapāleṁ* in favour of the *Paurāṇika* (exponent of the *Purāṇas*) **Tirumalu-bhaṭṭa**. The next stanza states that, in the **Śaka year 1376**, called **Yuvan**, and on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse**, Raghudēva granted the village of *Dōrapāleṁ* situated on the bank of the **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** to the *Brāhmaṇa* **Timmaya**. *Timmaya* is a modification of *Tirumalaya*. The name *Kauntēya-gaṅgā* is no doubt applied to the *Gōdāvarī* or one of its mouths. Although the association of the river with any of the sons of *Kuntī* is not wellknown from Indian mythology, there may be a local tradition to this effect current in the area in question. Verse 12 states that, after having given *Dōrapāleṁ* to the learned **Tirumala**, Raghudēva-narēndra entreated the future kings for the protection of his *Dharma*, i.e. the gift made by him by means of the charter in question.

The last two lines of the record (lines 25-26) contain more than three-fourths of the well-known stanza. *sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētu°*, etc., generally found in the imprecatory and benedictory part about the conclusion of a charter.

The inscription mentions only three **geographical names**. They are the locality called **Bhīmavara** where the donee's family resided, the village of *Dōrapāleṁ* which was granted by Raghudēva to the *Brāhmaṇa* **Tirumalu°** or **Tirumala-bhaṭṭa** or **Timmaya**, and the **Kauntēya-gaṅgā** on the bank of which the gift village was situated. There are several places called **Bhīmavaram** in

TWO GRANTS OF RAGHUDEVA—PLATE III

1. Raghudevapura Grant of Saka 1378

v, a

126		126
128		128
130		130
132		132
134		134
136		136
138		138
140		140
142		142

v, b

144		144
146		146
148		148

Scale : One-Half

2. Dorapalem Grant of 1455-56 A.D.

i, a

2	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	2
4	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	4
6	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	6
8	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	8
10	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	10
12	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	12
14	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	14

i, b

16	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	16
18	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	18
20	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	20
22	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	22
24	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	24
26	నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన నవవసావైరమున ప్రాప్తమైన	26

Scale : One-Half

the East and West Godavari Districts. Of these, Bhīmāyaram, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the West Godavari District, is the most important and may have been the place intended by the writer of the document. As already indicated above, the Kauntēya-gaṅgā is no other than the river Gōdāvarī or one of its mouths. I am not sure about the location of the village of Dōrapālem. There is no such name in the list of villages in the East or West Godavari District, although there is one called Dōrachintalapālem in the Chodavaram Division of the West Godavari District.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 2 *Upajāti* ; verses 3-4, 9-10 *Gīti* ; verses 5-6 *Mālabhārīnī* ; verses 7-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 12 *Āryā* ; verse 13 *Śālinī*.]

First Side

- 1 Tasy=ānujaḥ **Paraśurāma** iti prasidhō(ḍdhō) nāmnā padēna **Harichandra-**
- 2 **na** ēva sākshāt | yam prāpya yānti vibudhāḥ paripūrṇa-kāmāḥ
- 3 samprārthit-ārdha(rtha)-pa(pha)ladam harid-anta-k[ī]rttim(rttim) || 1*² Tasy=ānujō
Rāma iti
- 4 pratītō Rāma-trayaṁ yad=guṇa³-vaibhava[ī]svaiḥ | guṇaiḥ pratāpaiś=cha ya-
- 5 śōbhir=uchchai[ī] smṛitē⁴ kaṭākshaṁ nayatē janānām(nām) || 2*⁵ Abhavad=amalō
guṇ-au-
- 6 ghair=uditāḥ ki(kī)rtiyā cha Paraśurāma-vibhōḥ | Uday-āchalād=iv=ēndus=su-
- 7 dhayā **Raghudēva**-rāja-kula-tilakaḥ || 3*⁶ Putrikṛitō mahimnā **Kapilē-**
- 8 **śvara**-dāmtirāja-simhēna | dig-vijay-ārjita-yaśasā Raghudēva-narē-
- 9 mdra-pātra-simhō=yam(yam) || 4*⁷ Raghudēva-narēmdra-rāja-simhē vipulām śāsa-
- 10 ti Kārtavīrya-kalpē | girayaḥ paripamdhi(thi)nām=abhūvann=uta sarv-āssa(psa)rasām
ku-
- 11 chā nivā[s]āḥ || 5*⁸ Raghudēva-narēmdra-bhūtalēmdrē raṇa-sannāha-vidhāyi-
- 12 ni pra[kā]mam(mam) | śaraṇam cha raṇē tadhā(thā) bhajāntē charaṇē vā maraṇam ripu-
pra-
- 13 vi(vī)rah || 6*⁹ Asti Kauśika-vamśyānām=agraṇiḥ(ṇiḥ) kula-śekharaḥ | khyātō **Bhī-**
(Bhī)mavara-stā(sthā)-
- 14 nē Sūri-bhaṭṭu(ṭṭa)s=sudhīśvaraḥ || 7*¹⁰ Tat-putraḥ Śiṁgaṇa(ṇ-ā)chāryō vēda-vēd-ārttha¹⁰-
pā-

¹ From impressions.

² This is verse 17 of the Raghudēvapura grant with slight change in the last foot.

³ Better read *yō guṇa*.

⁴ Read *smṛitaiḥ* or *śrutaiḥ*.

⁵ This stanza introducing a new name in the Gajapati genealogy is not found in the Raghudēvapura grant.

⁶ This is verse 18 of the Raghudēvapura grant, although there is some difference in the wording of the second half of the stanza.

⁷ This is verse 20 of the Raghudēvapura grant with some difference in the wording of the last foot.

⁸ This is verse 23 of the Raghudēvapura grant.

⁹ This is verse 24 of the Raghudēvapura grant with slight difference in the first foot.

¹⁰ Better read *vēd-ārttha*, although the reading *vēd-ārttha* can also be supported.

Second Side

- 15 ragah | sva-dharma-nirataḥ śāntaḥ smṛiti-śāstra-purāṇa-vit || 8*] Tasy=āpi
 16 sūnur=abhavat=Tirumalu-bhaṭṭas=sudhī[ḥ*] śruti-smṛitishu | Kauśika-vaṁ-
 17 śa-vataṁsō Vyāsa-vachas-saraṇi-jāṁghika-śrēṣṭhaḥ | || 9*] Paurāṇikāya
 18 ch=āsmāi Tirumalu-bhaṭṭāya dharma-śāstra-vidē | **Dōrapāle**-saṁjñam=uchita-
 19 grāmaṁ vyataram(ran)=narēṁdra-bhūnāthaḥ || 10*] **Śāk-ābdē rasa-śaila-rāma-śaśi-gō**
 20 **varshē Yuv-ākhyē** śubhai(bhē) vi(vī)ra-śrī-**Raghudēva**-bhūpa-tilaka[ḥ*] [śrī].
 21 [mā]n=narēṁdrō vibhuḥ | grāmaṁ śrī-**Dorapāle**-nāmakam=adā-
 22 t=**Kaumtēya-gaṅgā**-taṭē viprāya prathitāya Timmaya-sudhī-sa-
 23 mñāya **Sōma-grahē** || 11*] Śrī-Raghudēva-narēṁdras=Tirumala-vidushē vi-
 24 tīrya **Dorapāleṁ** | iti nāthatē mahātmā bhāvi-nṛipān pa(pra)rakshya-
 25 tām dharmaḥ || 12*] Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pā-
 26 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | ittaṁ(tthaṁ) sarvān bhāvinaḥ pārtthiv-ēṁdrān bhūyō¹

¹ The rest of the stanza, viz., *bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ* || [13*], must have been engraved on the next plate.

No. 2—TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17

(1 Plate)

J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.1.1958)

The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on a stone set up on the bund of the lake at **Tippasamudram** in the Vellore Taluk of the North Arcot District. The **language** of the record is Tamil and the **characters** used are Tamil and Grantha. The use of the archaic form of *n* in *Viḷuppēraraiyan* in line 13 is interesting.

This inscription is dated in the **17th regnal year** of **Kō-viśai(ja)ya-Kampavikramavarman**. Its object is to commemorate the digging of a channel called *Viḷuppēraraiyan* from the river to the lake at *Valivalakkamaṅgalaṁ* by *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* (*Prithivīgaṅgaraiyar*), the chief of the (*nāḍu i-nnāḍ-uḍaiya*), and his wife *Ilāḍapperundēviyār* for the merit of *Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigal* who may have been their daughter.

The chief interest of this inscription lies in the mention herein of a **Prithiyaṅgaraiyar** in the 17th regnal year of **Kampavarman**, apparently as a *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu* chief, since he is described as the chief of 'this *nāḍu*', i.e. *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu* in which the findspot of the record is situated. The identity of *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* can be established with reasonable certainty. An inscription from *Śōḷavaram*,² dated in the 8th regnal year of **Kampavarman**, mentions one *Rājādittan Mahādēvan* who is stated to have built a tomb (*atiytagaram* or *pallī-ppaḍai*) and a Śiva temple at the place where his father *Prithivīgaṅgaraiyar* was buried. The name of this person implies that the son was called *Mahādēva* and his father *Rājādittan*.³ Probably *Prithivīgaṅgaraiyar* was *Rājādittan*'s surname. The chief in our inscription also calls himself *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* and the interval between the *Śōḷavaram* inscription and the present record is very short. These facts appear to suggest that *Mahādēva*, who should have succeeded his father in the chiefship in the ordinary course, also assumed the title *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar*. This assumption is supported by the occurrence of the same or a similar title along with the names of the later chiefs of this family.⁴

If the identification of the chief of the present record with *Mahādēva* and the supposition that the members of this family assumed the title *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* are correct, then we can say that some of the *Prithivīgaṅgaraiyars* occurring in inscriptions of about this period and region may have belonged to this family of chiefs who ruled over *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu*.⁵

The above identification again helps us to fix the period to which this *Prithiyaṅgaraiyar* and his overlord **Kampavarman** belonged. An inscription⁶ dated in the 26th regnal year of *Rājakēsarivarman*, who on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the record has been identified with *Chōḷa Āditya I*, refers to one *Mahādēva* as the father of *Gaṅgamā[r*]ttāṇḍar alus Śembiyan Prithivīgaṅgaraiyar*. Again we hear of other sons of possibly the same *Mahādēva* in

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 174.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

³ The son's name was taken to be *Rājāditya* while *Mahādēva* in *Rājādittan Mahādēvan* was interpreted to mean 'the great king' (op. cit.). But we have many other instances of a son prefixing his father's name to his own, e.g., *Nandi Kamplēvara* (ibid., p. 196), *Aṇṇiya-Pirāntakadēvar* (*A. R. Ep.*, 1920, No. 572), etc. The Sanskrit portion of the first of these inscriptions seems to support this view.

⁴ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 139; 1930-31, No. 177; *SII*, Vol. XIII, No. 319. It is not certain if *Selvavāṇarayan*, son of *Amanigaṅgaraiyar*, figuring in an inscription dated in the 2nd year of *Nandippōttaraiyar* (*Nandivarman III*) was an earlier member of the family (*SII*, Vol. XII, No. 45).

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 ff.; cf. Vol. XXIII, pp. 145-46.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. XIII, No. 319.

the reign of Parakēsarivarman.¹ One Kāmadigaḷ, son of Mādēvar of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, is mentioned in an inscription of this king's 8th year.² Another of the same person's sons named Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar, figures in an inscription dated in the [11]th regnal year of that king.³ Probably he is identical with Alivin Kaḷḷaraṣi *alias* Śembiyaṅ Bhuvanigaṅgaraiyar figuring in another inscription⁴ of Parakēsarivarman. If it can be assumed that Mahādēva, son of Rājāditya of the Śōlavaram record, whom we have identified with the Pṛithiyaṅgaraiyar of the present inscription, and Mahādēva, mentioned as the father of the Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu chiefs in the inscriptions of Āditya I and Parakēsarivarman, are identical, it will follow that Mahādēva was at least a senior contemporary of Āditya I. The acceptance of the suzerainty of Āditya I by these chiefs goes to show that the Chōḷa king succeeded in consolidating his position in this part of the former Pallava dominion.⁵

The channel which was dug for the merit of Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ was named Viḷuppēraraiyaṅ. This leads us to suppose that the title Viḷuppēraraiyaṅ was connected with the name of Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ. Two inscriptions⁶ dated in the 19th and 26th regnal years of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) mention one Viḷuppēraraiyar Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷ and her mother Puḡaḷttuṇai-aḍiyār. The former may be identified with the person of that name mentioned in our record. It is likely that Puḡaḷttuṇai-aḍiyār (or aḍigaḷ) was the real name of Ilāḍapperundēvi.

The above discussion would suggest that Kampavarman, who was the overlord of Mahādēva, was a predecessor of Āditya I in this territory or at least their reigns were not far removed from each other in point of time.⁷

Ilāḍapperundēvi, the title of the wife of Pṛithiyaṅgaraiyar, could have been only a surname indicating that she was the daughter of a Lāṭa chief. These chiefs, who called themselves variously as Lāḍarāyar or Lāḍappēraraiyar, and sometimes also as Virāṭarāja, find mention in a number of inscriptions of the time of the early Chōḷas.⁸ Many inscriptions refer to their matrimonial connections with the families of local chieftains and, in one instance, Chōḷa Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I, is said to have had a wife who was the daughter of Ilāḍarāyar.⁹ They seem to have held sway over some parts of the Chittoor District and portions of the North and South Arcot Districts.

Two inscriptions¹⁰ of the reign of Pārthivēndrādhīpativarman mention a member of this family named Ānaiyamman *alias* Paramaṇḍalādittan. They state that the family of the Lāṭa chiefs belonged

¹ This king may be identified with Parāntaka I owing to the proximity of his reign with that of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I) mentioned above. The palaeography of the record seems to support this.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, 1928, No. 139. Parakēsarivarman of both the records must be identical.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1930-31, No. 177. The date portion of the inscription is damaged. Only the figure 1 as the second digit is discernible.

⁵ The chiefs of Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu were used to the transference of their allegiance to new masters. They submitted to the Rāshṭrakūṭas during the occupation of this part of the Chōḷa territory by Kannaradēva (above, Vol. VII, pp. 195-96).

⁶ *SI*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 285 and 317.

⁷ Cf. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, lxxxvi-lxxxix. The arguments for assigning Kampavarman's rule to about the middle of the 10th century are not convincing. In the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-chōḷa (*SI*, Vol. III, No. 128), the record of the previous transactions is confusing and it is difficult to take them in chronological order and deduce that Kampavarman flourished later than Parāntaka I. It is also not safe to identify Atvi[varmā] of the Śōlapuram record, who is merely mentioned as born in the line of Mādhava (above, Vol. VII, p. 193), with Hastimalla, the son of Vayiri-Aḍiyaṅ and feudatory of Kannaradēva (*ibid.*, 195-96). As regards Niraṇjanaguru mentioned in an inscription of the 19th year of Kampavarman (*SI*, Vol. XII, No. 105), Venkatasubba Aiyar's views appear to be reasonable (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 145, note).

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 141; *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 63; *ibid.*, 1912, No. 168, etc.

⁹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 134.

¹⁰ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 267 and 324. While in the former the chief is called Virāṭarāja in the Sanskrit portion and Ilāḍarāyar in the Tamil portion, in the latter he is simply called Virāṭarāja. Their identity is discussed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, para. 65; see also *Proc. IHC*, 7th session, Madras, pp. 203 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.

to the solar race, in which Guṇaratnasindhu of the family of Sagara-Virāṭa was born. His son was Aṇigōpa, grandson Kampaḍigaḷ, great-grandson Taṭṭāḷar and great-great-grandson Āṇaiyamman. We get a Śaka date, viz. [88]9, for this last chief in an inscription¹ from Puṇṇaṇūr. With the help of the date in this inscription, we can assign Aṇigōpa and Kampaḍigaḷ,² the great-grandfather and grandfather of Āṇaiyamman, to the period of the inscription under study. An undated record³ attributable to the 9th century, mentions one Aṇigōvaṇ Orriyūr-pirāṭṭi, daughter of Vilāḍarāyar and wife of Vayiramēga Vāṇakōvaraiyar.⁴ The first name Aṇigōvaṇ and her being the daughter of a Vilāḍarāyar seem to indicate that she was the daughter of Aṇigōpa. Probably Ilāḍapperundēvi of our record was a daughter of one of these two chiefs.

Paṅḷa-nāḍu seems to have included portions of the present taluks of Polur and Velur in the North Arcot District. The village of Tippiasamudram appears to have been originally called Valivalakkamaṅgalam. An inscription⁵ belonging to the Vijayanagara period refers to the place as Valivilattimaṅgalam *alias* Tippiasamudram. It is fairly certain that the name Valivilattimaṅgalam itself is a corruption of Valivalakkamaṅgalam. The modern name of Tippiasamudram might have been derived from the lake referred to in the inscription.

TEXT*

First Side

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-visaiya-Ka-
- 2 mpavikkiramaparumaṅku yā-
- 3 ṇḍu paḍiṇ-ēḷāvadu
- 4 i-nnāḍuḍaiya Prithiya-
- 5 ṇgaraiyarum ivar-dē-
- 6 viyār Ilāḍapperundē-
- 7 viyārum taṅgaḷ maga[||]
- 8 Ayyakkuṭṭi-aḍigaḷukku

Second Side

- 9 i-vviruvarum śeyda
- 10 dha[r]mmam Valivalakkamaṅga-

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 267 ff.

² The name Kampaḍigaḷ may suggest that the chief had some connections with Kampavarman.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, No. 233 ; see plate facing page 75.

⁴ It is possible that this Vayiramēga Vāṇakōvaraiyar was identical with the homonymous person mentioned as the son of Perunaṅgai *alias* Sāmi Akkaṇ figuring in two inscriptions dated in the 4th regnal year of Aparājita (*SII*, Vol. XII, Nos. 87 and 88).

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. 173.

* From impressions.

- 11 lattu ērikku=kkaṇḍa ā-
 12 rruk-kāl [! *] i-kkāl Viḷu-
 13 ppērararaiya[n]¹ i-dha .
 14 [r]mmam [! *] idu irakshippāṇ²-
 15 [ṇ-a]ḍi eṇ-muḍi-mēl [! *]

¹ Read *pēraraiyaṇ*.

² This letter is superfluous.

TIPPASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF KAMPA-VIKRAMAVARMAN, YEAR 17

First Side



Scale: One-Fourth

Second Side

10

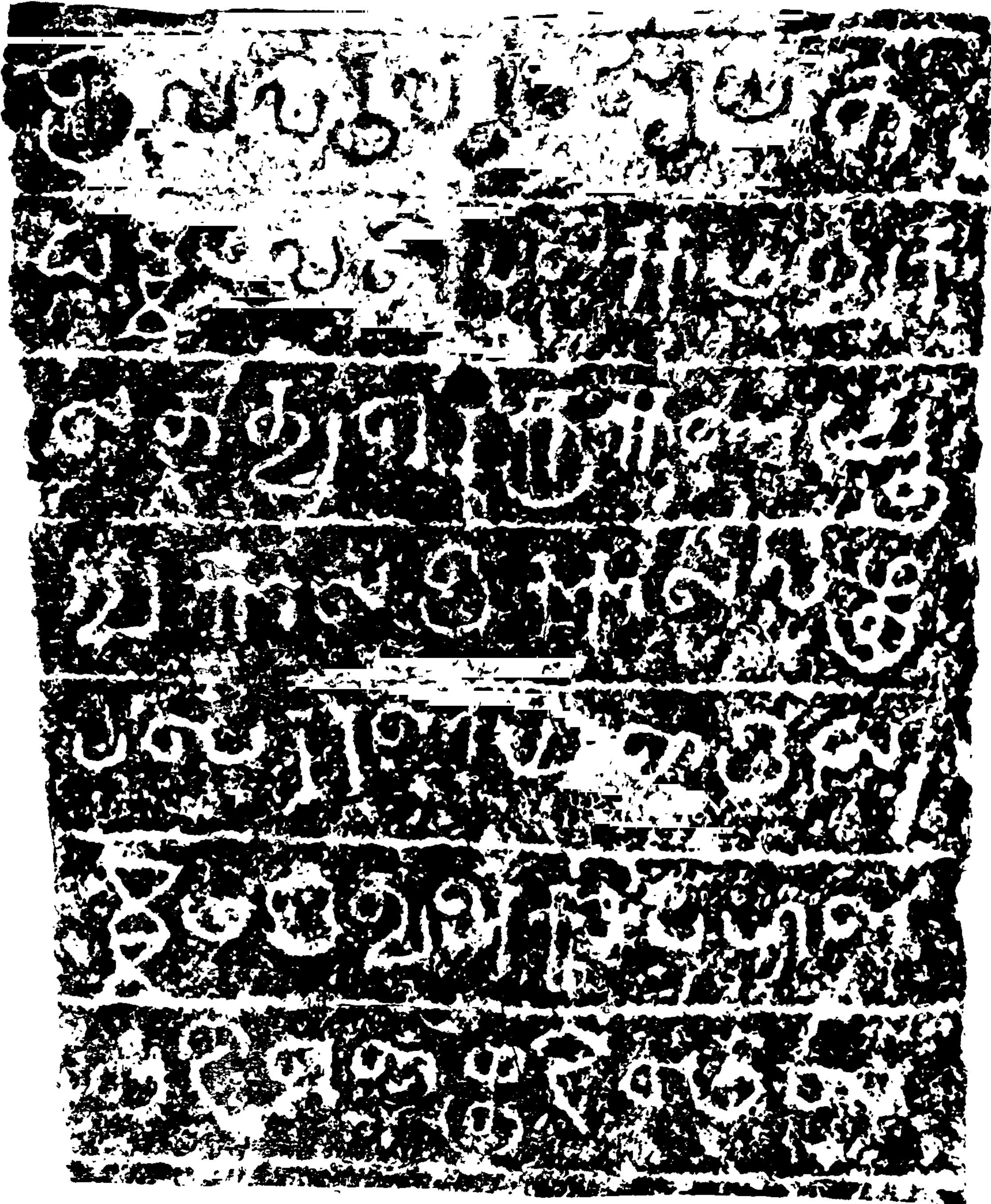
10

12

12

14

14



No. 3—DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41

(1 Plate)

K. H. V. Sarma, Ootacamund

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied in the year 1939-40 from **Dongalasāni**, a hamlet of Kurugunṭapalle in the Siddhavatam Taluk of the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on two faces of a large slab measuring about 3.25 feet in height and 1.25 feet in width and lying in front of the Āṇjanēya temple in the village. There are altogether thirty-five lines of writing.

The record is engraved in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of about the 9th century and its **palaeography** very closely resembles that of other records of the period and area in question. The letters *bh* and *dh* still retain their archaic forms while *b* occurs both in its archaic form (cf. *varambu* in line 12) and its more developed open form (cf. *saṁvatsarambu* in lines 8 and 9). The cursive form of the letter *y* can be seen in the words *yokonṭi* (lines 9 and 10) and *yella* (line 18). The initial vowels *ā*, *i* and *u* are used in the inscription. The use of the sign of *anusvāra* above a letter and the archaic forms of *r* and *l* as found in early Telugu records² is noteworthy.

The inscription is in **Telugu** prose and verse with an imprecatory verse in **Sanskrit** at the end. The rules of *sandhi* are observed and the consonants associated with *r* are doubled. The number forty-one is indicated by *nakādy-ādi-yokonṭi*, literally 'one preceded by forty'. The word *pempuna* (lines 10-11) is used in the sense of *atiśaya* and *garusu* (line 14) in the sense of 'boundary'. The expression *alīsina-vāṇḍu* (lines 27-28) is similar to that of Tamil *alitt-avan* and Kannaḍa *alīsīd-avan*, for all of which the common root is *alī*, 'to destroy'. The royal epithets *Temkaṇāḍitya*, *Pusi-illad=ātman* and *Komarara-Bhīma* appear to be of Kannaḍa origin.

The inscription is **dated** in the fortyfirst regnal year of the king, Chitṭa (Chaitra) śu. 10, Sunday (lines 9-12). But in the absence of the corresponding Śaka or cyclic year, it is difficult to fix the exact period of the record. The Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōḍa,³ considered to be the earliest charter so far known of this branch,⁴ are assigned palaeographically to Śaka 850-60 (928-38 A. D.).⁵ The later forms of the letters *b*, *j*, *s* and *k* and the *anusvāra* in the form of a circle placed almost to the side of a letter in the above charter bear close resemblance to the Madras Museum plate⁶ of the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-trinētra, dated in Śaka 893. These palaeographical features are also noticed in other Vaidumba records from Upparapalli⁷ and Animala⁸ in the Cuddapah District, which are dated in Śaka 894 and 898 respectively. On palaeographic grounds, the present inscription has to be assigned to a date in the proximity of that of the Madras Museum plates of Balliya-chōḍa, i.e., c. Śaka 850.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40. App. B, No. 13. Cf. M. Venkataramayya in *Trilinga-rajatōtsava-saṁputamu*.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 347; Vol. XXVII, pp. 221 ff.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36. App. A, No. 6.

⁴ *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 50 ff.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, Part II, para. 8. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar assigns the record to 1106-07 A. D. and identifies Balliya-chōḍa with Chōḍa Balliya-chōḍa of Konidena (*JIH*, Vol. XV, pp. 48-49). Neither the date nor the identification is acceptable.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 67 ff.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1905 App. B, No. 325.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1938. App. B, No. 198.

The object of the record is to register a gift of a piece of land to the goddess Kuruva-bhaṭṭā-rikā by king **Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja** in his fortyfirst regnal year. The eulogy *Charaṇa-sarō-ruha-vihita-vilōchana*, etc., with which the record commences, clearly indicates that the king belonged to the Telugu-Chōḷa lineage. This is the earliest of the known Telugu-Chōḷa records with the *Charaṇa-sarōruha* eulogy and happens to be the only record mentioning **Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja**.

Two inscriptions¹ copied from Mannēpalli in the Darsi Taluk of the Nellore District mention **Veṅka-bhūpāla**, son of Pottapi Nanne-chōḷa, as the grandfather of Balli-chōḷa-mahārāja. They are dated in Śaka 1067 and 1088 respectively. On the basis of these dates for Balli-chōḷa, we can assign **Veṅka-bhūpāla**, the former's grandfather mentioned in the records, to a period not earlier than Śaka 1000. As has been discussed above, the record in question is palaeographically earlier by at least two centuries than the approximate date of **Veṅka-bhūpāla** of the Nellore epigraphs. Therefore **Vaṅkeya-chōḷa** of the Dongalasāni inscription under study cannot be identified with king **Veṅka-bhūpāla** of the Mannēpalle records.²

Two more records³ from Boppūḍi and Koṇidena in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District give the genealogy of the Telugu-Chōḷas who ruled from Koṇidena. We gather from these that Daśavarman, the son of Mahimāna-chōḷa, conquered Pāka-rāshṭra and ruled over Rēnāṇḍu from his capital at Pottapi⁴ (in Pullempet Taluk of the Cuddapah District). The Chōḷas of Koṇidena, Nellore and Pottapi, all claim Daśavarman as their ancestor; but so far none of his records has come to light and little is known about him. The record from Boppūḍi mentions king **Vēṅka**⁵ as the son of Daśavarman. It is tempting to identify the chief **Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja** of the record under review with **Vēṅka**, the son of Daśavarman. But his relationship with the later members of the family is not clear.

Teṅkaṇāḍitya occurs as one of the epithets of **Vaṅkeya-chōḷa-mahārāja**. Nanne-chōḷa, author of the *Kumārasambhavam* (Telugu), also claims this title.⁶ He is assigned by scholars to about the end of the 11th century.⁷ The poet-king must have derived this epithet from his ancestor of the record under study.

The early Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu, whose territory appears to have extended over almost the whole of the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts and parts of the Chittoor District, seem to have ruled undisturbed for more than two centuries from about the last quarter of the 6th century. Afterwards their territory was subjected to the incursions of the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas.⁸ By about the 9th century they appear to have been pushed northwards by the latter and later still we find records of a branch of this family as far east and north as Nellore and Guntur.⁹

¹ NDI, Part I, Darsi Nos. 48 and 49 : *Śrīmat-Pottapi-Nannechōḷa-tanayaḥ śrī-Vēṅka-bhūpālakaḥ-tat-putrō-ri-pad-āchal-āpaha-paviḥ Kāma-kṣitī-nāyakaḥ* [*] *sūnuḥ Sūrya-kul-ānvay-āmbudhi-śaśī śrī-Balli-bhūpālako Gauri-nātha-ṇad-ābja-nandita-guṇaḥ saujanya-ratn-ākaraḥ* [*].

² A. R. Ep., 1939-40 to 1942-43, Part II, para. 65.

³ SII, Vol. VI, Nos. 651 and 628.

⁴ Ibid., No. 651 : *Tēshām trayāṇām Daśvarmma-dhātṛi-patiḥ sva-śauryyād-aiha Pāka-rāshṭram* [*] *ākrama-nya vīra-ṇavarō rarakṣha kṣhamām-imām Pottapi-rājadhānyām* [*].

⁵ The published text (SII, Vol. VI, No. 651, text lines 33-34) gives the name as [Pām]ka; but a re-examination of the impressions shows that the correct reading is **Vēṅka**.

⁶ Canto I, verse 54 : *boluchun=Orayūrik=adhipatin=alaghu-parākramuḍa=Deṅkaṇāḍityuṇḍan*.

⁷ JAHRS, Vol. XXIII, p. 52 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 186 ff.

⁹ A. R. Ep., 1935-36, Part II, para. 8.

TEXT¹*Front Side*

- 1 [Sva]sti [|*] Chara[ṇa-sarōru]-
- 2 [ha]-viha(hi)ta-vi[lōchana-Tri]-
- 3 lōchana-pramukākī(kh=ākhi)la-[pri]-
- 4 thivīśvara-kārīta-Kāvē[rī-ti]-
- 5 ra-Karikāla-kula-ratna-pradi(dī)p=ā-
- 6 hit-āṁkusa(śa)-śrī-**Varṇkeya-chōḷa-**
- 7 mahārājula paṭṭa[mbu] gaṭṭina
- 8 pravardda(rddha)māna-vijaya-rājya-[saṁ]-
- 9 vatsara[m]buḷ=nalvādy=ādi-yoko-
- 10 ṇṭi yagunēṇṭi [Chitṭa]-[su]di peṇ-
- 11 puna Dasa(śa)miyu [Ā]ditya-
- 12 va(vā)ra[m]bu[nāṇḍu Kuṇuva-
- 13 bhaṭṭāriki reṇḍu rē[vu]lu
- 14 pola[m] garusugānu
- 15 paḍumaṭaṁ goṇḍa[yu] ga-
- 16 rusugānu uttara[m]buna.
- 17 ku guṇuva dāṁka lōpali [nē]-
- 18 la yella sarvva-parihāru[vu] ichche [|*]
- 19 Śrī-**Varṇkeya-chōḷa-mahā-**
- 20 rāju [Teru]kaṇ-ādityuṇḍu Komara-
- 21 ra-**Bhīmuṇḍu** pusi-illad-ātma-
- 22 n=i dharmmuv=ā-chandr-ārka-tāraṁbu i²
- 23

Back Side

- 24 idda
- 25 vāṇḍu [Baranāsi]

¹ From impressions.² The last four lines seem to be in verse.

26 navāṇḍu Śrīpa[r]bba(rvva)tambuna-

27 [m ga]la liṅgambulan=ali[si]-

28 [na] vāṇḍu [vēvura mu].

29 galaḷu i-sta(sthā)-

30 [nambu]galavāru I[sā]-

31 naśivulu || Bahubhir=vvasu-

32 dā(dhā) dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupā-

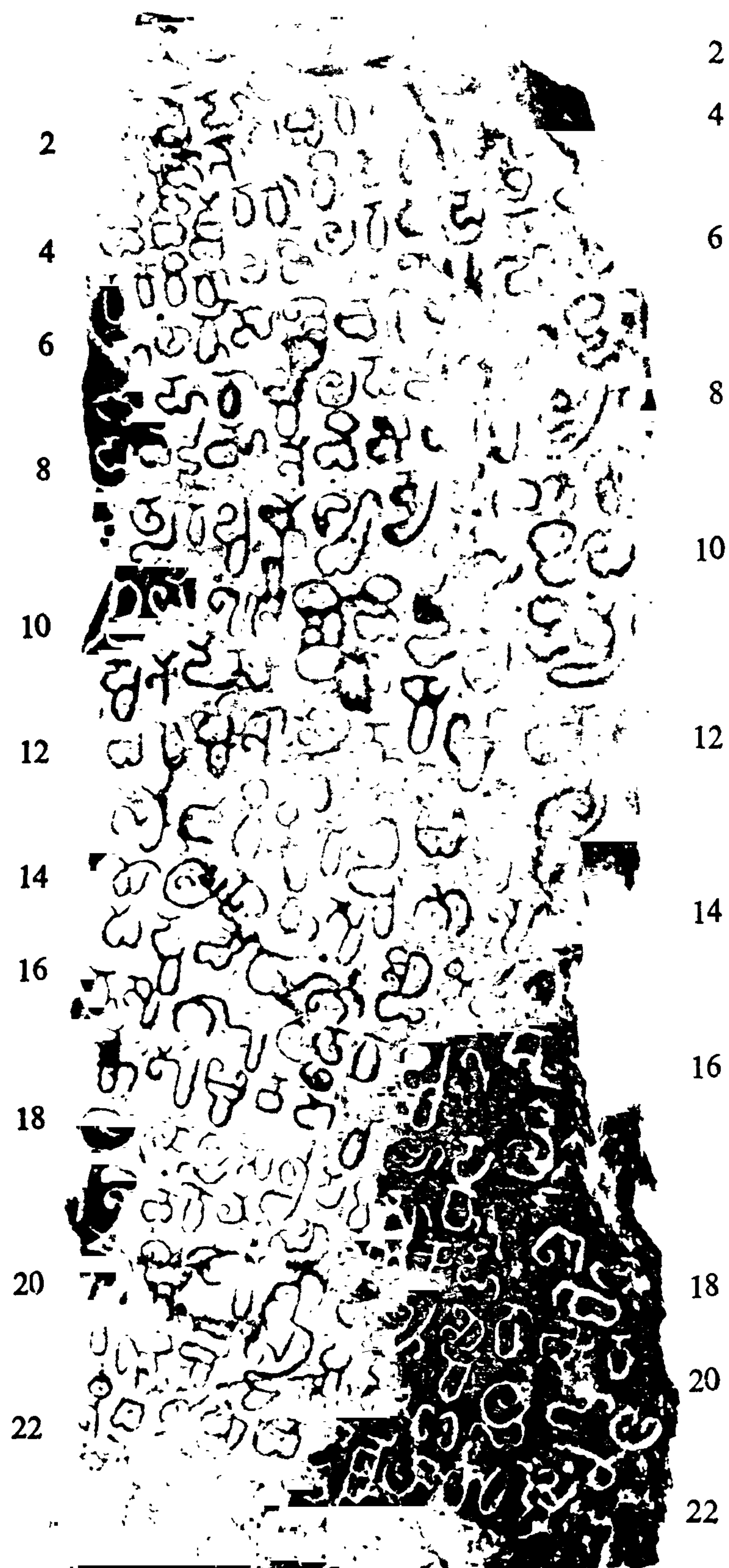
33 litā[| *] a(ya)sya a(ya)sya

34 a(ya)dā bhūmis-tasya ta-

35 sya tadā phalaṁ(lam)¹ [||*]

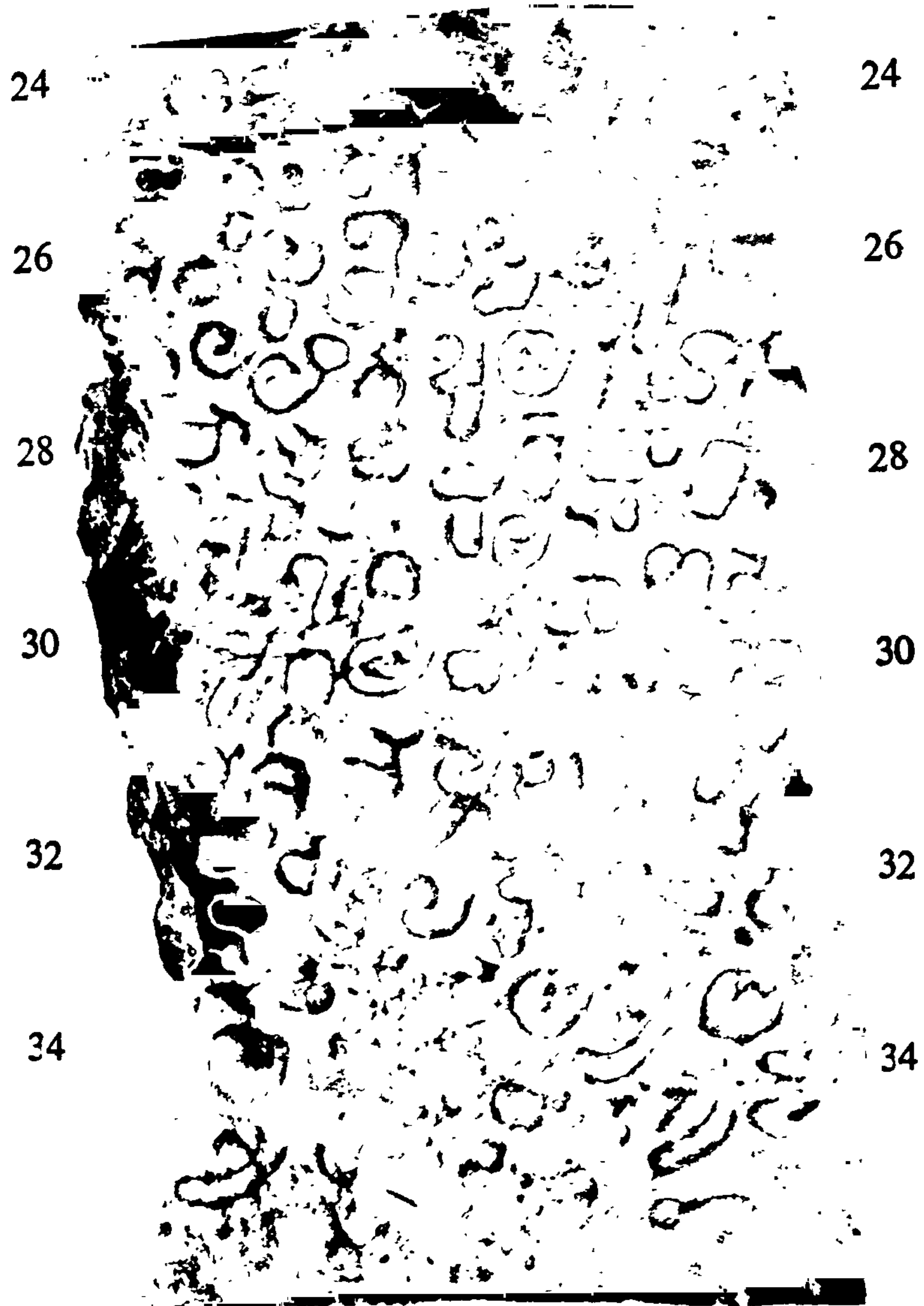
¹ There is a floral design to indicate the end of the writing.

DONGALASANI INSCRIPTION OF VANKEYA-CHOLA, YEAR 41
Front Side



Scale : One-Fourth

Back Side



No. 4—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.9.1957)

Both the inscriptions edited below are inscribed on stone slabs which are at present preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The first of them was found at Baraudi and the second at Narwargarh, both in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State. The first record was noticed by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V. S. 1979, No. 26, and the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 187. The notices of the record in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 597, and H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh*, No. 132, are based on Garde's note. The second epigraph was noticed by Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V. S. 1971, No. 9, and in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 242. His views were similarly quoted by Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 603, and Dvivedi, op. cit., No. 141. Unfortunately the published notices of both the inscriptions are based on incomplete and inaccurate transcripts. Some of the important details are omitted in the notices which contain several errors of omission and commission. They are edited here with the help of impressions prepared under my supervision about the end of 1952 when I visited Gwalior with a view to attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the Gwalior Museum. Both the inscriptions, which were registered as Nos. 141 and 139 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, Appendix B, belong to the reign of the Yajvapāla or Jajapēlla king Gōpāla (known dates between 1279 and 1289 A. D.) of Nalapura. They contain each a *praśasti* recording the excavation of a *vāpi*. The eulogies were composed by the poet Śivanābhaka belonging to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior.

1. Baraudi Inscription of V. S. 1336

There are 29 lines of writing, which cover an area about 22 inches in length and about 18½ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory as a number of letters are damaged here and there. The characters belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble other contemporary inscriptions discovered in the area in question.¹ The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The orthography of the inscription is also similar to that of other records of the age and area. Reduplication of a consonant after *r* is noticed only in a few cases. *Anusvāra* has been used for class nasals excepting some cases while it has taken the place of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas in all cases. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition, excepting a few passages at the beginning and end, is in verse. It is a *praśasti* composed in 30 stanzas. The verses are numbered, although there is a mistake in the numbering. The twentyfourth stanza is wrongly numbered as the twenty-third and the mistake is continued in numbering the following verses. The date of the record is quoted in the last line as V.S. 1336, Mārgaśīrsha-vadi 6, Friday. It regularly corresponds to the 27th October 1279 A.D. The month was Pūrṇimānta.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the passage *Om namaḥ Śivāya.* Then follow the 30 stanzas of the *praśasti*. The first two of them (verses 1-2) contain adoration to

¹ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 145 ff. and Plate; Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 357 ff. and Plates.

the god Śambhu (Śiva) and to both Girīśa (Śiva) and his consort Śailasutā (Pārvatī). Verse 3 introduces the city of **Nalapura** (modern Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings, while verse 4 speaks of king **Chāhaḍa** of the Yajvapāla family. Verse 5 mentions king **Nṛivarman**, son of Chāhaḍa. He is described as a devotee of *Daiṭyārāti*, probably meaning here the god Śiva. Verse 6 mentions **Āsalladēva**, son of Nṛivarman, as well as his queen **Lāvaṇyadēvī**, while the next stanza (verse 7) continues Āsalla's description. Verses 8-9 describe the reigning monarch **Gōpāla** who was the son of Āsalladēva apparently from the queen Lāvaṇyadēvī.

Verse 10 introduces a Kshatriya family, to which the hero of the *praśasti* belonged, as resembling a family of Brāhmaṇas and the next stanza (verse 11) gives its name as **Gauḍahara** and states that it belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra*. It is possible that Gauḍahara is the same as what is now called the Gaur-Rājput.¹ Verse 12 says that the family of the Gauḍahara Kshatriyas worshipped three forms of the Mother-goddess, viz. Chāmuṇḍā, the nine-formed (*nava-vidhā*) Dēvī and Gauḍaharā. The *Nava-vidhā* Dēvī is no doubt the same as Nava-Durgā or Durgā having nine forms, viz. Kumārikā, Trimūrti, Kalyāṇī, Rōhiṇī, Kālī, Chaṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā and Bhadrā. Of the three goddesses, Gauḍaharā was apparently the family deity of the Gauḍaharas.

Verse 13 says that **Tribhuvanagiri** was the capital of the **Śūrasēna** king and that there lived one Dāmōdara. It appears that Dāmōdara was a Gauḍahara Kshatriya and that the original home of the family in question was Tribhuvanagiri, capital of the Śūrasēnas.² The ancient capital of the Śūrasēna country was Mathurā; but our inscription appears to speak of a place where a Śūrasēna family was ruling at the time when Dāmōdara flourished. The reference may be to a dynasty like the Śūrasēna royal family known from the Kama (Bharatpur District, Rajasthan) inscription³ of about the eight century A.D. The name Tribhuvanagiri suggests that it was a hill-fort named after a king called Tribhuvana. But it is difficult to indentify it without further evidence.

Verse 14 speaks of Dāmōdara's son Nāgadēva, who seems to have been the minister of an unnamed king, and the next stanza (verse 15) of the latter's three sons, viz. Pīthana, Jalhana and Mālādhara, while verse 16 describes Jalhana who was the second of the three brothers. This importance accorded to Jalhana is due to the fact that he was the most famous amongst the brothers. Verse 16 tells us that Jalhana was reliable and commanded the confidence of the people and that, having learnt this fact, the *Hammīra* himself appointed him as one of his officers at Gōpaśaila (i.e. Gwalior). The word *hammīra*, derived from Arabic 'amīr, was generally used in early medieval India to indicate a Turkish Musalman king, although it gradually came to be adopted sometimes by the Indians as a personal name. The stanza seems to refer to the conquest of Gwalior by Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi (1210-36 A.D.) about the beginning of 1233 A.D.³ It appears that, after the conquest of Gwalior, the Sultān appointed Jalhana in order to create confidence in the minds of the recently subdued Hindus of the area. It was no doubt a wise step. But it is interesting to note that, even if Jalhana was an officer at Gwalior under the Muslims, many members of his family appear to have migrated to the Yajvapāla kingdom and settled there.

Verse 17 again refers to Pīthana, elder brother of Jalhana, while the following stanza (verse 18) gives the name of his wife as Champā. Pīthana is described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Śiva). Verse 19 mentions Dēvadhara, son of Pīthana and Champā, and verse 20 says that he was the *Adhikāri-mukhya* (i.e. chief minister) of king **Āsalladēva**. The known dates of the Yajvapāla

¹ Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 1849.

³ See above, Vol. XXX, p. 147.

king Āsalla, father of Gōpāla, range between 1254 and 1279 A.D.¹ Verse 21 refers to Dēvadhara's wife whose name is given as Nīlā.

Verse 23 refers to the village of **Vaṭapatra** which is stated to have been formerly granted to the Brāhmaṇas by a ruler named **Nāniṅga**. The village is no doubt the same as modern Baṛaudī (Buṛhī Baṛaudī) where the record was discovered ; but no ruler named Nāniṅga is known from any record. He seems to have been a subordinate ruler of the district round Baṛaudī under the earlier Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura. Verse 24 speaks of the excavation of a *vāpī* or step-well by Dēvadhara, apparently in the said village of Vaṭapatra. The next stanza (verse 25) continues the description of the *vāpī*, while verse 26 contains a prayer to the effect that it might last for ever. Verse 27 speaks of the three sons apparently of the said Dēvadhara. They were Harirāja, Mahārāja and Śivarāja.

Verse 28 mentions the poet who composed the *praśasti*. This stanza is found in several Yajvapāla records including the Narwar inscription of V.S. 1339 edited below. The poet was Śivanābhaka described as the son of *Kōśādhīpa* (treasurer) Lōhaṭa and the grandson of Dāmōdara of a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from **Gōpādri** (Gwalior). The king whom Lōhaṭa served as a treasurer is not mentioned. But it appears that the family migrated from Gwalior to the Yajvapāla kingdom on the fall of Gwalior in to the hands of the Muhammadans in the reign of Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi. Lōhaṭa was therefore an officer of the Hindu king either of Gwalior or of Narwar.²

The person who was responsible for writing the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver was another member of the Māthura Kāyastha community. He was Vikrama, son of Bhiṅgaka (verse 29). Verse 30 mentions the engraver. He was *Sūtrabhṛit* (*Sūtradhāra*) Bhīma-dēva. The same stanza also states that a Kshatriya named Sōmadēva was the superintendent of the whole work, probably meaning the excavation of the *vāpī*.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura and Gōpādri or Gōpāchala are well-known. The location of the village of Vaṭapatra where the *vāpī* was excavated has been indicated above. We are not sure about the location of Tribhuvanagiri which may, however, have been a hill-fort in the Gwalior region.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 8, 11, 18-19, 21 *Upajāti* ; verses 2, 14, 25, 27-28 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 3-4, 20, 22, 26 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 5-7, 10, 13, 15-16 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 9, 12, 23-24, 29-30 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 17 *Mālinī*.]

- 1 Siddham⁴ Ōṃ nama[h] Śivāya || Vi(Bi)jāni kalyāṇa-lat-āṃkurāṇām dīpās=trilōkī-timir-āvalī-nām(nām) | puṇyātmakānām=api pāvanāni jayanti Śambhōḥ padayō
- 2 rajāṃsi || 1 Drashtuṃ manmatha-manthar-ēkshaṇa-bhavās=tās=tā vilā[śa](sa)-kriyāḥ pātum ch=ādhara-vimva(bimba)-janma-madhuram pīyūsham=atyadbhutam(tam |) vakshaḥ-pītha-vimardda-kharvita-ku[cha]m la-

¹ Cunningham read the latest date on the coins of Chāhaḍa and the earliest on those of his grandson Āsalla as V.S. 1311=1254 A.D. while R.D. Banerji speaks of the former's coins of V.S. 1312 and 1316 and the latter's issues of V.S. 1315 and suggests that, since their reigns overlapped, Āsalla's father Nṛivarman did not reign at all (*Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXXIII, pp. 80-83). The matter requires further examination.

² No. 146 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Lōhaṭa's master was Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa of Nalapura. See below, pp. 68, 69 and note 9.

³ From impressions. This is No. 141 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B. I am indebted to Mr. P. B. Desai for some suggestions.

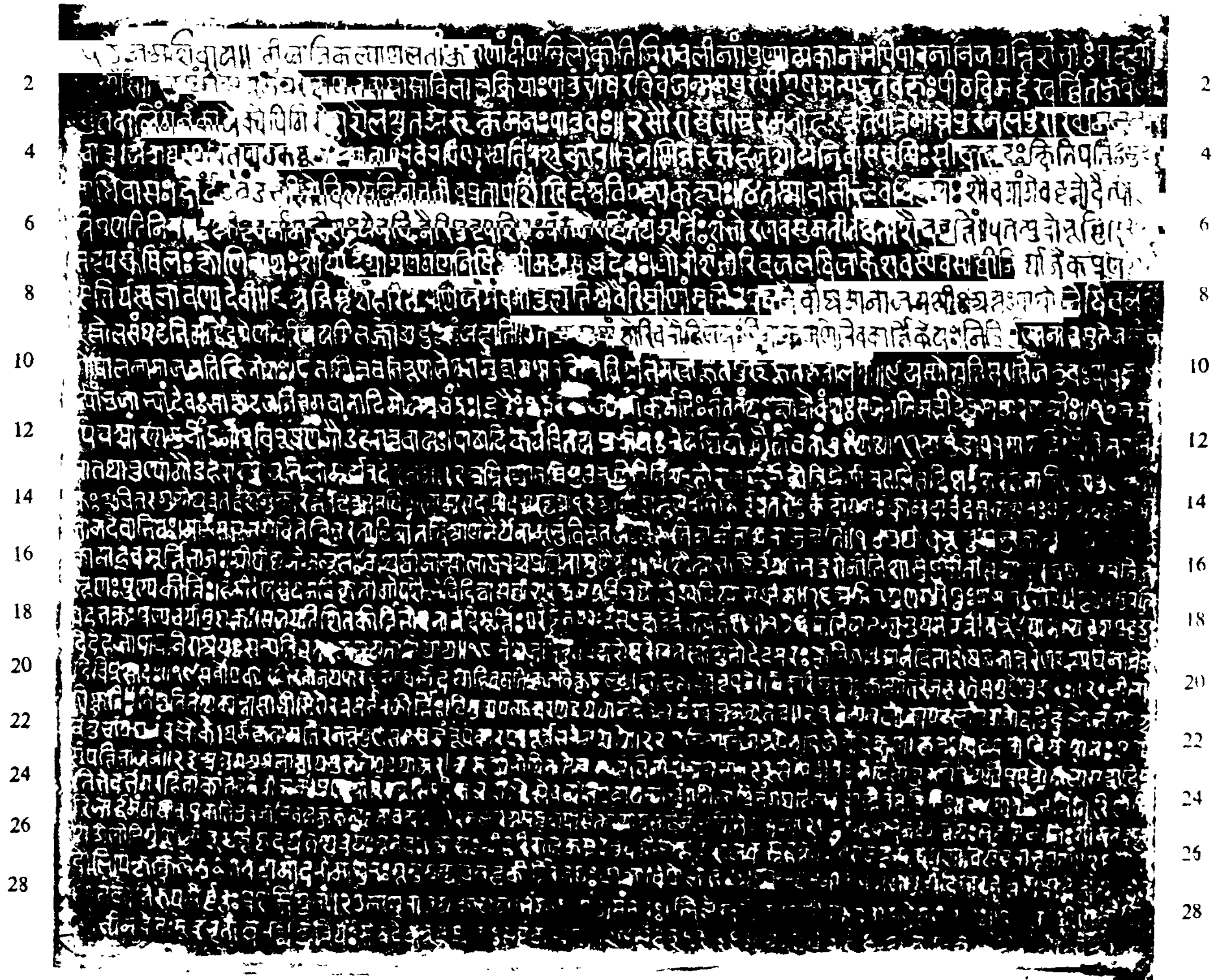
⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 3 vdhum(bdhum) tad-ālimganam kāy-aikyē=pi Girīsa-Śaila[su]tayōr=utkam manah pāta vah || 2 Śaurājya-bhāsura-manō-hara-bhūti-pātram=āstē puram Nalapur-ākhyam=ananya-
- 4 chāru | yatr=ādhvara-prachita-pāvaka-dhūma-[bhū]mā tāpam ravēr=api para(rā)sya rti-(ti)raśchakāra || 3 Tasminn=abhūt=sahaja-śaurya-nivāsa-bhūmiḥ sri(śrī)-**Chāhaḍaḥ** kshiti-patiḥ sukri-
- 5 t-ādhivāsaḥ | dōr-damḍa-chamḍa-charitō vilasan-nitānta-tivra-pratāpa-śikhi-dagdha-vipa-kshya-kakshyaḥ(kshaḥ) || 4 Tasnād=āsīd=anavadhi-guṇaḥ śaucha-Gāmgēva(ya)-vṛittō Daityārā-¹
- 6 ti-praṇati-ni[rata]ḥ śrī-Nṛivarmā mahīśaḥ [|] Yēna chchinnai ripu-nṛipa-śiraḥ-pam-kajair=archhit=ēyam mūrttiḥ Śambhō raṇa-vasumatī ta[n]vatā Śaiva-vṛittim(ttim) || 5 Tat-putrō=bhūch=chhikhi-mi-
- 7 ta-nṛipa-skamdhilaḥ kshōṇināthaḥ śaury-ōdagrō guṇa-gaṇa-nidhiḥ śrīma[d-Ā]salladōvaḥ | Gaurī Śambhōr=iva Jaladhiḥ Kēsavasy=ēva sādhvī nirvyāj-aika-praṇaya-va-
- 8 satir=yasya **Lāvapyadōvi** || 6 Yan-nistrīm(strīm)śam harita-mañjam mancham=āruhya tigmair=vairi-s[t]riṇām sva(śva)sita-pavanair=vijvamānā jaya-śrīḥ | antaḥ-pāthōnidhi-chalad-u-
- 9 r-ullōla-samghaṭṭa-nir[ya]d-vimdu-śrēṇī-pari[cha]ya-milaj-jādyā-duḥkham jahāti || 7 Ta-[sm]āt=Sudhāmāśōr=iva Rauhinēyaḥ Pinākapāṇēr=iva Kārttikēyaḥ | nidhir=guṇānām cha su-tējasām cha
- 10 **Gōpāla**-nāmā jayati kshitiśaḥ || 8 Tasminn=avati bhūpālē dharām=uddā[ma-dh]āma-[ni] aviśrānta-makh-āhūta-Puruhūta-kṛti-ālayām(yām) || 9 Yasy=ōtpatti[h*] Sarasija-[bh]uvaḥ pāvanā-
- 11 bhyām bhujābhyām dēvaḥ sākshād=ajani bhagavān=ādimō ya[tra] Chamdraḥ | ishṭaiḥ p[ū]r[t]tair=a[vati] ja[gatīm] karmabhiḥ samtataḥ yaḥ kshātrō vaṁśaḥ sa jayati mahī-dēva-sādhāraṇa-śrīḥ || 10 Tatr=ā-
- 12 pi Vats-ākhyā-mun-imdra-gōtra-vibhūshaṇam **Gauḍahar**-ānvavāyaḥ | pāṭh-ādi-kar[ma]-tritaya-pravī[ṇa]ḥ [ś]rēyasvi[n]ām [k]irttiya(ma)tām dhurīṇaḥ || 11 **Chāmurnḍā** paramā śaktir=**Dōvi** nava-vi-
- 13 dhā tathā [|*] puṇyā **Gauḍahar**-ākhyā cha tistrō=mūr=yatra dēvatā[h] || 12 Asti khyātas=Tri[bh]uvanagirir=viśrutō rājadhānī kirtti-śrēṇī-dhavalita-diśaḥ **Śūrasē(sē)n**-ādhipasya [|*] puṇya-śrī-
- 14 kaḥ śuchitara-guṇō yatra tad-vaṁśa-muktā-ratnam tanvan=rucham=avikalām=āsa Dāmōda-r-ākhyāḥ || 13 Āsī(sī)t=sad-guṇa-vāridhir=nṛipa-tarōḥ kamdō yaśaḥ-k[au]mudī-chamdras=tasya śu(su)taḥ paṭur=vyavahṛitau śrī-
- 15 Nāgadēv-ābhidhaḥ | mā[rgē] sajjana-sēvitē vicharatā viśrānta-viśrāṇanair=yēn=āmūr=bhuvi bh[ū]tayaḥ [su]-kṛtinā nītā[h] parām=unnatim(tim) || 14 Trayō va(ba)bhūvu[s]=tanujās=[t]adīyā dharm-ārtha-

¹ There is an unnecessary *daḍa* at the end of the line.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GOPALA- PLATE I

1. Baraudi Inscription of V.S. 1336



Scale : One-third

- 16 kāmā iva mūrtti-bhājah | śrī-Piṭhanō Jalhaṇa¹kaś=cha dhīmān=Mālādharaś=cha prathitā
guṇai[h] svaiḥ || 15 Śaury-āmbhōdhir=jagati chaturō nīti-śāstrēsh[v]=adbīti sad-vyā-
pāra-pragunīta-matir=Ja-
- 17 lhaṇaḥ puṇya-kīrttiḥ | Harimīrēṇa svayam=adhikṛitō Gōpa-śailē viditvā sarvv-āchāra-
kshama-[pa]richayō viśva-viśvāsa-[dhā]ma(mā) || 16 Amita-guṇa-gariṣṭhaḥ Piṭha-
n-ākhyō varishṭhaḥ Pasu(śu)pati-
- 18 pada-bhaktaḥ puṇya-charyāsu śa(sa)ktaḥ | sa jayati śita-kīrtti[r*]=lōchan-ānamdi-mūrttiḥ
paribhṛita-[pa]ra-[hīm]saḥ kshatra-vamś-āvataṁśaḥ(saḥ) || 17 Chāmp-ābhīdhā tasya su-
dharma-patnī va(ba)bhūva sāmā[n]ya-bhṛīsa-pravṛiddha[h] [*]
- 19 Vidēhaj-āpāya-nirāśrayaḥ san=pati-[v]rata[s=tat-pri]yatām=iyāya || 18 Tēn=ājani kshatriya-
śē[kha]rē[ṇa] tasyām śu(su)tō Dēvadharāḥ kṛita*²jñāḥ | ānamdit-āśēsha-jan-āntarēṇa
yathā ghan-āntēna
- 20 divi prasādaḥ || 19 Sarvv-ōpakāra-nira[tō] naya-pāra-dṛiśvā dharm-ōday-āhi[ta]-matī[h]
kṛita-vit=kṛipālūḥ | Āsalladēva-nṛipa[t]ēr=adhikāri-mukhyaḥ kasy=āntaram na haratē
sa guṇair=udāraiḥ || 20 Nīl-ā-
- 21 bhīdhā ti³shṭhati tasya kāntā sādhvī-si(śi)rō-ratnam=anamta-kīrttiḥ | vimuchya patyus=
charaṇa-dvayam yā na dēvam=a[n]yam khalu manyatē=tra || 21 Tēn=āvalōkya pa[ṭa]l-
ānta-gat-ōda-vimdu-lōlam vayas=cha
- 22 vasu ch=āpagha[na]m va(cha) lōkē | dharmē kṛitā matir=ananta-guṇē samasta-jam-
t-ūpakāra-para-[p]ūrtta-bha[v]ē=na[vadyē] || 22 Asti Nānirīnga-bhūpēna dvijēbhyō daksha-
(kahi)ṇikṛitaḥ | Vatapatr-ābhīdhō grāmaḥ puṇya-
- 23 sampatti-bhājanam(nam) || 23 Adhvaga-śrama-nāsāya sukṛit-ōpachayāya cha | karuṇ-
āmbhōdhinā tēna [vā]pī nirmāpitā śubhā || 23(24) San-maitr=iva su-samhitā su-kavit-ēv=
āti-prasann-ōjva(jjva)lā sad-vādi-pa-
- 24 tibh=ēva bhaṁga-rahitā kām=ēva nētr-ōtsavā | puṇya-śrīr=i[va] bhūri-[sar]va-phaladā
jyōtsn=ēva tāp-āpahā yasyās=tuṅga-śilā-vibhaṁga-ghatitā ramy-ādri-vam(bam)dha-
sthitih || 24(25) Yāvad=vi(bi)bhartti Girīśō Gi-
- 25 rij-ārdham=aṁgam yāvat=punāti bhuvanāni cha Jahnukanyā | tāvat=payōbbhir=amalai-
iyam=astu vāpī samtarpaṇāya bhavinām bhuvi bhinna-tāpā || 25(26) Dhanyāḥ pāvana-
kīrttayaḥ sukṛitinō niḥśī(sī)ma-tat-tad-gu
- 26 ṇa-śrēṇibhir=guṇinām haranti hṛidaya[m] tasya trayāḥ sūnavah | ādyaḥ śrī-Harirājakas=
tad-anu cha śrīmān=Mahārājakas=tad-bhakta[h] Śivarāja ity=adhiguṇā viśvam̐bhārā-
bhūshaṇam(ṇam) || 26(27) Gōp-[ā]-
- 27 drau Lipikṛit-kulē samabhavad=Dāmōdarō Māthuraḥ sūnus=tasya visu(śu)ddha-kīrttir=
anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhaṭaḥ | putras=tasya manishi-mānasa-mudām vistāra-kētum
vyadhād=ēnām śrī-Śi-

¹ There is a cancelled *visaraga* sign after this letter.

² There is a cancelled *i-mātrā* with this letter.

³ The letters *shṭhati* were incised and cancelled by the engraver after this.

- 28 [va]nābhakō nirupamair=vṛittaiḥ praśastim śubhām(bhām) || 27(8) Māthur-ānvaya-
Kāyastha-Bhīṃgākasy=āṃgasambhavaḥ | lilēkha Vikramō dhīmān=satām=agrēsarō=
naghaḥ || 28(29) Utkīrṇavān=i-
- 29 mām Bhīmadēvaḥ sūtrabhṛitām varaḥ | kshatriyaḥ Sōmadēvō=bhūd=adhyakshaḥ sarvva-
karmmaṇi || 29(30) Samvat 1336 Mārgasīrsha-vadi 6 Śukra-dinē ||¹ śrī śrī śrī śrī

2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1339

The inscribed space on the squarish stone slab measures about 22½ inches in length and 22 inches in height. There are in all 27 lines of writing in the inscription. The preservation of the epigraph is not quite satisfactory. A number of letters are damaged especially in the central part of the record. The characters belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of the Baṛaudī inscription edited above. In several cases, the distinction between the forms of *ch* and *v* is not clear. The sign for *avagraha* is once used in line 14 in order to avoid the possibility of the personal name Ajayadēva being read as Jayadēva. As regards orthography also, the inscription resembles the Baṛaudī record. We have the use of *anusvāra* in the place of class nasals and of final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. Reduplication of a consonant after *r* is noticed only in the cases of *t*, *d*, and *dh*. There are some cases of the wrong use of *s* for *ś* and *vice versa*. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole epigraph is written in verse. It is a *praśasti* composed in 27 stanzas in various metres. The verses are numbered consecutively. The date, quoted in the last line, is V. S. 1339, Pausa-vadi 10, Thursday. It regularly corresponds to the 26th November 1282 A. D. The month was *Pūrṇimānta*.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *siddhiḥ*, which are followed by the 27 stanzas of the eulogy. The first two stanzas (verses 1-2) contain adoration to the gods Śiva or Sadāśiva and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). Verse 3 introduces a hill or hill-fort called Ratnagiri, while verses 4-5 state that the goddess Mahārūḍā created there a hero named Jayapāla who became the progenitor of a family named after him, although it was pronounced as Jajapēlla by the common people. Jayapāla was no doubt the mythical progenitor of the Jajapēlla (often Sanskritised as Yajvapāla) dynasty of Narwar. But the interesting fact supplied by this description is that the original home of the Jajapēllas was at Ratnagiri and that their family deity was Mahārūḍā, no doubt a form of the Mother-goddess worshipped originally at Ratnagiri and later possibly also at Nalagiri or Nalapura (Narwar) which the Jajapēllas afterwards made their capital. Ratnagiri mentioned in this connection cannot be satisfactorily identified. But it may be the same as the modern town of Ratangarh Khiri (lat. 24° 49', long. 75° 13') in the former Gwalior State, situated on the route from Nimach to Bundi, 36 miles north-east of the former and 73 miles south-west of the latter.

Verse 6 introduces king Chāhaḍa born in the Jajapēlla dynasty. He is stated to have captured from his enemies a number of forts including Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura, modern Narwargarh). Chāhaḍa thus seems to have transferred the Jajapēlla capital to Narwar which he had conquered. The next stanza (verse 7) speaks of Chāhaḍa's son Naravarman (called Nṛivarman in verse 18 and in several other records including the Baṛaudī inscription edited above) and verse 8 of king Āsalladēva, son of Naravarman. Verses 9-10 describe the reigning monarch Gōpāla who was the son of Āsalladēva. An interesting information in Gōpāla's description is that he defeated king Viravarman, lord of Jējābhukti in a battle fought on the bank of the river Sikatā (*Sikatā-nimnagā-kachchha-bhūmau*). King Viravarman seems also to be compared with the epic hero

¹ There is a heart-shaped design between the double *daṇḍas*.

Lakshmaṇa and described as 'the Chandra king of kings' (*Chandra-kṣhitidhara-pati*), the name Chandra here indicating the Chandēlla family claiming descent from the Moon-god and often called Chandr-ātrēya. The passage in question may, however, also suggest that, along with Chandēlla Viravarman, Gōpāla also defeated king Lakshmaṇa of the Chandra hill (Chandragiri). But, in such a case, it is difficult to identify the ruler, although Chandragiri may be the same as Chanderi in the Guna District of the former Gwalior State.¹

The word *sikatā* is a synonym of *bālukā* and the Sikatā river is no doubt the same as the Bālukā mentioned in the Bangla inscriptions, according to which the Chandēlla king Viravarman of Jējābhukti or Jējāhuti was defeated by Gōpāla's forces on the bank of the said river in V.S. 1338 (current) or 1337 (expired), Chaitra sudi 7, Friday, corresponding to the 28th March 1281 A.D.² The river has been identified with the small stream of Barua which flows within a few miles from the fort of Narwar, the capital of Gōpāla. Since Chandēlla Viravarman actually besieged the Jajapēlla capital, his repulse was no doubt a memorable event to the people of the Jajapēlla kingdom. The present inscription was incised within two years after the battle. It was therefore quite fresh in the people's memory. Moreover, as will be seen below, the hero of the eulogy under study himself took part in the said battle.

Verse 11 introduces the family to which the hero of the *prāśasti* belonged. It is stated that one Anayasimha was born in a family of physicians and was famous for his exploits in many battles. He is further described as a devotee of the god Paśupati (Śiva). The next two stanzas (verses 12-13) speak of his heroic son Vijayadēva who is credited with a victory over the armies of a king named Visvala in a battle fought at Hastināpura. The name *Visvala* is a variant of *Viśala*. It is not impossible that Visvala mentioned in our record is the Chāhamāna emperor of the same name, otherwise called Vighraharāja IV whose known dates range between 1153 and 1164 A.D. As Vijayadēva's grandson was the hero of the present record of 1282 A.D., he might well have been a later contemporary of the Chāhamāna king. The only Hastināpura known to us is the old capital of the Kuru country, identified with a locality on the Ganges in the present Meerut District of U.P. This place was within the dominions of the Imperial Chāhamānas of Ajmer and Delhi. It is, however, difficult to determine the circumstances that led to the battle of Hastināpura, in which Vijayadēva claims to have fought against the forces of the Chāhmāna king. It has to be noticed that we do not know who Vijayadēva's master was. The problem is easily solved if he was an officer of a ruler like the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla monarch Vijayachandra (c. 1255-70 A.D.) who is reported to have come into conflict with the king of Delhi.³

Verses 14-15 mention Vijayadēva's son Ajayadēva and verse 16 the latter's wife Saubhāgyadēvī. Ajayadēva is stated to have fought with the *Mlēchchha* army. The *Mlēchchhas* referred to were no doubt the Turkish Muhammadans who are often referred to in the epigraphs of the contemporary Indian rulers. But under whom and what circumstances Ajayadēva fought with the Musalmans can scarcely be determined without further light on the subject. It should, however, be remembered that king Chāhaḍa, great-grandfather of Gōpāla, is known to have come into conflict with the Turks. According to Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, in 1234 A.D., Chāhar-i-Ajar (i.e. Chāhaḍa) is stated to have come into conflict with Nuqrattuddīn Tayasāi, general of Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi, on the banks of the river Sindh (Kalisindh) and in 1251 A.D. again with Ghiyāsuddīn Balban,

¹ An inscription of V. S. 1351 from Budherā in the Shivapuri District is said to mention Kirtidurga (identified with the Chanderi fort) and *Paramabhāṣṭāraka* Padmarāja (Dvivedi's List, No. 173). The king mentioned in the record is, however, Yajvapāla Gaṇapati (cf. below, pp. 163 ff.).

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 328 ff.

³ See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 535.]

general of Sultān Nāgīruddīn.¹ But it has to be pointed out that, if the father was a contemporary of Chāhamāna Visala or Vigharāja IV (c. 1154-63 A.D.) and the son of Jajapēlla Chāhaḍa (c. 1234-54 A.D.), both of them must have enjoyed very long lives.

Verses 17 ff. describe Gāṅgadēva, the son of Ajayadēva and Saubhāgyadēvi and the hero of the eulogy under study. An interesting information about him is that he claims to have been a *sachiva* (minister) of the son of Nṛivarman (i.e., of Gōpāla), who defeated Viravarman in the battle on the Saikata river. It is difficult to say whether the stanza uses the word *jayanta* in the sense of 'victorious' or as a secondary name of king Gōpāla. Gāṅgadēva is stated to have himself taken part in the battle on the Saikata, apparently the same as the Sikatā or Bālukā mentioned above. The Bangla inscriptions mention Gōpāla's partisans who died in the said battle with Chandēlla Viravarman. Here we have one who escaped death in that sanguinary conflict to enjoy the fruits of victory. Verse 19 states that Gāṅgadēva repaired the dilapidated temples in the Pādōnalaksha *vishaya* (district or territory), with the administration of which he was possibly associated. This district of Pādōnalaksha, probably forming the whole or part of Jajapēlla Gōpāla's kingdom, reminds us of the two Sapādalaksha countries, one of which extended up to the valley of the Siwalik² and the other lay in the present Karimnagar region of the former Hyderabad State.³ The expressions *sa-pāda-laksha* and *pād-ōna-laksha* literally mean respectively 'one lakh and a quarter', and 'one lakh minus a quarter'. The number in these geographical names refers to the traditional number of villages contained in the geographical units although it is generally exaggerated.⁴ Unfortunately the Pādōnalaksha territory mentioned in our record cannot be identified with precision.⁵

Verses 21-23 state that Gāṅgadēva excavated a *vāpī* or stepwell while verse 24 mentions an *upavana* or pleasure garden, full of fruit trees and flowering plants, which was also created by him apparently around or in the vicinity of the *vāpī*. Verse 25 contains a prayer that the *vāpī* might last for ever.

Verses 26-27 mention the author of the *prāśasti* and the person who wrote it on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver. The poet responsible for the composition of the eulogy was Śivanābhaka born in a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gōpādri (Gwalior). He was the son of Kōśādhipa (treasurer) Lōhaṭa and the grandson of Dāmōdara. The same stanza is found in some other *prāśastis* composed by Śivanābhaka, including the Baraudī inscription edited above. The person responsible for writing the letters of the epigraph on the stone was another member of the Māthura Kāyastha community. His name was Maharāja and his father was Sōmarāja. The name may not be a mistake for *Mahārāja* since the stanza mentioning the person is known from other inscriptions in which also it is spelt as *Maharāja*.⁶ But it is difficult to be definite in this matter as *hā* could have been changed to *ha* for the requirement of the metre.

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been already discussed above. As we have indicated, some of them cannot be satisfactorily identified.

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 1103; *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 57, 135; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323-24.

² Ray, op. cit. pp. 1081 ff.; cf. pp. 1054, 1067.

³ JOB, Vol. XVIII, p. 40.

⁴ Cf. JBRS, Vol. XL, Part I, March 1954, pp. 8 ff.

⁵ No. 146 of A. R. Ep., 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Pādōnalaksha was the name of the district round Narwar. See below, p. 68. It may thus have been the name applied to the Jajapēlla kingdom just as the name Sapādalaksha was used to indicate the dominions of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari.

⁶ Cf. A. R. Ep., 1952-53, App. B., No. 145; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 339.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verse 1 *Upajāti* (*Vamśastha*, *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*) ; verses 2, 6-7, 19 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 3, 5, 14-17 *Upajāti* ; verses 4, 21, 23, 25, 27 *Anushtubh* ; verses 8, 11-12 *Mālinī* ; verse 9 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 10 *Pañkti* ; verse 13 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 18 *Āryā* ; verses 20, 22, 26 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 24 *Aupachchhandasika*.]

- 1 Siddham² || Siddhiḥ || Na yatra rūp-ādi-vivēkitā-grahō visva(śva)sya nirmāṇa-vidhan cha na śramah | adhiśritas=tām para³mām=avasthām sadā Śivō⁴ vaḥ śiva-⁵
- 2 m=ātanōtu || 1 Dṛiṣṭv=ātasī-kuśu(su)ma-kōmala-kānti-kāntam=aṅgam rahasy=apamalē prativim(bim)vi(bi)taṁ svam(svam) | Lakshmī-kapōla-phalakē⁶ jana-śamka-⁶
- 3 yā tad=utprōmchehhi(chhi)taṁ disatu vaḥ śivam=Achyutasya || 2 Gamyō na vidvēshi-manōra-thānām ratha-syadam bhānumatō niruindhan | vāsaḥ satām=asti vi-
- 4 bhūti-pātram ramy-ōdayō Ratnagirir=gir-imdraḥ || 3 Tatra sau(śau)rya-mayaḥ kaśchi[n*]=nirmi[t]ō ~~Maha~~⁶rumḍayā | Jayapālō=bhavan=nāmnā vidvishām duratikra-
- 5 mah || 4 Tad-ākhyayā prākṛita-lōka-vṛindair=uchchāryamā[paḥ] śuchi[r=ar]ji[ta]-śrīḥ | va-(ba)l-āvadān-[ō]rjita-kānta-kīrttir=vaśaḥ parō=bhūj-Jajapēlla-samjñah || 5 Tatr=ā-
- 6 [bha]van=nṛpatir=u[g]ratara-pratāpaḥ śrī-Chāha[ḍa]s=tribhuvana-prathamāna-kīrttiḥ | dō-rddam[ḍa]-chāṇḍima-bharēṇa puraḥ parē[bh]yau(bhyō) yēn=ā[hṛi]tā Nalagiri-pramu-khā gari-
- 7 shṭāḥ(shṭhāḥ) || 6 Tasmād=anēka-vidha-vikrama-lavdha(bdha)-kīrttiḥ pu[n]ya-śrutiḥ samabhavan=Naravarmadēvaḥ | bhūbhṛid-vyudāsa-paṭimā ripu-nāga-dānti-dakshaḥ śriyā parivṛi-
- 8 tō=tra yathā Murāriḥ || 7 Ajani jagad-anarghy-ōddāma-[jāgrat-pratā]pas=tad-anu va[s]u[ma]jt-iśaḥ śrīmad-Ā[sa]lādēvaḥ | praguṇita-guṇa-rāji-ranjit-āsā(ś-ā)-
- 9 vakāśō nirupadhi-nidhir=ōkō [v]iśrutaḥ śrēyasām yaḥ || 8 [Śrī]-Gōpālaḥ samajani tatō bhūmi-pālaḥ kalā[v]ānṭa(s=ta)nvan=kī[r]tti[h*] samiti Sikatā-ni-
- 10 mnagā-kachchha-bhūmau | Jējābhukti-prabhum=a[t]i-[va(ba)]lām Vīrava[r]mā[paṁ=riddhē] jivā [Cha]mḍra-ksha(kshi)tidhara-patim Laksh[m]aṇam sāmyu[g]inām(nam) || 9 Raksha[t]i bhūmim tatra mahi-⁷
- 11 sē | vāridhi-sīmā-mīti-vimuktām(ktām) || 10 A]bhavad=Anayas[im]hō [Vaidya]-vamśē=navadyō vividhā-samara-sī[mā]-lavdha(bdha)-visphāra-kīrttiḥ | Paśupati-pada-śē(sē)-
- 12 vā-dhūta-pāpō vadānyaḥ satata-vidalit-ārthi-svānṭa-samitāpa-[vahniḥ] || 11 Ajani Vijayadēvas=tas[ya sū]nus=[ta]rasvī [su]kṛiti-sukṛita-ni[sh]ṭhō vīra-charyā-dhu-

¹ From impressions. This is No. 139 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B. I owe a few suggestions to Mr. P. B. Desai.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ An *anusvāra* above this letter seems to be deleted.

⁴ We may also read *Sadāśivō*.

⁵ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* with a cancellation mark at the end of the line. This was meant to cover a little vacant space.

⁶ It seems that *mahā*^o has been made *maha*^o to have a short fifth syllable in the particular foot of the stanza. The name is found as *Mahārūṇḍā* elsewhere (cf. No. 145 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 338).

⁷ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* at the end of the line to cover a little space.

- 13 rīṇaḥ | apahṛita-guṇi-duḥkhō dig-vadhū-vaktra-śōbhā-karaṇa-chaṇa-vi[sarpa]t-kīrtti-karpū-
[ra-rē]ṇuḥ || 12 **Hastinā**[pura-raṇē ma]h-aujasō **Visvala**-prabhu-va(ba)lā-
- 14 ni nighnataḥ | vaktum=asti vibhur=atra vikrama[m] yasya vaktra-śata-ś[ō]bhitaḥ phaṇī || 13
Tatō=[bha]va[ch=chhatru]-vi[bhēda-māni] dhar-āvatamsō='jayadēva-samjñāḥ [|*]
- 15 yō **Mlēchchha**-śē(sē)nā-kasha-pattikāyā[ṇ] chakrē par[īksh]ām nija-da[ṇḍa]-hē[m]naḥ || 14
N=ām[g]ēna kēn=āpi param [spṛśa]nti vimukta-kāmā jagad-ēka-mānyā | lōka-
- 16 trayam yasya visuddha-vēshā kīrttiḥ paribhrāmyati tāpas=īva || 15 Tasy=ānurūpā kula-vṛitta-
śīlaiḥ Saubhāgyadēvī dayitā va(ba)[bh]ūva | yayā su-chāritra-mayēna
- 17 śasva(śva)t=sva-tējasa visva(śva)m-akāri pūtam(tam) | 16 Āstē tayō[h*] sūnur-udāra-karmā
śrī-Gāṇḍadēvō bhaṭa-mauli-ratnam(tnam) | yēn=ā[r]ji[ta]m **Saikata**-sini[dh]u-samkhyē
yasō=navadyam su-
- 18 bhaṭ-ātisā(śā)yi || 17 **Sai(Sai)kata**-tatini-samkhyē bhuja-va(ba)la-jita-**Viravarmanah** kṛiti-
naḥ | sa[ch]i[va]tayā yaḥ prathitō **Nṛivarma**-sūnōr=jayam̐tasya¹ || 18 **Pādōnala**-
- 19 **ksha-vishayē** chira-kāla-bhagnān=dēv-ālayān=[g]amayit=ābhinavām ava[sth]ām(sthām) |
yēn=ārjitam sukṛitam=akshayam-apramēyam=ēkam padam tri-jagatī-jana-vāmchchhi-
(chhi)tānām(nām) || 1[9]
- 20 Dīnāms=tōshayatō guṇān=prathavataḥ śrēyaḥ samāchinavataḥ pāpam nirddahatō dhanam
vitaratō yasy=ānavadyam yasaḥ | pīyūshair-iva pūritam hima-karaiḥ kā(kī)ṇṇam mṛṇā-
- 21 li-lavaischchha(ś-chha)nam hāra-latābhīr-āchitam=idam chakrē trilōky-am̐tara[m](ram) ||
20 Upāyair=itaraiḥ [s]iddham kshīyamānam(ṇam) vilōkya saḥ | puṇyam varddhi-
[sh]ṇu tat=kurvan-vāpīm-ētām a-²
- 22 kārayat || 21 Tāp-āpāya-paṭ-ūdayaiḥ samudayatsa(ch-chha)rm-ōrmi-samipa[ch-ch]itaiḥ [s]au-
rabhyam paramam vahaḍbhīr=amalaiḥ amōdibhir=bhūribhiḥ | yā [pu]ṇyair=iva mūrtta-
tām=upagataiḥ pu-³
- 23 ṇy-ām[ta]r-āri[psa]vā pūrṇā [svā]du-varaiḥ payōbhīr=amitair=varddhishṇubhi[h] sam̐tataḥ-
(tam) || 22 Manashvi(svi)t-ēva gaṇbhīrā sad-[vri]ttir=iva nirmalā | abh[ē]dyā sādhu-maitr=
iva bhāsatē yā
- 24 manō-harā || 23 Kuśu(su)ma-phala-bhar-ābhnamra-sākhair=viṭapibhir=unmada-bhṛiṅga-
kōkilai(l-au)ghaiḥ | ruchiram-upavanam vyadhāpi(yi) tēn=āli[ta-tō]sham pitṛi-dēvat-
ādhvagānām(nām) || 24
- 25 Yāvad=vasati Lōkēśō nābhī-vānuhē Harēḥ | tāvad=bhūyād=iyam vāpī śrēyasē=sya mah-
ātmanah || 25 **Gōp-ādrau** Lipikṛit-kulē samabhavad=Dāmōdarō Māthura[h*] sūnus=tasya
visu(śu)-
- 26 ddha-kīrttir=anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhaṭaḥ | putras=tasya manīshi-mānasa-mudām vistāra-
hētum vi(vya)dhād=ēnām śrī-Śivanābhakō nirupamai[r*]=vṛittaiḥ prasastim śubhām(bhām)
|| 26 Māthu-
- 27 r-ānvaya-Kāyastha-Sōmarāj-āṅgajanmanā | likhitā Maharājēna prasastir=iyam=uttamā ||
27 **Samvat 1339 Pausha-vadi 10 Guru-vāsarē** || śubham=astu || chha³ ||

¹ The word seems to be used in the sense of 'victorious'. Otherwise we have to suggest that **Vajrapāla Gōpāla** was also known by the name Jayanta.

² There is an unnece-sary *danḍa* here with a cancellation mark.

³ This indicates the end of the writing. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

No. 5—KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.3.1958)

The Śikharēśvara temple stands on the **Kapilās** hill at a distance of about sixteen miles from Dhenkanal, headquarters of a District of that name in Orissa. The name *Kapilās* or *Kapilāsa* is a local modification of Sanskrit *Kailāsa*.¹ There is a stone *kalaśa* or vase now lying in the precincts of the temple. It must have originally adorned the top of an older temple, on the site of which the present temple of Śikharēśvara was built at a later date. On receipt of information that the said *kalaśa* bears some writings on it, I visited the temple on the Kapilās hill in November 1957 in order to examine and copy the inscriptions.

There are **three** small inscriptions engraved on the *kalaśa* which measures about 27 inches from the top to the bottom excluding the projection below (about 8½ inches long) meant for fixing it up in the hole of a stone slab. The **first** of the three inscriptions is written in two lines incised around the side of the top of the vase. These lines are about 30 inches in length and the inscribed space is a little less than 2 inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are slightly less than one inch high. The **second** inscription in six lines is engraved around the belly of the vase. As the nature of the space would permit, the lines in the central part of the epigraph are longer than the preceding and following ones. Line 3 of this record contains the largest number of letters (40 in all) and is about 43 inches long. The height of individual *aksharas* is about one inch and that of the inscribed space a little above 7 inches. The **last** of the three inscriptions is written in two lines which are incised on the pedestal of the vase. Owing to the tapering nature of this part, the first line is about 28½ inches long and the second about 36½ inches. The height of the inscribed space is about 3 inches and that of individual *aksharas* a little above one inch. The beginning and end of the lines in the case of all the three inscriptions are separated by a vertical line.

The **characters** of the epigraphs belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as prevalent in Orissa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. They resemble the letters of other Orissan epigraphs of the said period such as the Sonepur inscription of Bhānudēva published elsewhere in this journal.² An interesting point of palaeography is offered by the form of *l* in the word *lōka* (Inscription No. 2, line 6) which looks like *llōka* and reminds us of the diacritically marked *l* of the Oriya alphabet. It is interesting to note that Oriya *ḷ* resembles *l* of the other alphabets of the Gaudīya class while its *l* is distinguished from *ḷ* by a diacritical mark. The use of this diacritically marked letter is noticed once in an inscription³ of Narasimha II (c. 1278-1305 A.D.); but it is used in a large number of cases in later records like the Bhubaneswar epigraph⁴ of the time of Narasimha IV (c. 1379-1402 A.D.). The rare use of the letter in the earlier epigraphs suggests the possibility of its standing for *ḷ*. Otherwise we have to suppose that it was *l* which was very rarely employed and this seems to be very unlikely especially in view of the fact that the simpler form of the letter stands for *l* in the other cognate alphabets. It therefore appears to us that originally the diacritical mark was used as the distinguishing sign of *ḷ* but that, at a later

¹ Cf. the personal name *Kavilāsa* occurring in the Nagpur Museum plates of the Sōmavarṇśī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya, line 44 (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143 and Plate). Huitzsch read it as *Kavilāsa* and suggested the correction *Kailāsa*. But the correct reading seems to be *Kavilāsa*.

² See above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 323 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 127, text line 192.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 229 ff.

date, it came to be generally applied to *l* instead of *!* through confusion. We shall therefore transcribe the letter as *!* in the present record as we have done in the case of the inscription of Narasimha II.

The language of Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 3 is Oriya as in the Sonapur inscription referred to above, but that of No. 2 is corrupt Sanskrit greatly influenced by the local dialect. Of grammatical interest seem to be the expressions *Kailāsaśikharēśvari* (Inscription No. 1, lines 1-2) and *Kailāsaśikharēśvarai* (No. 2, line 5). The affixes *i* and *ai* appear to be old dative-locative case-endings. But Inscription No. 3 uses the usual old Oriya dative suffix *kai* in *Kailāsadēvakai* (lines 1-2). Interesting from the orthographical and linguistic points of view are words like *ja(ju)gē* (Sanskrit *yugē*), *Vaiśākha* (Sanskrit *Vaiśākha*) and *traōdasī* (Sanskrit *trayōdaśī* for *trayōdaśyām*) in No. 1, and *māhā* (Sanskrit *mahā*), *Gajatti* for *Gajapti* (Sanskrit *Gajapati*), *Kailāsaśikharēśvara* (Sanskrit *Kailāsaśikha°*), *sarga-lōka* (Sanskrit *svarga-lōka*), *jāti* (Sanskrit *yāti*), *Narasīṅha* (Sanskrit *Narasimha*) and *vijai* (Sanskrit *vijayī*) in No. 2. Inscription No. 1 uses the verbal form *dhilā* (Past Tense). The expected spelling is *dilā*, although the said form also occurs in line 26 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Narasimha IV referred to above. The ordinary meaning of the word is 'gave'; but it has been used in our record in the sense of 'constructed'. The verb is used in this sense also in Bengali.

All the three inscriptions refer to the reign of king **Narasimha** who no doubt belonged to the imperial branch of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa. As will be seen from our analysis of Inscription No. 2 below, the king is called in line 4 of that record the supporting pillar of the **Gaṅga** family. Inscription No. 2 does not bear any date; but Nos. 1 and 3 are dated. Inscription No. 1 is dated **Monday, the 13th of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 10 of the reign of Narasimhadēva**. No. 3 quotes only the **year 18** of the same king's reign without any astronomical detail. Considering the age of the records, the years have to be referred to the *aṅka* reckoning. But there were four Gaṅga kings named Narasimha who ruled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and it is not easy to single out the king to whom our records belong. The Gaṅga kings Narasimha I, II, III and IV are supposed to have ascended the throne respectively about 1238, 1278, 1328 and 1379 A.D. The 10th *aṅka* year or 8th actual regnal year of these kings thus corresponded respectively to about 1245-46, 1285-86, 1335-36 and 1386-87 A.D. Among these years, the details of the date as given in our Inscription No. 1 suit only the **30th April 1246 A.D.** and the king therefore may have been **Narasimha I**. Even though it is not possible to be definite on this point, this identification, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the 18th year of the same king's reign apparently according to the *aṅka* reckoning and corresponding to his 15th actual regnal year.

Inscription No. 1 begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and states in lines 1-2 that **Narasimhadēva** constructed a temple (*dēula*) for the god *Kailāsaśikharēśvara* and that [it was a remarkable achievement] in all the four *yugas*, viz. Satya, Dvāpara, Trētā and Kali. In the order of enumeration of the four ages, Trētā should have properly preceded Dvāpara. Line 2 quotes the date when the temple was built (i.e. completed or consecrated) as **Monday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year 10** when the illustrious Narasimhadēva was ruling. This date has already been discussed above. If this Narasimha was the same as Gaṅga Narasimha I, it may be pointed out that the record under study furnishes the second epigraphic reference to the building activities of that king. It is well known that a stanza quoted in the records of his successors credits him with the construction of a temple for the Sun-god at *Kōṇākōṇa* which is the modern *Kōṇārak* in the Puri District of Orissa.¹ The god Śiva now worshipped in the *Kapilās* temple is called

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 123, text lines 134-35.

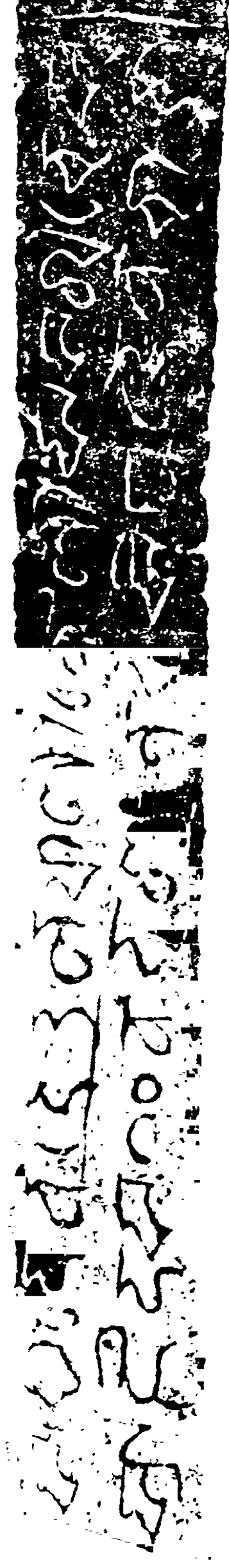
KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA —PLATE I

No. 1

Left Half



Right Half



Scale : One-Half

No. 2

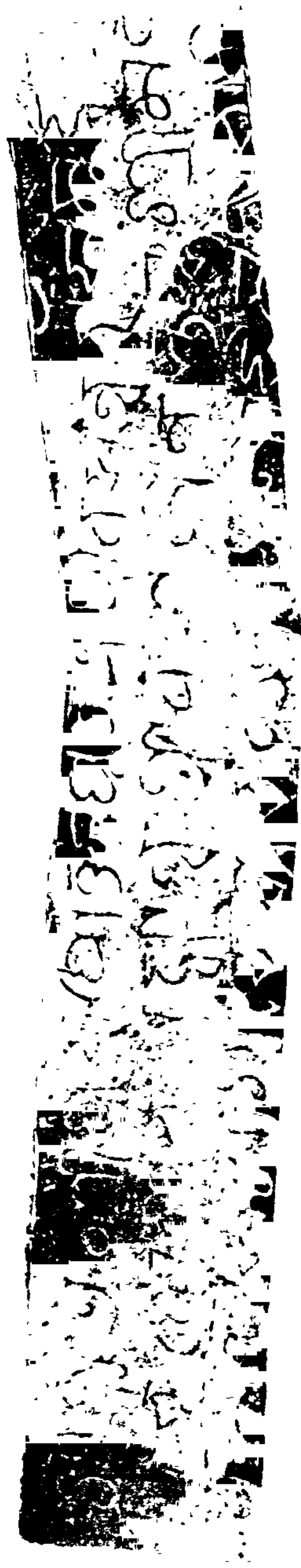
Top Part--Left Half



Top Part--Right Half



Middle Part --Left Half



Scale : One-Third

Śikharēśvara ; but the earlier name of the deity was Kailāsaśikharēśvara according to Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 and Kailāsa, apparently a shortened form of the same name, according to Inscription No. 3.

Inscription No. 2 is the most interesting of the three records. Its style reminds us of that of the Kanchipuram inscription¹ of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.), father of Narasiṃha I, and this fact lends some colour to the identification of Narasiṃha of our records with Narasiṃha I. As a matter of fact, some of the passages are common to both the inscriptions which may have been drafted by the same person.² Our inscription begins with the word *svasti* and states in lines 1-2, in the style of the Kanchipuram inscription, that the king succeeded in subduing by the power of his arms the pride of his enemies in numerous battles at the command of the god Purushōttama, the lord of the fourteen worlds. This god is no other than Purushōttama-Jagannātha worshipped in the celebrated temple at Puri, to whom Anaṅgabhīma III dedicated the Gaṅga kingdom and to whom that king and his successors owed theoretical allegiance.³

The above passage is followed in line 2 by the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* (i.e. devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva) and the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. It has to be noted that, although the king was a devotee of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha identified with Viṣṇu, he claims at the same time to be a worshipper of Śiva. The following two epithets of the king in lines 2-3 are still more interesting. In these he is described at the same time as the son of the goddess Durgā, called the true cause leading to the creation of the universe, and also as the son of the god Purushōttama. It is clear from these statements that Narasiṃha I was devoted to Mahēśvara and his consort Durgā as well as to Purushōttama-Jagannātha (i.e. Viṣṇu). We know that the Gaṅgas were staunch Śaivas till the earlier part of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) who became a Vaiṣṇava (i.e. a devotee of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri) after his conquest of the Puri-Cuttack region about the beginning of the twelfth century, and that, although for sometime he claimed to be devoted to both Mahēśvara and Viṣṇu, in his later years he called himself a devotee of Viṣṇu alone.⁴ The devotion of the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga to the god Viṣṇu in the shape of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri received a great impetus at the dedication of the Gaṅga kingdom to that god by Anaṅgabhīma III. It is therefore very interesting to note that our inscription represents Narasiṃha I as *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Durgā-putra* and *Purushōttama-putra* and as the holder of the Śiva temple on the Kapilās hill. But it is not surprising in view of the fact that his father Anaṅgabhīma III himself is also called both *Paramavaishṇava* and *Paramamāhēśvara* as well as *Purushōttama-putra*, *Rudra-putra* and *Durgā-putra* at the same time in one of his inscriptions in the Śiva temple at Draksharama, which records the grants made by him in favour of that Śaiva shrine in his 8th *aṅka* or 6th regnal year.⁵ These facts point to the catholicity of the religious approach of the Gaṅga kings Anaṅgabhīma III and Narasiṃha I.

The next epithet in line 3 compares Narasiṃha I with the Great Boar (i.e. Viṣṇu in his Boar incarnation) that raised up the Vēdas and worlds from the ocean. This is followed in lines 3-4 by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and an epithet representing the king as the pillar of support to the Gaṅga dynasty. The following passage in line 4 calls the ruler both **Anantavarman** and the victorious **Vīra-śrī-Narasimhadēva** and seems also to endow him with the title **Gajapati**. We know that the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga enjoyed the

¹ See above, XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

² This seems to suggest that the Kanchipuram inscription was drafted at the Gaṅga capital. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note 3.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 19 ; *JIH*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 75 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1329 ; *JIH*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 78-79.

secondary name Anantavarman.¹ Our inscription seems to show that the title *Gajapati* which is known to have become a distinguishing epithet of the later rulers of the Gaṅga family, was enjoyed by Narasimha I about the middle of the 13th century.²

The next sentence in line 5 contains the main purpose of Inscription No. 2. It records that the king granted the village of **Nāganā-Bhīmapura** in favour of the god Kailāsaśikharēśvara. This is followed in lines 5-6 by the imprecatory and benedictory statements that a person acting against the king's meritorious deed, no doubt meaning the grant of the village for the maintenance of the temple, would go to hell after death while one maintaining the grant would go to heaven. The last sentence of the inscription in line 6 again speaks of **Vīra-śrī-Narasimhadēva** as one who was always victorious. It seems that it was intended to write this sentence in the form of a prayer and that a word like *bhavadu* was left out through oversight.

Inscription No. 3 also begins with the word *svasti* and records the grant of the village of **Rayī-grāma**, demarcated by recognised boundaries on all the four directions, in favour of the god Kailāsadēva, no doubt the same deity called Kailāsaśikharēśvara in Inscriptions Nos. 1-2. But this grant was not made by the king himself. Its donor was the *Sēnāpati* or general named Tulasī who was apparently an officer of the Gaṅga king Narasimha I. The grant was made in the year 18 of the reign of Narasimha I, which, referred to the *aṅka* reckoning, would correspond to the king's 15th actual regnal year and to **1252-53 A.D.**

Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 speak of two geographical names, viz. the villages of Nāganā-Bhīmapura and Rayī-grāma. There is a village called Nāganā in the Dhenkanal District, which is well-known for the temple of Nāganāthēśvara.

TEXT³

No. 1

- 1 Svasti [*] Satyya⁴-Dvāpara-Trētā-Kali-jagē⁵ **Narasimghadēva⁶** dēula dhilā⁷ Kailāsasi-
kharēśva-
2 ri⁸ [*] **Vaisākha-sukla-traōdasi⁹** Chandra-vārē Srāhi dasa 10 v[ī]ra-śrī-Narasi-
mghadeva¹⁰ rājā¹¹ [*]

No. 2

- 1 Svasti [*] Cha[tu]rdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrīmat-Purushōttama-charaṇ-ādēśata¹² [śa(sa)]mara-
mukh-ānēka-

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 3. The name Anantavarman is applied to Narasimha I in two inscriptions from Srikurmam (*SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1272, 1291).

² Bhānu I, son of Narasimha I, is called *Gajapati* or *Gajaghatāpati* in a Draksharama inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, p. 361, No. 1084). For the title *Gajapati* applied to Narasimha III, Narasimha IV and Bhānu IV, see *ibid.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 731, 752, 753, 1040, 1113. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 236; above, p. 4, note 2.

³ From the original and impressions.

⁴ Read *Satya*.

⁵ The word intended is *jugē=yugē* (Sanskrit *yugēśhu*). Better read *Satya-Trētā-Dvāpara-Kali*^o.

⁶ Sanskrit *Narasimha*^o.

⁷ For *dēul dēwā* in Bengali, meaning 'to construct a temple', see J. M. Das, *Bāṅgālā Bhāṣhār Abhidhān*, s.v. *dēul*.

⁸ Sanskrit *Kailāsaśikharēśvarāya*; Oriya *°ranku*. In old Oriya, the expected form was *°rakai* or *°rankai*. But cf. *°svaraī* in line 5 of Inscription No. 2 below.

⁹ Sanskrit *Vaisākha-sukla-trayōdasyām*.

¹⁰ Sanskrit *Narasimha*^o.

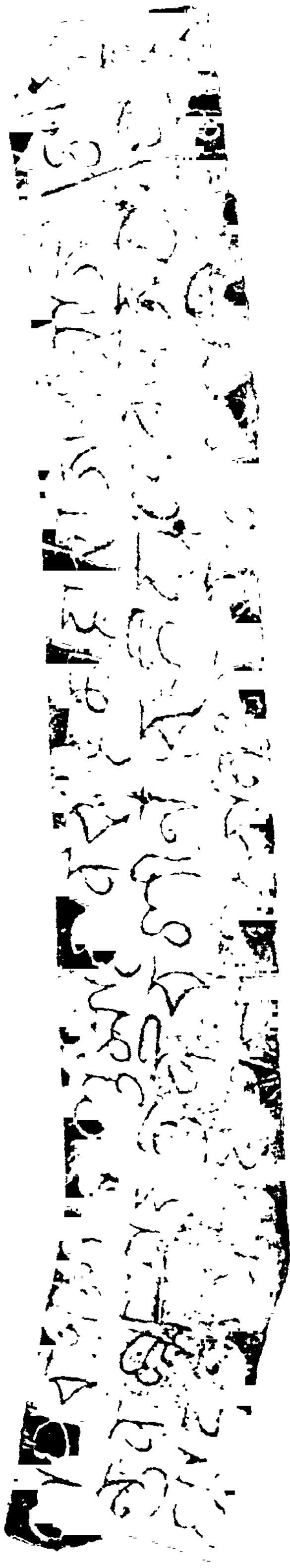
¹¹ The intended expression may be *°rājyē*.

¹² Read *°dēśāt*. The name passage occurs at the beginning of the Kanchipuram inscription of Anāgabhimma III.

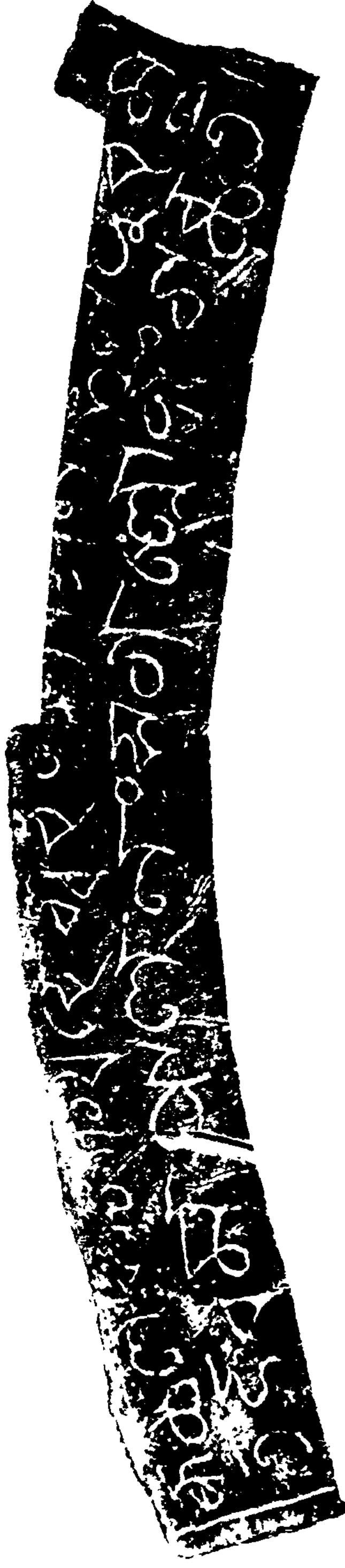
KAPILAS INSCRIPTIONS OF NARASIMHADEVA —PLATE II

No. 2

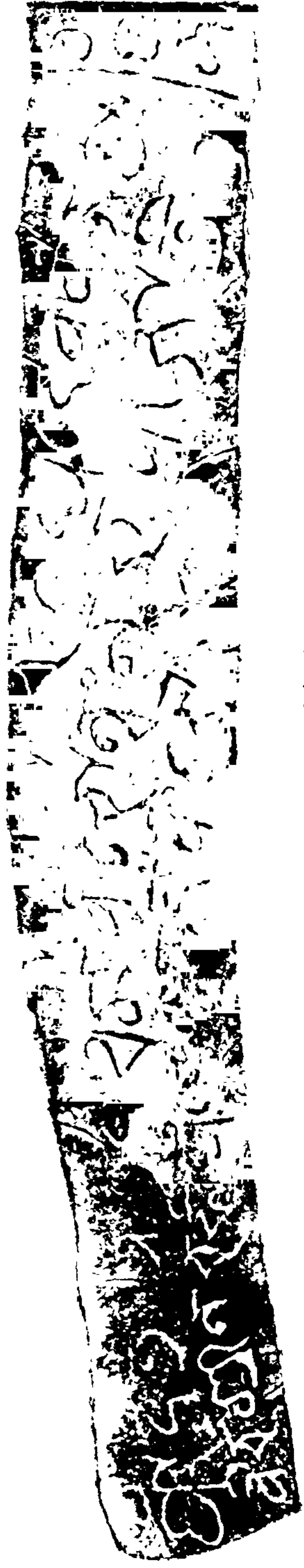
Middle Part—Right Half



Lower Part—Left Half

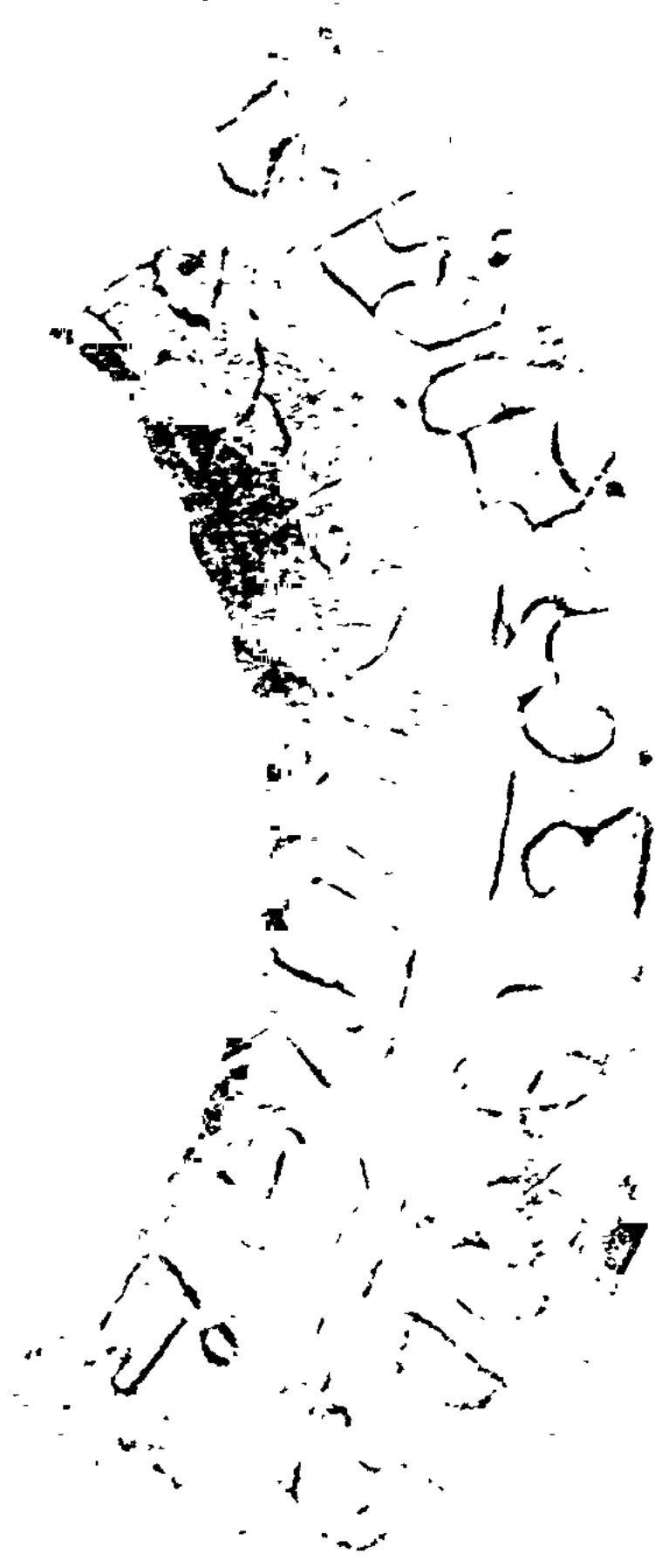


Lower Part—Right Half



Scale : One-Third

No. 3
Left Half



Right Half



Scale : One Third

- 2 ripu-darpa-mardana-bhuja¹-va(ba)la-parākrama[h*]² paramamāhēśvara[h*] para[ma*]bhaṭṭā-raka[h*] jagan[mu](n-mū)la-kāraṇa-śī(śrī)-Du-
- 3 rgā-putra[h*] śī(śrī)-Purushōttama-putra[h*]³ trayī⁴-vasundharā -samuddharāṇa-prachanḍa-dōrdaṇḍa-mā(ma)hāvarāha[h*]⁵ mahārājādhi(dhi)rāja-
- 4 para[m]ēśvara[h*] Gaṁ(Ga)ṅg-ānvay-āvalama(mba)na-stambha[h*]⁶ śrīmad-A[na*]ntavarma-[Gaja]tti⁷-vira-śī-Narasimhadēva⁸ vijay[i] [h*]
- 5 Kailāsaśīkharēśvara[i]⁹ Nāganā-Bhīmapura mayā data¹⁰ [h*] ētada-dharma-virōrtham narakam jāti¹¹ [h*] ē-
- 6 tada-dharma-pālanam sarga-lōkam gachchhati¹² [h*] vira-śrī-Narasimhadēva sadā vijai¹³ [h*]

No. 3

- 1 svastī [h*] śrī-vira-Narasimhadēva-rājyē 18 srāhi Kailāsa-
- 2 dēvakai Tulasī-sēnāpatī Rayi-grāma chātura-simā¹⁴ [pra]data [h*]

¹ The *akshara ja* has been incised on another letter originally engraved.

² The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anangabhīma III; but there the following epithet is *paramavaishṇava*.

³ The Kanchipuram inscription has *jagan-mūla-kāraṇa-śrī-Purushōttama-putra*.

⁴ The word *trayī* means the Vēdas.

⁵ The same passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription of Anangabhīma III.

⁶ This passage also occurs in the Kanchipuram inscription.

⁷ The intended reading seems to be *Gajapati* for Sanskrit *Gajapati*.

⁸ Read *vira-śrī-Narasimhadēva*.

⁹ In the place of °*śarai*, early Oriya inscriptions generally have °*śarakai*, °*śaraṅka*, etc. But cf. °*svari* in line 2 of Inscription No. 1.

¹⁰ In correct Sanskrit: *Kailāsaśīkharēśvarāya Nāganā-Bhīmapuram mayā dattam*.

¹¹ In correct Sanskrit: *ētad-dharma-virōdhāt narakam yāti*.

¹² In correct Sanskrit: *ētad-dharma-pālanāt svarga-lōkam gachchhati*.

¹³ In correct Sanskrit: *vira-śrī-Narasimhadēvaḥ sadā vijayī*. The intention may have been to add a word like *bhavadu* here.

¹⁴ Sanskrit *chatuḥ-simā-baddha*.

No. 6—JALORE INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA CHACHIGADĒVA, V.S. 1331

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.3.1958)

The inscription which is published here for the first time was copied by me in December 1957 at Jalore, the head-quarters of the District of the same name in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan. It is engraved on a pillar in the building called *Tōpkhānā* or a shed for artillery. It is believed that this structure was originally a mosque built by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī out of the materials from the local Hindu and Jain temples and that it was later converted into a *Tōpkhānā* by the Rāṭhōḍas.¹ Three inscriptions found in this building were published by the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.² The present inscription is engraved on one face of a rectangular pillar, the other three sides containing three records of Sāmantasīmha who was the successor of Chāchigadēva.

The present inscription covers a space 5½" broad and 18" high and contains 31 lines of writing. It has suffered damage in some places, resulting in the loss or obliteration of several letters. The characters are Nāgarī. As regards orthography, it may be observed that *b* appears to have been distinguished from *v* by a minute dot inside the loop of the former (cf. °*baddha* in line 5). The language is Sanskrit. The abbreviated forms *ṭha*° (lines 8, 12 and 21), *dru*° (lines 17 and 21) and *pu*° (line 12) are found in the record. For the first two, their full forms, *ṭhakkura* (line 7) and *drammāḥ* (line 20) are also met with. And *pu*° appears to stand for *putra*. In the Bālī inscription of Āśvāka³ dated V. S. 1200, we have *pū*° *Mōhaṇasuta* and Bhandarkar could not explain the contraction *pū*°. It seems to stand for *pūjya* which is used in our inscription in *pūjya Dhanēśvarasūri* (lines 18-19). Of lexical interest is the use of the *dēśī* word *vyāja* (line 21). It is used in the sense of 'interest' on money and is the same as Marāṭhī *vyāj* and Hindi *byāj*.

The date is given at the beginning of the record as **Sarṇvat 1331, Āśvina śu [11]**. The portion giving the *tithi* and the first *akshara* of the week-day is badly damaged. But the second *akshara* of the week-day can be read as *rau* so that the word can be restored as *Gurau*. Apparently the same month, fortnight and *tithi* are mentioned again in lines 14-16 of the record, thereby supporting the reading of the *tithi* as 11 in line 1. Thus the date of the record would be V.S. 1331, Āśvina śu. 11, Thursday. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, this date would regularly correspond to the **13th September 1274 A.D.**

The inscription refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārājakula Śrī-Chāchigadēva* ruling at Jāvālipura. This Chāchigadēva is no doubt the king of the Jalore or Songira branch of the Chāhamānas.⁴ Only a few records of this king have been discovered so far and the known dates for him are V.S. 1319, 1323, 1332, 1333 and 1334.⁵ Bhandarkar doubtfully ascribes the damaged Bhinnmal inscription of V.S. 1330 to his reign.⁶ Another record,⁷ found in the same building as the present inscription and dated V. S. 1320, belongs to his period.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of 150 *dramma* coins to the god Mahāvīra in the Chanīdana-vihāra in the Jaina monastery attached to the Nānakīya-gachchha. Nānakīya-gachchha, Chandana-vihāra and god Mahāvīra are mentioned in two of the inscriptions of the

¹ See *Archaeological Reports, Western Circle*, 1908-09, p. 55.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 52-55, 60-62.

³ Ibid., pp. 32-33, No. V, text line 4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List Nos. 561, 569, 586, 587 and 592.

⁶ Ibid., No. 581., p. 383, Table No. 13.

⁷ Ibid., No. 563. For another inscription of the king, dated V. S. 1328, see JBRs, Vol. XL, pp. 341-42.

time of Chāchigadēva referred to above.¹ The *vihāra* is called there *Mahārāja-srī-Chandana-vihāra*. This Jaina *gachchha* Nāṇakiya is evidently called after the place Nāṇaka or Nāṇā in the Bāli District of the Jodhpur Division.² An inscription from Nāṇā, dated V.S. 1290 (1243 A.D.), gives the ancient name of the place as Nāṇaka³ from which the name of the *gachchha* is derived. The Chandana-vihāra was apparently named after king Chandana of the Jalore branch of the Paramāras. This branch is known from the only record of Visala who was sixth in descent from Chandana. It is found at Jalore and is dated V.S. 1174.⁴ Chandana, the son of Vākpatirāja, was the first prince of this branch.⁵

The occasion for the grant was the *Ashṭāhnikā* festival conducted on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Āsvayuja. It is mentioned as *Ashṭāhnikapadi* in the record of V.S. 1320 referred to above. This Jain festival is usually conducted in the months of Āshāḍha, Kārttikā and Phālguṇa.⁶ But the present record shows that it was conducted in the month of Āsvina also.⁷ The last eight days of these months were observed as days of *Ashṭāhnikā-parva* when special worship was conducted in the Jain temples. Since the months were *Pūrṇimānta*, Āsvina śu. 11 falls during the last eight days of the month.

The description of the donor and his relatives is given in lines 7-14. The name of the donor which occurs in line 11 cannot be read satisfactorily as the first letter is too much obliterated. It seems to consist of three letters, the second and third of which are *raī*. The first letter appears to be *Nā* or *Nām* so that the name may be Nānival. The same name seems to occur again at the beginning of line 22 where also, unfortunately, the first letter is damaged and lost. The inscription describes him as the son of Dēdō and the brother of Dhaṇasīha (Dhanasiniha) and as belonging to the Kāyastha lineage. By his charitable acts he became celebrated in his own family. He accompanied by his brothers Vishṇu, [Phū]dā and Harichandā (Harichandra), his sons [Rai]-vaśīha (Raivasiniha) and Bhuvanaśīha (Bhuvanasiniha) and his mother, made the above-mentioned grant. The money was entrusted to the Superintendent of the monastery (*Maṭhapati*) and the members of the assembly (*gōshṭhikas*)⁸ in the presence of Dhanēśvara-sūri. It is stipulated that the interest on the granted money amounting to 15 *dramma* coins should be spent on worship, offering and supervision. It may be noted that the interest works out to be 10 per cent of the principal. Apparently this interest was realised annually. The gift was made in order to promote the welfare of the donor. If the *maṭhapati* and the *gōshṭhikas* would not conduct the worship and failed to observe the ceremonies on the *ekādaśī* day, then they would incur the curse of Pārśva-nātha and Mahāvīra and would not obtain any merit as long as the moon and the sun would endure. The record ends with the words *śubham bhavatu* followed by *chha* written three times between double *daṇḍas* indicating the end of the writing.⁹

¹ Bhandarkar's List Nos. 563, 569. For the texts of these records see P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, Pt. I, p. 240 (Nos. 901-02).

² There are several instances in which the Jain *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in Marwar; e.g. Saṇḍēraka-gachchha is called after Saṇḍēra or Saṇḍēraka, identified with modern Sāṇḍērāv near Bāli (cf. above, Vol. XI, p. 31).

³ *Archaeological Survey, West. Circle*, 1907-08, pp. 48-49.

⁴ Bhandarkar's List No. 194. Another inscription at Jalore informs us that Chaulukya Kumārapāla constructed a temple called Kumāra-vihāra (above, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55).

⁵ D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 343.

⁶ Mirji Annarao, *Jaina Dharma* (Kannada), p. 572.

⁷ This Jaina festival is referred to in the Halsi plates of Kadamba Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 26, text lines 15-17; *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 271). The record states that the king ordained that the festival of Jinendra's glory, lasting for eight days, should be celebrated every year on the full-moon day of Kārttika. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Sircar for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁸ The expressions *maṭhapati* and *gōshṭhika* should have to be taken separately. Cf. *maṭhapatinā gōshṭhikaischa* in the record of V.S. 1320 of Chāchigadēva referred to above.

⁹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note.

The place-name Jāvālipura mentioned as the seat of the royal residence is, of course, modern Jalore where the record is found.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham²[1*] Sam³1331 varshē Aśvinē³ [su 11]⁴ .⁵
- 2 [rau] ady=ēha śrī-Jāvālipurē
- 3 Mahārājakula-śrī-Chāchiga-
- 4 dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rā[jyē]
- 5 śrī-Nāṇakīya-gachchha-pratibaddha-
- 6 Jin-ālayē śrī-Chaṇḍana-vihā-
- 7 rē Kāyasth-ānvayē ṭhakkura Dēdō-
- 8 putra-ṭha⁶-Dhaṇasīha-bhrātri(trā) sakala-
- 9 dharmm-ārā[ma]-kuly-ātulyē[na] .⁶
- 10 ja-ku[la]-nabhas-tala-sasāmkē[na]
- 11 ṭha⁷-[Nām]vai-nāmadhēyēna bhrātri-
- 12 [Vi]shṇu-[Phū]⁷dām-Harichanḍa⁸-pu⁹-ṭha⁹-[Rai]-
- 13 va[śī]ha-Bhuva[na]śīha-mātarā⁹-
- 14 pramukha-saṇṇa(sama)nvitēna Asauja¹⁰
- 15 [mā]sē śu[kla]¹¹-pakshē ēkādaśī-ti-
- 16 [thau] Aṣṭāṇnikā-mahōtsavē śrī-Ma-
- 17 .¹²vīradēvasya pūj-ārtham dra 150 śa-
- 18 [tam paṇ]cha(chā)śad-adhikam pradattam(ttam) [1*] pūjya-śrī-Dha-
- 19 [nē]śvara-sūṇṇam samakshā(ksham) maṭhapati-
- 20 [gō]shṭikānām¹³ drammāḥ samarpitās=cha [1*]

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read *Aśvina*.

⁴ The number 11 appears to have been incised here.

⁵ The lost *akshara* may be restored as *Gu*.

⁶ The lost *akshara* may be restored as *nī*.

⁷ The reading of this letter is not certain.

⁸ The intended reading of the name may be *Harichandra*.

⁹ Read *mātri*.

¹⁰ Read *Aśvayuja*.

¹¹ It appears that the engraver first carved *la* and then added *ka*.

¹² This *akshara* can be restored as *hā*.

¹³ Read *gōshṭikābhyaḥ*.

- 21 [ē]tēshā[m] drammānām vyājēna dia 15 tha°
 22 [Nām]¹vaī-śrēy-ōrtham pūjā-naivēdya-prē-
 23 [ksha]²ṇ-ādikaṁ(kam) ā-chamdr-ārka[m] yāvat
 24 kārāpanīyam(yam)³|| yadi tē mathapa-
 25 ti-gōshṭi(shṭhi)kāḥ pūjām na kurvvaṁti
 26 ēkādaśī-tithi-kārya-[ka]raṇā-
 27 [ni] lōpayamti tadā śrī-Pārśvanā-
 28 [tha]-śrī-Mahāvīradēvayōr=dōshē-
 29 ṇa dūshyam[tē] | [chha]⁴ | tāvad ā-cham-
 30 dr-ārka[m] yāvat⁵ [puṇyē]na [na*] gīhyan-
 31 tē || śubham bhavatu || chha || chha | chha ||

¹ This *akshara* seems to be the same as suggested in the name in line 11 above.

² The form *prēkshāṇika* occurs in the same context in two Bhinmal inscriptions (cf. *Bomb. Gas.*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 482, 485).

³ Read *karaṇīyam*.

⁴ This damaged letter which is read as *chha* is unnecessary here.

⁵ The order of *yāvat* and *tāvat* has been reversed here.

No. 7—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

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(Received on 24.2.1958)

9. Creation of Rent-free Holdings

There are some copper-plate charters¹ which record the sale of Government land to an applicant paying the usual price and the Government's acceptance of his proposal to create a rent-free holding out of the purchased land in favour of Brāhmaṇas or religious institutions. In such a transaction, it was believed, according to an ancient Indian convention, that five-sixths of the religious merit for the creation of the revenue-free holding would go to the purchaser of the land and one-sixth of it to the king of the country, whose government alone could create such a holding.²

There is another kind of charters which, instead of speaking of the sale of the land that was created into a rent-free holding by the king in favour of Brāhmaṇas or religious institutions, merely state that the particular holding was created at the request of a certain officer or feudatory of the king or some other persons.³ In spite of the absence of any reference to sale in such records, some of them appear to be based on a transaction involving sale.⁴ Thus the Nālandā plate⁵ of Dēvapāla records a grant of five villages by the Pāla king to a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā at the request of *Mahārāja* Bālaputradēva who was the lord of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and was responsible for establishing the monastery. The five villages were apparently purchased by Bālaputradēva from Dēvapāla as otherwise the whole of the religious merit accruing to the pious act of endowing the monastery with a rent-free holding for its maintenance would go to Dēvapāla and nothing at all to Bālaputradēva.⁶ This was no doubt an undesirable position for the king of Sumatra. If he really purchased the villages, as he no doubt did, five-sixths of the merit would be his and only one-sixth would go to Dēvapāla according to the convention referred to above.

But as regards the land made a rent-free holding at the request of an officer or feudatory of the king, it was no doubt in many cases lying within his *jāgīr* or fief or estate. In the case of land forming part of *jāgīrs* which royal officers of ancient India enjoyed temporarily,⁷ their occupants lost the rent of the land in question so long as they were in their possession. But the king's

¹ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 337 ff., 342 ff., 346 ff., 350 ff., 359 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 344, text line 13 ; p. 348, text line 16 ; p. 352, text line 13 ; p. 362, text line 11. See also *Manu-smṛiti*, VIII, 304 ; *Viṣṇu-smṛiti*, III, 13-14. The same idea is also referred to in other records like the Dāmōdarpur plates, No. 3, line 7 (above, Vol. XV, p. 136), and No. 5, line 12 (op. cit., p. 143). The texts of most of the inscriptions have often been misunderstood. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 352, note 5.

³ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 331, 375, 421, etc.. It may be pointed out that the feudatory's name was mentioned in royal charters in this fashion only when he was regarded as of some importance. When he grew more powerful, he issued charters himself with the permission of his master (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.). With further growth in his power, his charters were issued without reference to his master's permission but without concealing his subordinate position or indicating it somewhat vaguely (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 201, 266, 332 ; Vol. XXX, p. 139 ; etc.). When still more powerful, he issued his grants without any reference to his master and endowing himself with a combination of subordinate and imperial titles which could in some cases be so interpreted as to indicate either his subordinate position or independent status (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 329 ; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 109, 284 ; Vol. XXIX, p. 186). The next stage of course is represented by his charters issued as a full-fledged independent ruler.

⁴ The sale of land was generally represented in ancient India as a gift. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 48, note 2.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1613.

⁶ Cf. R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālīr Itihās*, Vol. I, B.S. 1330, p. 210.

⁷ Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 177.

loss of revenue was greater as the land was rent-free even when the fief reverted to him or was subsequently allotted to some other officer. It therefore seems that the occupants of *jāgīrs* had to compensate the king's loss at least partially for the creation of revenue-free holdings within their fiefs, as otherwise they could scarcely expect the full religious merit accruing to the pious act. We have also cases¹ where a king is found to ratify the rent-free holdings created in their *jāgīrs* by members of the royal family.

But it appears to us that a number of grants of rent-free lands issued by the kings were really made on behalf of persons whose names are not mentioned in the documents. This seems to be suggested by the fact that, in a few cases, even though the grants are recorded in the king's name, an endorsement at the end of the documents says that they were made by others and in reality there is a contradiction between facts as stated in the charter proper and in the endorsement. An important document of this type is the Bangaon plate² of Vighrahapāla, which purports to record the grant of a village by the Pāla king in favour of a Brāhmaṇa, although in an endorsement at the end it is summarily stated that the grant was made by an officer of the king named Ghaṇṭīśa out of his own *jāgīr*.

Another interesting fact is that the indication of a particular grant being actually made by one of the king's officers or feudatories but represented as one made by the king is not clear in the documents though some of them appear to suggest the fact vaguely. There are many records which introduce a person without any ostensible relation with the charter stated to have been granted by the king. Such an introduction is often found at the end of the documents exactly in the position of the endorsement in the Bangaon plate of Vighrahapāla III, referred to above. In a few cases, such an enigmatic name is also met with in the body of the charter without any justification for its introduction. Since it is inexplicable why persons without anything to do with the grants should be mentioned in royal charters at all, we suspect that they might have been the real donors of the grants in question and the fact was intended to be rather vaguely indicated in the said way. It also appears that there was an amount of reluctance on the part of the Government to admit such a fact.

The Mēhār plate³ of Dāmōdara records a grant of lands in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. But at the end of the king's description in verse, there is one stanza introducing Gaṅgādharadēva who was the officer in charge of the royal elephant force. The introduction of this person, as we have indicated elsewhere, cannot be explained unless it is supposed that he was the real donor of the grant although the king was not eager to mention the fact explicitly in the document.⁴

The Andhavaram plates⁵ of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman record the grant of a village as an *agrahāra* or rent free holding in favour of several Brāhmaṇas. The king is mentioned as the donor. But, at the end, the record is stated to have been written under orders of śrī-Lōkārṇavadēva who vanquished many foes. The editor of the inscription says, "These plates furnish us with a new Gaṅga name—Lōkārṇava." But he admits that the identity of this person cannot be determined without further evidence.

The charter was issued in the Gaṅga year 133. But, instead of describing it as the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* or *Gāṅgēya-vamśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara* as we

¹ See the cases of such holdings created by Princes Sūryasēna and Purushōttamasēna and ratified by king Viśvarūpasēna in his Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147; *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 206-07).

² Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 48 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 182 ff.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 52-53.

⁵ Ibid., p. 37 ff.



find in other Gaṅga records, the inscription in question calls it *Tumburu-vaṁśa-rājya-saṁvatsara*. This reminds us of the Santa-Bommali plates¹ issued by a Kadamba feudatory of a Gaṅga king, which describe the Gaṅga era as *Gaṅga-Kadamba-vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara* even though the Kadambas had nothing to do with the establishment of the era. It appears to us that the grant recorded in the Andhavaram plates of Gaṅga Indravarman was really made by his feudatory Lōkārṇava of the Tumburu dynasty. Unless such was the case, it is difficult to explain why he was introduced as ordering for the writing of the document and the Gaṅga era is described only in this record as associated with the Tumburu dynasty.²

There is a stanza about the end of a charter issued by the Śailōdbhava king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa.³ The inscription was edited by N. G. Majumdar who believed that the date of the grant, viz., year 50, should be referred to the Harsha era so as to yield 656 A.D. There is, however, little doubt that the inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the Śailōdbhava king. The stanza in question has been read by Majumdar as follows :

Jayati Jayanta-pratimaḥ prasabha-samākṛiṣṭa-ripu-nṛipa-śrīkaḥ |

Śrīdhara[pō(pan)]raḥ kṣhitipō varadīkṛita-lōkanātha-sakhaḥ ||

Since another verse in the inscription states that king Mādhavavarman made the grant from his camp at Mādhavapura (probably named after himself), Majumdar suggests that the expression *Śrīdharapura* refers to the king's stay, at the time of making the grant, at Śrīdharapura which is identical with Mādhavapura. He also says, "It further describes him (i.e. king Mādhavavarman) as a friend of the *lōkanātha* who was graciously disposed towards him. By the term *lōkanātha* we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance." We are sorry that we cannot agree either with Majumdar's reading or with his interpretation. In the first place, what has been read as *śrīdharapōraḥ* and corrected to *śrīdharapuraḥ* has been read by S. N. Rajaguru, who has recently edited the inscription without noticing that it was previously published, as *śrīvaranmōraḥ*.⁴ In regard to the reading *va* for *dha*, Rajaguru seems to be right since the *akshara* has a clear top *mātrā* which is expected in *v* and not in *dh*. The other disputed *akshara* looks more like *mō* or *pa* than *pō*. The reading of the expression thus seems to be *śrī-Varanmōraḥ* or *śrī-Varanmōraḥ*. Secondly, the reference in the verse can hardly be to the Śailōdbhava king as the feudatory of a certain *lōkanātha*, 'a king'. He was no doubt a feudatory of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.). But his later records including the said epigraph are dated in his regnal reckoning and most of them (including the inscription in question) describe him as the performer of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice.⁵ There is thus little doubt that these charters were issued after Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa had thrown off the yoke of the Gauḍa king. In our opinion, *lōkanātha* mentioned in the stanza quoted above is no other than the Śailōdbhava king himself and the illustrious Varanmōra or Varanara was his feudatory who was the real donor of the grant. The word *varadīkṛita* refers to the favour shown by the king to the feudatory by agreeing to the creation of the rent-free holding recorded in the inscription no doubt at the feudatory's request.

While re-editing the Balangir Museum plates⁶ of the 8th regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, we did not fully realise the implication of the endorsement at the end of it referring to Prince

¹ Bhandarkar's List No. 2053.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1951-52, p. 5.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 148 ff.

⁴ *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. II, Parts 3-4, p. 19.

⁵ See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 166 ff.

⁶ *JAS, Letters*, Vol. XIX, p. 117 ff.

Durgarāja, described as the son of Svabhāvatūṅga whom we identified with Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I himself. The introduction of the prince is really inexplicable and it now appears to us that he was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by his father.

Similarly, the real implication of the enigmatic endorsement at the end of the Mahada plates¹ escaped us while re-editing the inscription. It appears to us now that Yaśōgaja, who seems to be described in the endorsement as a ruling chief born in the family of the issuer of the charter, i.e., king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman III, was the real donor of the grant which was ratified by the king. If this was not the case, the endorsement is quite meaningless.

10. Khajjana=Khajjana=Khajjāna=Khajjanaka

The word *khajjana*, also spelt *khajjana*, *khajjāna* and *khajjanaka*, occurs in several inscriptions of the western part of South India. In the Argā (Karwar District) plates² of Kāpālivarman, which may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, the word *khajjāna* is found in the following passage in lines 3-6: *Śivapuraka-grāmē Āditya-śrēṣṭhi-Pukkōlli-khajjānam...dattam*. We have also the following three passages mentioning *khajjana* in the Bandora (Goa) plates³ of Prithivīmallavarman who seems to have flourished in the seventh century A.D.: (1) *atra grāma-sīmē Kapōli-khajjanam asmai Brāhmaṇāya...sampradattam* (lines 3-4); (2) *khajjana-madhyasthō=pi yūpakah Brāhmaṇāy=aiva datta iti* (lines 7-8); (3) *khajjana-parimāṇam* (line 10). The word *khajjana* is thrice used in the Panjim (Goa) plates⁴ of king Jayakēśin I of the Kadamba family of Goa, dated Śaka 981 (1059 A.D.), in the following three passages: (1) *Pāvara-khajjana* (line 48); (2) *Kalp-ākhyā-khajjana* (line 49); (3) *Pratīva(ba)la-khajjana* (line 50). A copper-plate grant⁵ of Tribhuvanamalla of the same dynasty, dated Śaka 1028 (1107 A.D.), uses the word *khajjanaka* in verse 31 in lines 31-32, which runs as follows:—

Nannapayyān=namasyam cha Hōḍḍa-khajjanakam krayāt |
kṛitam Nāyyēna tasmāt=tat=kṛtvā prādāch=chhatais=tribhiḥ |

The word *khajjana=khajjana=khajjāna=khajjanaka* has not yet been satisfactorily understood. While editing the Argā plates, Mr. A. M. Annigeri admits that the expression *Pukkōlli-khajjāna* occurring in the record 'cannot be explained',⁶ while Mr. P. B. Desai suggests in an editorial note that the word *khajjāna* and its variants may denote 'a specific area of cultivable land or locality'.⁷

There is, however, no doubt that *khajjana*, etc., are the same as the Marāṭhī word spelt both as *khājan* and *khājan*. According to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, this word means 'a salt-marsh or meadow; land lying along the shore of the sea or of inlets, and exposed to be flooded; ground recovered by embankment from sea'. The *Mahārāṣṭra Śabdakōśa* also explains the word as 'the area [near the sea-shore] on which a thin layer of sand and mud accumulates after the ebb-tide coming through inlets; a rice field created out of such an area near a hillock by erecting embankments on the three other sides; a field created by reclamation of the river bed'.⁸ It will thus be seen that *khajjana* and its variants really mean a particular type of cultivable land or a plot of land of the said type. That it does not mean a specific area of land seems to be indicated by the mention of an object standing within a *khajjana* as found in the Bandora plates and of a *khajjana* called by the name Kalpa in the Panjim plates, both quoted above.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 232 ff.

³ See below, pp. 293 ff.

⁴ G. M. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 397; M. G. Dikshit, *BISMQ*, Vol. XXXI, Part IV, pp. 27 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 71 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233. Annigeri reads *Pukkōlli-khajjāna*.

⁷ Ibid., p. 234, note 4.

⁸ This meaning is clearly supported by the Bandora plates speaking of *lavana-jalam sētund nivāryya kshētram=utpādyā* (lines 8-9).

It has to be seen that the word *khajjana* and its variants are often used together with another expression as in *Pukkōlli-khajjana*, *Kapōti-khajjana*, *Pāvara-khajjana*, *Kalp-ākhyā-khajjana*, *Pratibala-khajjana* and *Hōḍḍa-khajjanaka*. The possibilities are that Pukkōlli, Kapōti, Pāvara, Pratibala and Hōḍḍa are names of persons or localities or that the words in question indicate particular types of the land styled *khajjana*=*khajjana*=*khajjana*=*khajjanaka*. Of the three suggestions, however, the one that Pukkōlli, Kapōti, Pāvara, Pratibala and Hōḍḍa are personal names appears to be better than the other two. Kalpa may have, of course, been the name of the field in question.

In line 15 of the Sirsi (North Kanara District) plates¹ of Kadamba Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.), we have the expression *Baṁdu-Pukkūli-kshētrē*.² *Pukkūli* may be a variant of *Pukkōlli* of the Argā plates. Another variant of the same appears in the passage *chaturvīṁśati-nivarttanam Pukkōḷi-kshētram* in lines 4-5 of the Kuntagani plates³ of the same Kadamba king. The occurrence of the same expression in several records seems to suggest that it is not the name of a locality since that would indicate that there were too many different localities bearing the same peculiar name. If this is regarded as a particular type of *khajjana* land, *Kapōti*, *Pāvara*, *Pratibala* and *Hōḍḍa* should also have to be taken to mean similar other types. That would make too many types of the land indicated by the word *khajjana* and its variants. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to suggest that Pukkōlli, Pukkūli and Pukkōḷi are the variants of a personal name. In such a case, the expressions *Ādityaśrēṣṭhi-Pukkōlli-khajjana* would indicate a plot of the *khajjana* type of land in the possession of two persons named Ādityaśrēṣṭhin and Pukkōlli, while *Baṁdu-Pukkūli-kshētra* would similarly mean a plot of land in the possession of two persons called Baṁdu and Pukkūli. Since, in *Ādityaśrēṣṭhi-Pukkōlli*, Ādityaśrēṣṭhin seems to be a complete personal name and Ādityaśrēṣṭhi-pukkōlli does not appear to be a single name, Baṁdu and Pukkūli in the passage *Baṁdu-Pukkūli-kshētra* should better be taken to mean two personal names rather than Baṁdu-pukkūli as one such name.⁴

It seems that *khajjana* of the Argā plates is a wrong spelling of *khajjana* or *khajjanu*.

11. Paṅga=Pāṅga=Paṅgā

The earliest reference to the word *paṅga* is found in the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates⁵ of the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja śrī-vijaya-śiva-Mṛigēśavarman (c. 470-90 A.D.) of Vijayantī. In this case, a village was granted in favour of a Brāhmaṇa with a number of privileges, one of which is indicated by the expression *parihṛita-paṅg-ōḷkōḷa* (lines 17-18). In a similar context, the expression *sarvva-paṅga-parihṛita* is used as an epithet of the gift village in the Goa plates⁶ of Chālukya Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, dated Śaka 532 (610 A.D.). The passage *Vaṇśa(Vaṁśa)vāṭakō... udaka-pūrvvakam sarvva-paṅga-parihṛitō dattō* occurs in lines 11-12 of the Kāpōli (Belgaum District) plates⁷ of king Aśaṅkitavarman of the Bhōja family, who seems to have flourished in the sixth or seventh century A.D. The same word occurs in the form *pāṅga* in the following passage in lines 26-27 of a copper-plate grant⁸ (Śaka 1028=1107 A.D.) of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla : *śatāt=krītvā dadāu sarvva=ētat=pāṅg-ādi-varjjitam*. In a similar passage in line 42 of the Panjim plates⁹ (Śaka 981=1059 A.D.) of Kadamba Jayakēśin I, it is stated that the donee was to pay *pāṅga* at a fixed rate every year for the village that was granted to him by the king.

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 264 ff.

² Ibid., p. 267, note 9.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 217 ff.

⁴ Can *pukkūli* be derived from old Telugu *poṁkalu*, 'arecanuts', in the sense of an arecanut plantation? Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 197, note 3.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, p. 136, Hunsur No. 18, and Plates.

⁶ *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 348 ff. and Plates; above Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3. Cf. also *sarvva-paṅga-parihṛita* in line 7 of the Bandora plates (below, p. 295).

⁷ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 234 ff.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 77 ff.

⁹ Cf. *QJMS*, Vol. XLV, p. 66.

The word *paṅga*=*pāṅga* has not been properly interpreted. B. L. Rice while translating the Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates admitted his inability to interpret the expression *paṅg-ōtkōṭa*.¹ K. T. Telang while editing the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman read *sarva-paṅgu-parihṛita* and translated the expression as 'free from all lame people', although Kielhorn later pointed out that the correct reading is *paṅga* and not *paṅgu*.²

Mr. P. B. Desai offered several suggestions on the interpretation of this word. In a note published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, he explained *pāṅga* as 'form' or 'shape' and interpreted the passage *Bhairavāḥ pāṅgē Gadyāṇakāḥ* occurring in the Panjim plates as 'Gadyāṇakas (i.e. coins of that name) of the Bhairava type', although an alternative suggestion offered was that *pāṅgē* may be a mistake for *poṅgē* derived from *pon* meaning 'gold'.³ But later he gave up the above interpretations of the word and offered the following suggestion: "The expression is not found in Sanskrit or Prakrit. It may, however, be connected with the Kannada *paṅgu* meaning 'obligation' or 'indebtedness'. This suggestion is supported by the context which shows that the ground for the collection of *pāṅga* or fee was obligation. The word has passed into the Marāṭhī language and is used in expressions like *pāṅga phēḍaṇem* (to discharge the debt)."⁴

The word *paṅga*=*pāṅga* as found in the inscriptions referred to above is no doubt the same as Telugu *paṅgamu* recognised in Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* in the sense of 'a tax in the shape of one-fourth of the produce collected in olden times by the government on lands in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas' (*dēva-Brāhmaṇa-vṛittula mīda pūrvapu sarkāruvāru tīsikonē chaturth-āṁśam=ayina kappamu*). It may be connected with Tamil *paṅgu* and Malayalam *paṅka* recognised in Wilson's *Glossary* in the sense of 'a share'. Dr. R. Narasimha Rao has drawn my attention to the use of the word in a large number of Telugu inscriptions of the medieval period.

Inscription No. 588 in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, dated Śaka 1189 (1267 A.D.), contains the passage *āya-sumkkamu paṅga lēkumḍān=istimi*, "we have made this grant with the exemption of *āya-śulka* and *paṅga*". No. 257 of Vol. X of the same work, dated Śaka 1133 (1211 A.D.) has similarly *i vṛttiki paṅgāmu lēdu*, "there is no *paṅga* in respect of this gift land". No. 405 (Śaka 1187=1265 A.D.), No. 422 (Śaka 1191=1269 A.D.), Nos. 449 and 450 (Śaka 1202=1280 A.D.), No. 488 (Śaka 1221=1299 A.D.), No. 492 (Śaka 1225=1303 A.D.), No. 499 (Śaka 1233=1311 A.D.), No. 520 (Śaka 1238=1316 A.D.), No. 527 (Śaka 1241=1319 A.D.), No. 539 (of the time of Kākatīya Rudra) and No. 540 (of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra) of the same volume have the following passages respectively: (1) *dunnurārikim baṅggamu lēdu* (the cultivators of this land are exempted from *paṅga*), (2) *erraru dunninānu paṅga-tappu paṅga-sumkkamu pannu kānika dariśanamū ē-mēralavārūnu ēmīm gona-lēdu* (*paṅga-tappu*, *paṅga-śulka*, *pannu*, *kānika* and *darśana* are not levied from the cultivators anywhere), (3) *paṅgamu sarva-mānyamu* (a free holding which is *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*), (4) *paṅga* (not *paṅgu* as in the printed text) *kānika mannana āchāṁdr-ārkkamugānu* (we have permanently exempted it from *paṅga* and *kānika*), (5) *i chēniki paṅga-tappu-sumkkamu aḍigina-varu(cūru) paṁchcha-mahāpātakānam baḍuduru* (the collectors of *paṅga-tappu-śulka* will be committing the five great sins), (6) *paṅgamu lēkumḍānum sarva-mānyamugānu mānitimi* (no *paṅga* will be levied by us on the free-holding), (7) *ellanāṇṭikini upakshiti paṅgamu puti māḍalu kānika dariśanamū mānnimstim* (we exempt from *upakshiti*, *paṅga*, *putti*, *māḍalu*, *kānika* and *darśana* for ever), (8) *paṅga-sarva-mānyamu... ichiri* (made

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, translation, p. 85. We also failed to explain the expression while discussing the inscription in the *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 266.

² *JBBRAS*, op. cit., pp. 365-66; above, Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3.

³ *QJMS*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 75; cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 236, note 2.

the grant of a free-holding as *paṅga*, i.e., exempted from *paṅga*), (9) *paṅga-mānyamu* (a free-holding which is *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*), (10) *paṅgamu veṭṭina paḍupāpālam baḍu-vāru* (the collectors of *paṅga* from the cultivators of this land will be committing all sins), and (11) *paṅga-mānyamugā viḍiche* (made the free-holding *paṅga*, i.e. free from *paṅga*). The passage *paṅggamu lēdu* (exempted from *paṅga*) also occurs in Inscription No. 7 from Ongole in the *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, Vol. II.

In these records *paṅga* or *paṅgā*, besides *paṅga-tappu* and *paṅga-śulka*, or *paṅga-tappu-śulka* in a single compound, is in some cases mentioned along with other levies called *āya-śulka*, *pannu*, *kānika*, *darśana*, *upakshiti*, *puṭṭi* and *māḍalu*. In some cases, the word *paṅga* has been used as an adjective in the sense of 'free from *paṅga*'. The distinction between *paṅga-tappu* and *paṅga-śulka* is not clear. While *paṅga-śulka* may be the same as *paṅga* explained above, *paṅga-tappu* may indicate interest or fine on arrears of *paṅga*.

Of the seven other items mentioned in the records quoted above, *darśana* is the same as Persian *nazrāna*, originally a gift or present from an inferior to a superior, a holy man or a prince. Both *āya* and *śulka* mean 'toll, tax, customs,' etc., and the compound *āya-śulka* may have been used in the records in the sense of 'customs duties'. Wilson's *Glossary* recognises *pannu* as a Tamil word meaning 'tax, tribute, custom, rent'. It is also recognised in Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* in the sense of 'a tax, rent, duties'. *Kānika* seems to be the same as Kannaḍa *kānike-kāṇe* or *kānike-kappa* recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a present from an inferior to a superior, a subscription, a donation'. Brown recognises Telugu *kānika* or *kānuka* in the same sense. *Puṭṭi* reminds us of Telugu *puṭṭi-dōsillu* recognised by Wilson in the sense of 'a fee of two handfuls from each *puṭṭi* of grain paid to the village servants'. *Māḍalu* similarly reminds us of what Wilson says under *māḍa*: "a half pagoda; whence it is applied to a rate of rent or payment of 50 per cent." I am not sure about the real meaning of *upakshiti*.

The Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates of Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman uses the expression *parihṛita-paṅg-ōtkōṭa* (exempted from *paṅga* and *utkōṭa*), in which *utkōṭa* is another allied fiscal term like *paṅga*. The Sanskrit form *utkōṭa* is not found in the lexicons; but its Prakrit form *ukkōḍa*, as used in the Jain *Vyavahārasūtra*, has been recognised by H. T. Seth in his *Pāiasaddamahāṇṇavō* in the sense of 'things to be offered to the *rājakula* (the king, royal officers and members of the royal family)' and 'presents made to the king and others'. The same lexicon recognises *ukkōḍā*, which appears to be a feminine form of the same word, as found in works like the *Dēśināmamālā*, *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* and *Vipākśrūta*, in the allied sense of 'bribe'.

While the form *pāṅga* may be a word derived from *paṅgu* in the same sense, *paṅgā* may be a wrong spelling of *paṅga*. The expression *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita* (exempted from all the *paṅgas*) used in some cases would suggest that *paṅga* often indicated a levy in general and that there were various kinds of it. The use of expressions like *paṅga-śulka* and *paṅga-tappu* (cf. also *paṅga-tappu-śulka*) in the same context along with other taxes seems to suggest that *paṅgu* was sometimes also used to indicate a particular group of levies.

No. 8—BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.1.1958)

Cunningham discovered the remains of the ancient Buddhist Stūpa at **Barhut** (also spelt *Bharhut* and *Bharaut*) in the former Nagaud State, of late merged in Madhya Pradesh, in 1873. The 'best and the most valuable of the sculptured remains' were purchased by him for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and are now exhibited in the Archaeological Section of that Museum. The inscriptions incised on the stones pertaining to the said collection were studied by Cunningham,¹ Hoernle,² Hultzsch³ and Lüders⁴ as well as by Barua and Sinha.⁵ Some more relics of the same religious establishment, probably those rejected by Cunningham, were lying in a godown of the rulers of the Nagaudh State. These were secured some years ago by Pandit Vrij Mohan Vyas for the Municipal Museum at Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. There are altogether seven inscriptions in the Barhut collection of the Allahabad Museum. An unsatisfactory impression of one of these epigraphs reached me more than ten years ago and I published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 113-14; but the impression was too flimsy for reproduction. About the end of 1957 I visited the Allahabad Museum and Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to copy all the inscriptions of the Barhut collection. The epigraphs are published in the following pages.

Like most of the published inscriptions from Barhut, the records under study are small epigraphs in one or two lines. The characters belong to the **Brāhmī** alphabet of about the **second century B. C.** The language of the inscriptions is **Prakrit**.

No. 1

The pillar bearing the inscription in one line near the representation of an acrobatic scene bears the Museum number Ac/2915.⁶ The line is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and individual *aksharas* are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. The letters are smaller in size in the present epigraph than in any other in the Barhut collection in the Allahabad Museum. This inscription was published by me without illustration in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, referred to above. But, on a careful examination of the record, it is now found that there are some errors in the observations on the epigraph contained in my article.

I then read the inscription as follows:

Pusadataye⁷ nāgarikāye bhikhuniye [sa].

It was suggested that the epigraph, supposed to be fragmentary, records the gift of a pillar or rail by the nun Pushyadattā of the city where the ancient Stūpa was situated. I also suggested that Pushyadattā of this inscription is identical with the nun of that name mentioned in another Barhut inscription read by Barua and Sinha as:

Pusadatāye nagarikaye bhichhuniye Sakāya thabho dānam.

¹ See his *Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1879.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 118 ff., 255 ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 25 ff. Cf. Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum*, 1883.

³ *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, pp. 58 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

⁴ *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, above, Vol. X, Appendix, No. 687-903.

⁵ *Barhut Inscriptions*, 1926.

⁶ See S.C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedikā*, p. 30, No. 1.

⁷ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

The full text of our inscription was therefore restored as: *Pusadataye nāgarikāye bhikhuniye Sakāye sūchi* (or *thabho*) *dānam* and translated as, "[A rail (or, pillar) which is the gift] of the [Buddhist] nun Pushyadattā, an inhabitant of the city."

It is now seen that there is no trace of any letter after the word *bhikhuniye* and the epigraph is therefore not fragmentary. Of course a layer of the stone has peeled off about the end of the line; but, even if it may be supposed that there were some letters in this damaged part, they could not have been more than two in number since there is no space for more. At best therefore the word *dānam* may have been engraved after *bhikhuniye*, although I feel that *bhikhuniye* is the last word of the record. Indeed *Pusadataye nāgarikāye bhikhuniye* (i.e. "[The gift] of Pushyadattā, the nun of the city") and *Sakāye thabho dānam* (i.e. "The pillar [which is] the gift of Śakā") are two different records as read by Cunningham and do not make a single record as suggested by Barua and Sinha.

The word *bhikshunī* is found in the Barhut records in both the forms *bhichhuni* and *bhikhuni*.¹

No. 2

The cross-bar bearing this inscription in one line bears the number Ac/2972.² It is incised on the stone covering an area about 10½ inches in length. Individual *aksharas* are about ⅛ inch in height. The inscription reads as follows:

[Na]garakhītaśa chu mātu Chakamuchukaye dānam.

It may be translated as: "[This pillar is] the gift of Nāgarakshita and [his] mother Chakamochikā." But the word *chu* seems to suggest that the present epigraph was the second of a set of two inscriptions, the first recording a gift of Nāgarakshita, while the inscription under study only the gift of his mother. The gentleman and the lady mentioned in the record are not known from any other inscription from Barhut. A Buddhist monk of Pushkara, named Nāgarakshita, is, however, known from an inscription³ of about the same period; but he appears to be different from the person of the same name mentioned in the record under study.

No. 3

The railing pillar on which this fragmentary inscription in one line is engraved bears the number Ac/2918.⁴ The writing covers a space measuring 5½ inches in length with individual *aksharas* slightly less than an inch in height. The epigraph reads . . . *girino bhānakasa bhātu*, after which there are traces of an *akshara* which may be *pa* or *ha*. The word *bhānaka* indicates 'a reciter [of sacred texts]' and a number of such reciters are mentioned in the Barhut epigraphs.⁵ Our inscription apparently records the gift either of Ha (or Pa), the brother of a reciter whose name ended with the word *giri*, or of both the reciter and his brother.

This inscription reminds us of another Barhut epigraph⁶ which reads: *Nandagirino bhānakasa Selapurakasa thabho dānam*. "The pillar [which is] the gift of the reciter Nandagiri, an inhabitant of Śailapura". It is not unlikely that the same reciter named Nandagiri is mentioned in the record under study. A person named Nandagiri is known from another Barhut inscription;⁷ but he was not a *bhānaka*.

¹ Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 11, No. 19; pp. 17 f., No. 45 (1 and 3), etc.; and p. 12, No. 22; p. 13, No. 28; p. 18 (4); etc.

² S. C. Kala, op. cit., p. 33, No. 19.

³ Lüders' List, No. 607.

⁴ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

⁵ Cf. Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 8, No. 15; p. 11, No. 20; p. 13, No. 27; etc.

⁶ Ibid., p. 16, No. 41.

⁷ Ibid., p. 37, No. 13.

No. 4

This inscription is engraved on a pillar bearing the number Ac/2914 as a label for the representation of a Nāga offering protection to the Buddha.¹ It is in two lines which cover a space measuring 9 inches by 3½ inches. The letters in the first line are somewhat bigger than those of the second. Individual *aksharas* are between 1" and 2" in height in line 1 and a little less than one inch in line 2. The inscription reads :

1 *Muchalīdo Nāgarāja* [!*]

2 *Tis[ā]yā Benākaṭikā dānā(vam)* [!*]

It may be translated as : " [This is the representation of] Muchalinda, the king of the Nāgas (i.e. dragons). [This is] the gift of Tishyā, an inhabitant of Benākaṭaka." If it is believed that *dānā* has been used in the plural number for Sanskrit *dānāni*, it has probably to be suggested that Tishyā's gift included more than one piece of stone.

The mention of Nāgarāja Muchalinda reminds us of two other Barhut inscriptions² speaking similarly of the Nāga-rāja- Erāpata (Sanskrit *Airāvata* or *Elāpatra*) and Chakravāka. According to Buddhist tradition, when there was a great shower of rain at Uruvelā where the Buddha was spending the third week after his Enlightenment, the Nāga king Muchalinda sheltered him by winding his coils seven times round the Buddha's body and holding his head above the Buddha's head.³ The expression *Benākaṭikā* (Sanskrit *Banākaṭikā*) has been derived from *Benākaṭaka* in the sense of 'a female resident of Benākaṭaka'. The name Benākaṭaka seems to indicate a town (*kaṭaka*) situated on the river Benā which may be a tributary of the Kṛishṇā bearing that name or the Wainganga which is a tributary of the Godāvarī.⁴ But one of the Nasik cave inscriptions appears to locate a place called Benākaṭaka in the district of Govardhana around modern Nasik.⁵

No. 5

This inscription in one line is engraved on a rail stone bearing the number Ac/2967. The writing covers an area of 6½ inches in length and individual *aksharas* are between ½" and ¾" inch in height. The epigraph is both damaged and fragmentary. It reads . . . [*ge Ra*]kh[*i*]tasa thabho dānam. The first *akshara* seems to be the remnant of a word indicating a place name in the feminine gender and the fifth case-ending. We have other cases of this type among the Barhut inscriptions, cf. *Moragirimha Nāgūlāyā bhikkhunīyā dānam thabho*, " [This] pillar [is] the gift of the nun Nāgūlā from Mayūragiri."⁶

No. 6

The fragment of the coping stone on which this inscription in one line is incised bears the number Ac/2925.⁷ The writing covers an area measuring 2½ inches in length with individual *aksharas* about ¾ inch high. The record reads :

Haṁsa-jātakaṁ.

¹ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 31-32, No. 26.

² Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 71.

³ Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, pp. 638-39.

⁴ Cf. Do, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. *Benā* and *Benī*.

⁵ Cf. *Select Inscription*, p. 191 ; Luders' List, No. 1125.

⁶ See, e.g., Barua and Sinha, p. 13, No. 28. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 234, No. 81.

⁷ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 28-29, No. 35.

This reminds us of the numerous scenes from the Jātakas on the Barhut sculptures often bearing inscriptions mentioning the names of particular Jātakas. There is actually another Barhut inscription reading *Hamśa-jātaka*.¹ Among the Jātakas mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions, we have *Maghādeviya-jātaka*, *Isimigo-jātaka*, . . . *niya-jātaka*, *Secha-jātakam*, *Nāga-jātaka*, *Sujatoghuto-jātaka*, *Laṭuvā-jātaka*, *Viḍalajatarakukūṭa-jātaka*, *Uda-jātaka*, *Kimnara-jātaka*, *Miga-jātaka*, *Bhisaharaniya-jātaka*, *Chhadamtiya-jātaka*, *Isisimgiya-jātaka*, *Vitrapunakiya-jātaka*, *Yavamajhakiyam-jātaka* and *Mugapakiya-jātaka*.² It may be pointed out that the names of the Jātakas as quoted in these inscriptions are in some cases found in different forms in the Jātaka collections.

No. 7

The coping stone bearing this inscription has the number Ac/2910.³ The record is in two parts. The height of individual *aksharas* in this epigraph is similar to that of the letters in No. 6. The first part of the inscription reads *Gajā-jātaka Saso*⁴ and the second *jātaka* which, however, seems to be followed by traces of the letters *saso*. The two parts jointly mention the *Gaja-jātaka* and the *Śāśa-jātaka*. Although the *Śāśa-jātaka*⁴ is well known, it is difficult to identify the *Gaja-jātaka*. Among the Jātakas, we have stories in which both the *gaja* (i.e. elephant) and the *śāśa* (i.e. rabbit) are known to have some part to play.⁵

¹ Barua and Sinha, op. cit., p. 81; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 239, No. 158.

² See Ibid., pp. 78, 80-81, 83, 85, 87-89, 91-94, 97; Lüders' List, Nos. 691; 694-95, 698, 700-01, 703-04, 706, 724, 730, 769, 785-86, 802, 807, 810, 825, 897. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, No. 72; p. 239, No. 155. For another Jātaka, see ibid., p. 239, No. 157.

³ S. C. Kala, op. cit., pp. 32-33, No. 7.

⁴ See Jātaka No. 316.

⁵ Cf., e.g., Jātaka No. 322 (*Daddabha-jātaka*).



No. 2



No. 6



No. 3



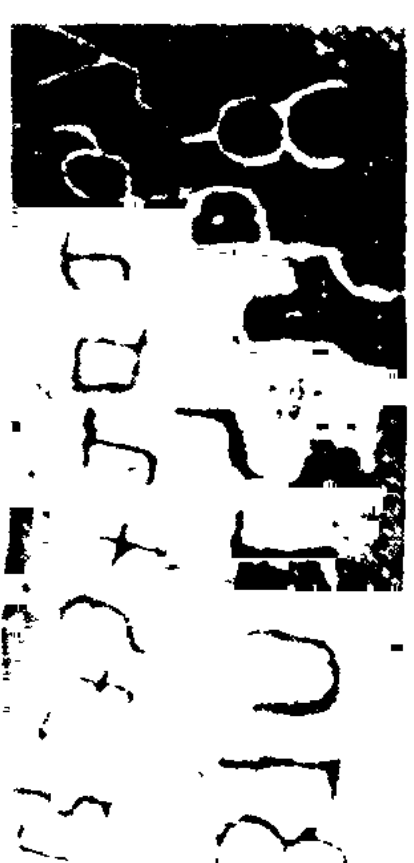
No. 7



Scale : One-half



No. 4



Scale : One-fourth

No. 9—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.4.1958)

Photographs of the two copper-plate inscriptions published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India were obtained in his office during 1949-50.¹ The plates were found somewhere in the Goa territory but the details about their discovery are not known. Both of these inscriptions, called here **A** and **B**, belong to the reign of the king **Prithivīmallavarman** of the **Bhōja** dynasty. The existence of this dynasty is known from a few copper-plate grants.² In all, six inscriptions, including the two published here, have been discovered so far.³ Of these, the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** are the earliest as they are assignable, on palaeographical grounds, to about the 4th century A. D., while the others belong to the 6th or 7th century A. D. The six inscriptions disclose the names of five rulers, viz. **Dēvarāja**, **Aśāṅkita**, **Aśāṅkitavarman**, **Kāpālivarman** and **Prithivīmallavarman**. Unfortunately their relationship to one another cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The records refer only to the ruling kings and do not mention any of their predecessors. For this reason, it is even difficult to say whether **Aśāṅkita** of the Hiregutti plates is the same as **Aśāṅkitavarman** mentioned in the Kāpōli plates. These **Bhōja** rulers seem to have held sway in the west coast area comprising the North Kanara District, Goa and portions of the Belgaum District. Among the charters of the family, the Siroda plates were issued from Chandrapura, the Argā plates from Pāmasā-khēṭa, and the present records from Vṛishabhīṇi-khēṭa and Prithivī-parvata. Of these, only Chandrapura has been satisfactorily identified with modern Chandor near the city of Goa.

A

The set consists of **two** plates, each measuring approximately 6.5" by 2.2". In the middle of the left margin of each plate, there is a hole (about 1" in diameter) meant for the ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal are not known. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second has writing on both sides. There are altogether eleven lines of writing, of which the first plate and the first side of the second plate have five lines each and the second side of the second plate only one line. Some letters in the third and fourth lines of the first plate are damaged. The rest of the writing is well preserved.

The **characters** belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets. They generally resemble the characters of the early Kadamba grants and may also be compared with those of the Argā plates of Kāpālivarman and the Kāpōli plates of Aśāṅkitavarman. While these characters are box-headed, those of our record are what may be called hook-headed. They are definitely later than those of the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** and belong more or less to the same period as those of the other **Bhōja** grants referred to above. On palaeographical grounds, they may be assigned to the **latter half of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A. D.** Initial *a* occurs

¹ They have been registered as Nos. 8 and 10 of App. A., *A.R.Ep.*, 1949-50, and briefly noticed above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40. See also *Summary of Papers*, All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949, p. 99.

² Though the Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja** were noticed as early as 1933 and published above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff., the record was assigned to the **Bhōja** dynasty at a later date. Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

³ The remaining four records are : (1) Siroda plates of **Dēvarāja**, referred to above ; (2) Hiregutti plates of **Aśāṅkita**, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff. ; (3) Argā plates of Kāpālivarman, above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 232-34 ; and (4) Kāpōli plates of **Aśāṅkitavarman**, *ibid.*, pp. 234-36.

in lines 4, 5 and 10 while initial *u* is found in line 6. Final *m* is written in two ways : cf. the diminutive form of the letter in *Diṭṭham* (line 1), *pallikāyām* (line 2) and *ēvam* (line 6) and the form endowed with only a small hook in *Bhōjānām* (line 1). Final *t* is indicated by a diminutive form of the letter without the top *mātrā*, cf. *khēṭāt* and *vachanāt* (line 1) and *himsṛāt* (line 8). The early form of *kh* may be noted in *°khēṭāt* (line 1) and *°mukh-ā* (line 10).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the entire text is written in prose. In respect of **orthography** it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is invariably reduplicated.

The inscription opens with the word *diṭṭham* which, however, is written about the beginning of the second line. This expression stands for Sanskrit *dṛiṣṭam*. The charter was issued from **Vṛishabhiṇi-khēṭa** by king **Prithivīmallavarman** of the Bhōja dynasty. The king is not introduced with any titles, imperial or subordinative. But since the charter is addressed to subordinate officials like the *Bhōjakas*, *Āyuktakas* and *Sthāyins* (lines 2-3),¹ we may assume that Prithivīmallavarman was an independent king.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the king's grant of a field, probably surrounded by blue hills,² in the village of Bhāgala-pallikā included in the **Kupalapakaṭāhāra-dēśa**. It is stated (lines 3-4) that the grant was made for the merit of the king's mother Chētasādēvī at the request of his brother Śatrudamana. These two personages, viz. Chētasādēvī and Śatrudamana, are not known from any other source. The donee was Mādhvārya (i.e. Mādhavārya) of the Agnivēśya *gōtra*.

The record is dated (line 9) in the **first year** of the king's reign and the **13th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha**. The executor of the grant was the king himself. A statement in line 10 shows that the gift was actually made by Chētasādēvī who was the daughter of Nēllika. From this it appears that the gift land was purchased by the king's brother Śatrudamana on behalf of his mother Chētasādēvī and that the formal donation was made by the king himself.⁴ The charter was written by Dēvaśarm-āchārya of Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

There are three **places** mentioned in the record, viz. Vṛishabhiṇi-khēṭa whence the grant was issued, and Kupalapakaṭāhāra-dēśa in which the village of Bhāgalapallikā was situated. I am unable to identify them. Kupalapakaṭāhāra-dēśa is, however, mentioned as Kupalākata-dēśa in inscription B below.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

1 Diṭṭham⁶ [1*] Vijaya-Vṛishabhiṇi-khēṭāt Bhōjānām Prithivīmallavarmanṇo
vachanāt dēśē **Kupala-**

2 [pa]kaṭ-āhārē grāmē Bhāgalapa[1]likāyām varttamāna-bhaviṣyad-bhōjak-ā-

3 yak[t]aka-sthāy-ālayō [vaktavyāḥ] [1*] yath= āsmābhīr-asnad-bhrātuḥ Śatrudamanasya

4 [vijñāpyēna⁷ asmad-ambāyāḥ] Chētas[ā]dēvyāḥ puṇy-ōpachay-ārttham-asmai Prāṇma-

¹ In the Siroda plates (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145, text line 2), the passage containing the names of these officers has been read as *bhōgik-āyuktaka-sthāmy-ādayō*. But the correct reading there appears to be *bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāy-ādayō* as in the present record.

² The expression used is *nīla-dāma-rāpikah*. It may also stand for the name of the field granted.

³ It has been inadvertently stated that Chētasādēvī was the queen of Prithivīmallavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339).

⁴ See above, pp. 50 ff.

⁵ From photographs. This is No. 8 of App. A of 1949-50.

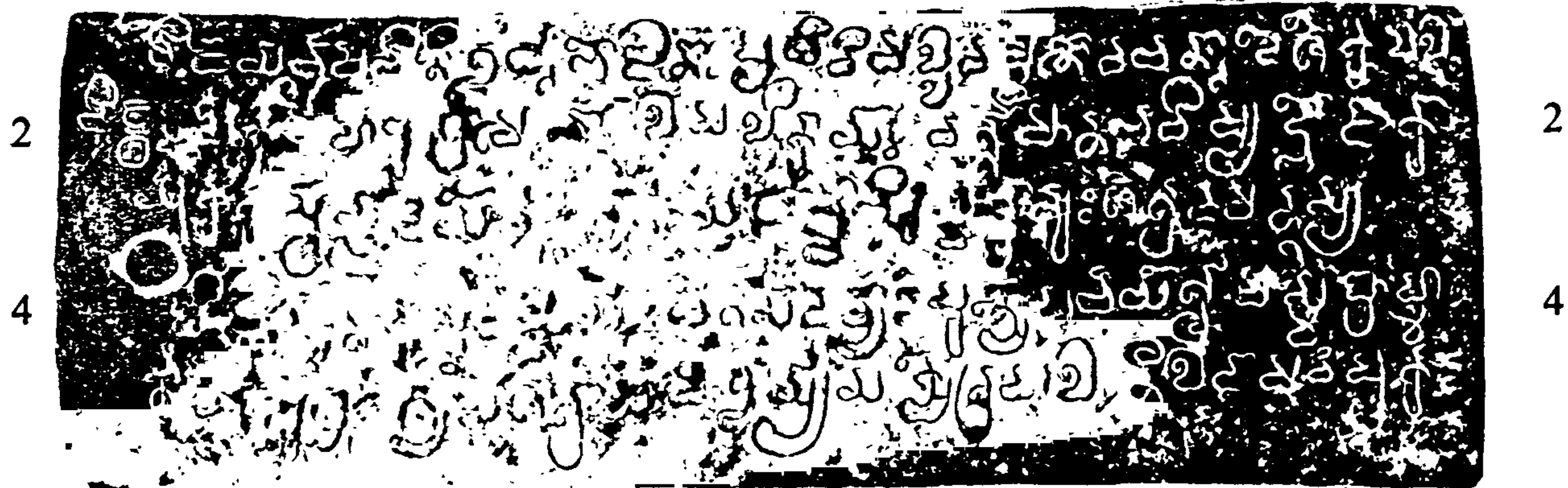
⁶ This word is engraved about the beginning of the second line. Read *dṛiṣṭam*.

⁷ Read *vijñāpanēna*.

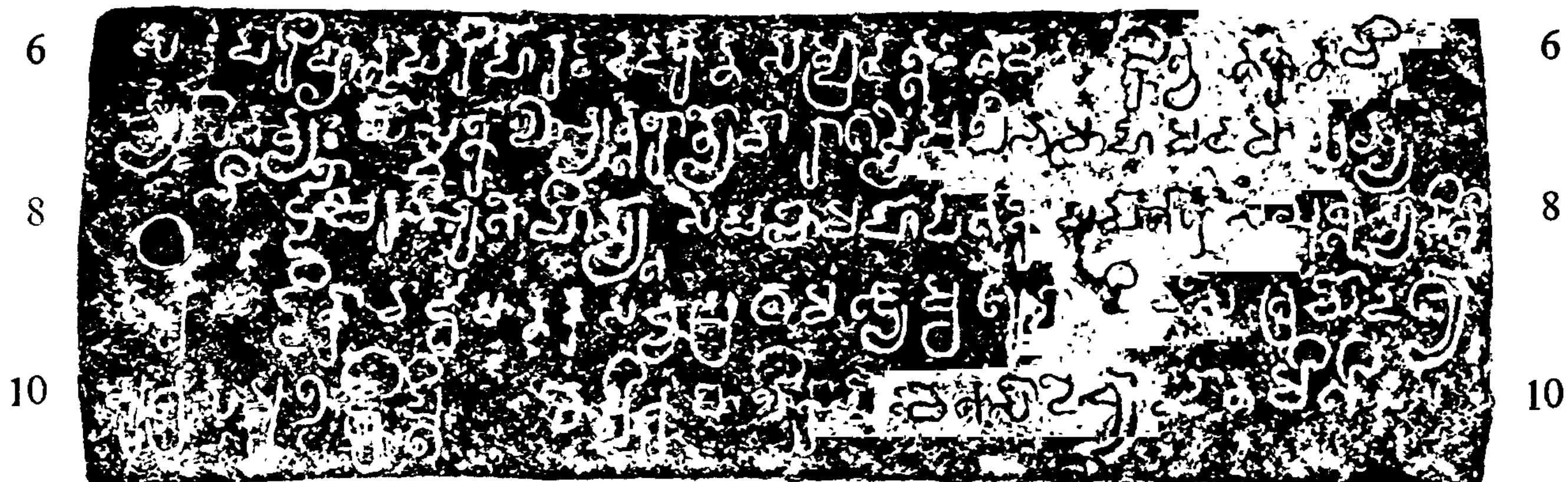
TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALLAVARMAN—PLATE I

A

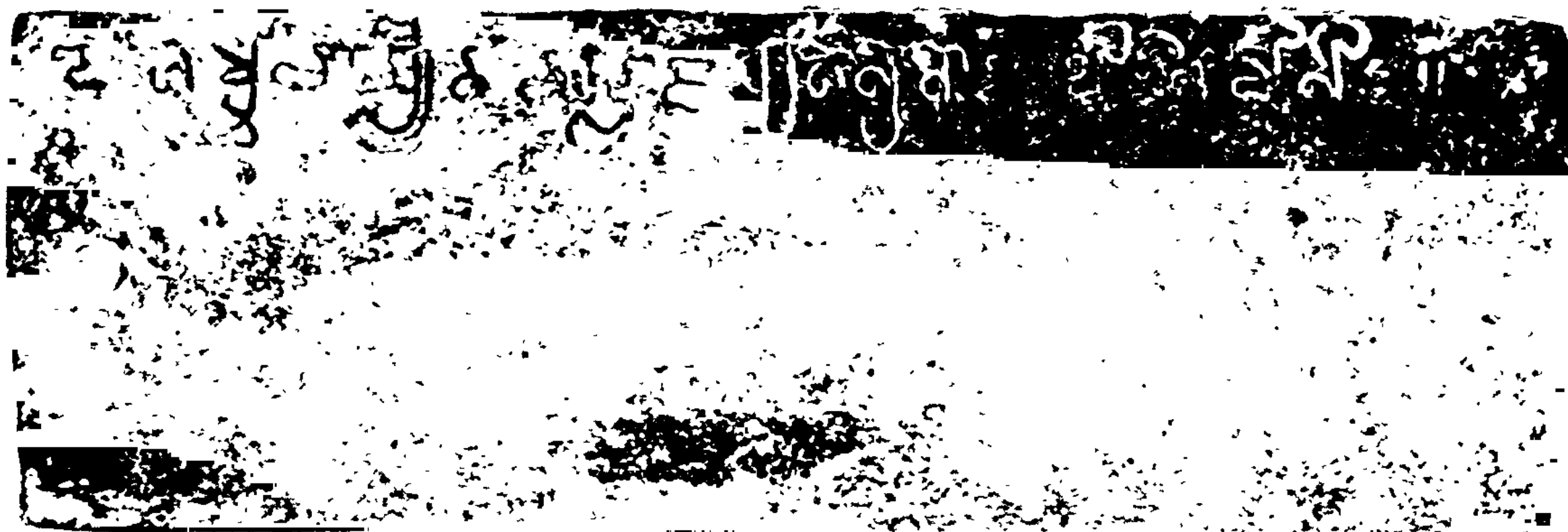
i



ii, a



ii, b



Scale : Five-sixths

5 nāya Agni[vē]śya-sagōtrāya Mā[dh]vāryyāya kshētra-halam(laḥ) nīla-dāma-vaprakah

Second Plate, First Side

6 sarvva-parihṛita¹-parihārah udakēna sampradattaḥ [|*] tad=ēvam jñātvā na kēnachit

7 vyahsitavyaḥ | yō-smat-kul-ābhyantarō=nyō vā rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mōha-mada-mātsaryyā-

8 [di]bhī(bhī)r-ddōshair=abhibhūtō him²syāt sa-pañcha-mahāpātak-ōpapātaka-samyukta[h*]
syād=iti [|*]

9 dattā patṭikā varddhamānaka-samvva³ prathama(mē) Jyēshṭha-śukla-divasē
trayōdaśyām [|*]

10 atra sa⁴-mukh-ājñāpti[h |*] Nēllika-bālikāyāḥ Chētasādēvyāḥ dānam=iti ||

Second Plate, Second Side

11 Dē[va]samm-āchāryyēna(ṇa) Bharadvāja-ssa(sa)gōtrēṇa⁵ li[kh]itam=iti⁶ ||

B

The set consists of **two** plates, each measuring about 8·2" by 2·2" and having a hole on the left margin (about 1" in diameter) for the ring to pass through. The ring and the seal are not found. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The first plate contains four lines of writing, the first side of the second plate five lines and the second side of the second plate three lines only. Thus there are in all twelve lines of writing. Some letters in lines 10 and 11 are damaged while the rest of the writing is well preserved. The **characters** are the same as those employed in inscription A above.

The grant is issued from the victorious **Prithivīparvvata**. The charter is addressed by king **Prithivīmallavarman** of the Bhōja dynasty, who is introduced without any royal title as in record A above, to the present and the future *Bhōjakas*, *Āyuktakas* and *Sthāyins*. The **object** of the charter is to record the grant of a field called Kāpōti-khajjana, situated in the village of Malāra included in **Kupalākata-dēsa** made by the king for his own merit. The donee was one Dāmārya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who is also called Agnivēśya. The word *khajjana* occurs in the Argā plates of Kāpālivarman referred to above as *Pukkōlli-khajjana*. Apparently it is the same as the modern *Marāṭhī* and *Konkanī* word *khājan* which means 'a rice-field created out of the nullah of a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.' The inscription further states (lines 7-8) that a *yūpaka* standing in the midst of the field was also given to the donee. The word *yūpaka* may be a mistake for *kūpaka*.

The record is dated in the **year 25** (expressed in numerical figures), **Śrāvaṇa-śukla 15**. The year apparently refers to the king's regnal reckoning, thereby showing that Prithivīmallavarman ruled for about 25 years at least. The charter was written by Buddhādāsa of the Kambōja *gōtra* while its executor was Nidhivara.

The boundaries of the gift land are mentioned in lines 10-11 as follows : in the east the rocks ; in the south also the rocky path ; in the west a locality called Vēsīmīkā ; and in the north a river.

¹ Better read *parihṛita-sarvva*°.

² *Anusvāra* is engraved inside the loop of the medial *i* sign of *hi*.

³ Better read *samvatsarē*.

⁴ Read *sa*.

⁵ There are traces of an unnecessary *visarga*-like mark after *ṇa*.

⁶ There is a *visarga*-like mark after it. It is part of the punctuation mark indicating the end of writing.

⁷ Cf. *Mahārāshṭra-Śabdakōśa*, s.v. See also above, pp. 52-54.

At the end (line 12), the inscription once again refers to the grant of the field made by the king in the village of Malāra.

Prithivī-parvata, whence the grant was issued, Kupalākaṭa-dēśa, which included the village where the gift land was situated, and the village of Malāra are the three localities mentioned in the record. It is not possible to identify them. Prithivī-parvata seems to have been named after king Prithivīmallavarman. Kupalākaṭa-dēśa is apparently the same as Kupalapakaṭāhāra-dēśa mentioned in record A edited above. There is a place called Malowli in the Goa territory, though it is not possible to say whether it represents the village of Malāra mentioned in the record.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Diṭṭham (Dṛiṣṭam) [*] Vijaya-Prithivī-parvvatāt Bhōjānām Prithivīmallavarmanṇo vachanā[t] dēśe
- 2 Kupalākaṭe grāmē Malārē su-grāmō² varttamāna-bhaviṣyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthāyy-ā-
- 3 dayō vaktavyāḥ [*] yath=āsnābhir=asmat-pu[ṇy-ō]pachaya-vivṛiddhy-arttham³=atra grāma-si-
- 4 mē Kapōti-khajjanam=asmai Brāhmaṇāya Bharadvāja-sagōtrāy=Āgnivēśyāya

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 Dāmāryyāy=ōdakēna sampradattam [*] jñātv=aivaṁ na kēnachid=vyamsayitavyam yō v=ā[tra]
- 6 rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mada-ma(mā)tsaryy-ādibhir=abhibhūt-ātmā vyamsanām kuryyāt=sa pañcha-
- 7 mahāpātak-ōpapātika-samyukta[h*] syād=iti [*] khajjana-maddhyasthō=pi [yū]paka[h]⁴
- 8 Brāhmaṇāy=aiva datta iti [*] dattam patrakam samvva 20 5 Śrāvaṇa-śukla divā⁵ 10 [5] [*]
- 9 likhitam=ētach=cha Kambōja-sagōtrēṇa Buddhadāsēn=ā[tra] ch=ājñāptir=Nnidhivara[h] [*]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 10 [kha]jjana-parimāṇam sētavaś=cha [*] pūrvvata[h] [pāshā]ṇa[h] dakṣiṇatō=pi [pāshāṇa-vīthi]
- 11 aparatō Vēsīmikā uttaratō nadī . . . kha[lā]-sthā[na]-pari[māṇam]
- 12 avya[m*]sit[ō] Malāra-sīmē=smābhis=sampradattēti⁵ ||

¹ From photographs.

² This word is unnecessary.

³ Better read 'ōpachay-āriham'.

⁴ Can this be a mistake for kupakaḥ?

⁵ Read datta iti.

TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA PRITHIVIMALAVARMAN—PLATE II

B



2
4

ii, a



8

Scale : Nine-tenths

ॐ b

10

12



10

12

No. 10—FRAGMENTARY YAJVAPALA INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 14.9.58)

The inscription, preserved in the **Gwalior Museum**, was copied by me when I visited Gwalior about the end of 1952 for attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress. It was registered as No. 146 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, Appendix B. The record, stated to have been found at **Narwar** in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, is as yet unpublished; but a short notice of it was published by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1982, No. 1. Garde's note was utilised by H. N. Dvivedi in his *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh*, No. 704. It has been supposed that the inscription was engraved during the reign of Āsalladēva of the Yajvapāla dynasty of Narwar. Actually, however, the record belongs to the time of Āsalla's son **Gōpāla** whose known dates range between **1279 and 1289 A.D.**

The inscription is engraved on the excavated bed of a squarish **stone slab**, the four sides of which are raised. There are 18 lines of writing in the record, the inscribed area covering a space about 19½ inches long and about 14 inches high. The inscription is **incomplete**. The last line, which contains the concluding part of verse 22, ends with the first six syllables of a new stanza; but the rest of this verse was not engraved on the stone. It may be supposed that, as in the case of the Ajmer inscription edited above,¹ the writing was continued on a separate slab. But there is some evidence to show that such was not the case. It is interesting to note that there is enough space on the stone below the last line of the record to accommodate several lines of writing. It is clear therefore that the original idea was to engrave on the stone a complete *praśasti* of the type known from four other inscriptions of the Yajvapāla age, preserved in the Gwalior Museum and edited by us elsewhere in this journal,² and that, for some reason unknown to us, the engraver gave up the writing after finishing about three-fourths of the work. The reason of course may have been a sudden calamity that befell the persons concerned.

The inscription is not only incomplete but also **fragmentary**. A layer of stone has peeled off from a considerable area of the surface of the slab. This has resulted in the effacement of a number of letters in all the lines. The number of lost letters is the highest in lines 7-9. The record is a *praśasti* written in more than 22 stanzas in various metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. In the absence of the concluding part of the inscription, the **purpose** underlying the composition of the eulogy and its incision on the stone slab cannot be determined; but, considering the fact that the record closely resembles, in all respects, the four other *praśastis* of the Yajvapāla age recording the excavation of step-wells, it may be suggested that the present inscription was also designed to serve a similar purpose. Indeed it is possible to think that the author of the eulogy was the Māthura Kāyastha poet Śivanābhaka who is known to have composed several other *praśastis* of the reigns of the Yajvapāla kings Gōpāla and Gaṇapati. The known dates of these rulers range between 1279 and 1300 A.D. Verses 1-2 containing adoration to the gods Murāri (Vishṇu) and Śambhu (Śiva) refer to the reflection of the former on the cheek of Lakshmī and of the latter on the ear-ring of Śivā (Kālī). The idea contained in the first of the two stanzas is actually found in verse 2 of a *praśasti* composed by Śivanābhaka during the reign of Yajvapāla Gōpāla in V.S.

¹ Vol. XXIX, pp. 178 ff.

² See above, pp. 31 ff.; vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff.

1339 (1283 A.D.).¹ Then again the expression *saurājya-bhāsura* occurs in the description of the city of Nalapura in verse 3 of another *prāśasti*² composed by the same poet during the reign of the same monarch in V.S. 1336 (1281 A.D.) The word *saurājya* occurs in a similar context in verse 9 (line 9) in the present record also. These facts coupled with the other that the eulogy under study was composed during Gōpāla's reign seems to suggest that the same poet Śivanābhaka was responsible for its composition.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and closely resemble those of other Yajvapāla inscriptions.³ The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The orthography of the record is characterised by the occasional use of the class nasal and final *m* instead of *anusvāra*, and reduplication of consonants after *r*. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning, the whole record is written in verse.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the expression *siddhiḥ* and the passage *Gaṇapati-prasāddhāt(dāt)*. The above is followed by two stanzas in adoration of the gods Murāri (Viṣṇu) and Śaṁbhu (Śiva), which have already been referred to above.

Verses 3-9 describe the kings of the Yajvapāla dynasty of Nalapura from Chāhaḍa to Gōpāla. (Verse 3 apparently introduces the hill-fort of Nalapura (Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapālas since the days of Chāhaḍa.) Unfortunately the passage containing the name is lost; but the reference to *Naishadha-kṣhīṭīpa*, alluding to the epic king Nala of the Nishadhas, leaves us in no doubt about the author's intention. The stanza also contained the name of the *vishaya* (i.e. district or territory) of which the above fortress was the capital. The reference is to the Yajvapāla kingdom or the district round Narwar which seems to be mentioned as Pādōnalaksha-vishaya in another epigraphic record.⁴ The restoration *Pādōnalaksha* in the present epigraph suits the metre of the stanza in question.

(The name of king Chāhaḍa in verse 4 is only partially preserved; but the name of his son Nṛivarman in the following stanza (verse 5) can be clearly read. An interesting information about Nṛivarman, which is known for the first time from the present record, is that he defeated the king of Dhārā and exacted tribute from him. Since the latest known date of Chāhaḍa and the earliest of his grandson Āsalla have both been read as V.S. 1311=1254-55 A.D., Nṛivarman, son of Chāhaḍa and father of Āsalla, may be supposed to have ruled for a few months in 1254-55 A.D.⁵ He thus appears to have been a contemporary of the Paramāra king Jaitugi (known dates between V.S. 1292=1236 A.D. and V.S. 1300=1243 A.D.) or his younger brother and successor Jayasīṁha-Jayavarman (known dates between V.S. 1311=1256 A.D. and V.S. 1331=1274 A.D.) of Dhārā and Māṇḍu.⁶ There is a passage in verse 5, which seems to suggest that the Yajvapāla monarch was helped in his encounter with the king of Dhārā by three persons named Skanda, Chandra and Parita, who were possibly his generals.

(Verse 6 introduces Nṛivarman's son Āsalla although the name is not fully preserved. The stanza appears also to have contained the name of his queen who gave birth to his son and successor

¹ See above, p. 39, text lines 2-3, verse 2.

² See *ibid.*, p. 34, text line 3.

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 334 ff. and Plates; above, pp. 31 ff. and Plates.

⁴ See No. 139 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B; above, p. 38.

⁵ R. D. Banerji speaks of Chāhaḍa's coins of V.S. 1312 (1255 A.D.) and 1316 (1259 A.D.) and concludes, "Nṛivarman did not reign at all, because the reigns of Chāhaḍa and his grandson Āsalla or Āsala overlap" (*Num. Suppl.*, No. XXXIII, p. 83). If this is correct, Nṛivarman's achievement has to be referred to the reign of his father Chāhaḍa. The language of the inscriptions, however, seems to suggest that Nṛivarman ruled between Chāhaḍa and Āsalla.

⁶ Bhandarkar's List, p. 397; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 140.

Gōpāla. Her name is lost : but another inscription¹ of the family gives it as *Lāvanyadēvi*. The next stanza (verse 7) refers to the person who succeeded to Āsalla's position [as king] (cf. *lēbhē tasya padam*). The reference is undoubtedly to **Gōpāla** who was the son and successor of Āsalla. But the name cannot be traced in the extant parts of any of the three stanzas (verse 7-9) that describe the Yajvapāla monarch during whose rule the inscription was engraved.

Verse 10 introduces **Gōpagiri** (Gwalior) where the family, to which the hero of the *praśasti* belonged, originally resided, while the next stanza (verse 11) speaks of a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from that place and belonging to the Hārita *gōtra*. Verse 12 describes Śyāma of the family mentioned in the foregoing stanza. He is compared with Śyāma-vāṭa or the sacred banyan tree at Prayāga near Allahabad, U.P.² The next stanza (verse 13) speaks of Bhuvanapāla who seems to have been the son of Śyāma, although no word indicating the relationship between Śyāma and Bhuvanapāla can be traced in the extant parts of verses 12-13. An interesting information about Bhuvanapāla is that he is stated to have been seated on half of the throne of king **Bhōja** of **Dhārā**.³ The expression *mantra-balāt* used in this context seems to suggest that he was a minister of that monarch. It is difficult to determine whether the word *mukhya* in a damaged passage of the stanza suggests that he was Bhōja's chief minister. As will be seen below, Bhuvanapāla's great-grandson was a contemporary of Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa (c. 1231-54 A.D.). Bhōja of Dhārā, contemporary of Bhuvanapāla, therefore cannot be identified with Paramāra Bhōja II who ruled about the close of the 13th century. He seems to be none other than Bhōja I (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty. But there is an interval of nearly two centuries between Paramāra Bhōja I and Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa. This seems to be too long a period to be covered by four generations only, even if it may not be altogether impossible.

Bhuvanapāla's son was Vāsudēva (verse 14) whose son was Dāmōdara (verse 15). The name of Dāmōdara's son is lost in verse 16 ; but he is stated to have been the *Kōśādhyaksha* (treasurer) of king **Chāhaḍa**, apparently the Yajvapāla king of that name. Verse 17 states that Dāmōdara's son visited **Kāśī**, **Gayā** and other holy places, while the next stanza (verse 18) mentions his wife named Dharmā who was the daughter of Pithana. The lady Dharmā is stated in verse 19 to have given birth to five sons. The first of these five brothers is described in verses 20-22. Unfortunately his name is lost ; but he is described as a poet and an expert in *vaṁśa-varṇana* (i.e. description of families). He is further stated to have been a servant of king **Gōpa**, no doubt the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla who was the great-grandson of Chāhaḍa. It is interesting to note that, while the father was a contemporary of Chāhaḍa (c. 1231-54 A.D.), the son was serving under Gōpāla (c. 1279-89 A.D.).

The concluding part of the last line of the inscription, as already indicated above, gives us only the first six syllables of a stanza which was expected to be verse 23 of the eulogy under study. It was meant to introduce the younger brother of the eldest of Dharmā's five sons.

It seems that one of the five sons of Dharmā was the hero of the *praśasti* under study. This is not only suggested by the fact that Dharmā's sons were contemporaries of the reigning Yajvapāla king but probably also by the mention of their mother in the eulogy. In the *praśastis* composed during the reigns of Gōpāla and Gaṇapati generally the mother of the hero is mentioned and not his grandmother or great-grandmother.³ But who the hero was cannot be determined. A guess may, however, be hazarded in this connection. We have seen that the eulogy was possibly composed by the poet Śivanābhaka who is described in a stanza found in several records as a member of a

¹ Above, p. 34, text line 8.

² For the mention of Śyāma in literary works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II.55, 23), Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (XIII, 53) and Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* (Aṅka I), see *ABORI* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 87 ff.

³ There is only one case of the mention of the hero's grandmother and none mentioning his great-grandmother.

Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior and as the son of *Kōśādhīpa* Lōhaṭa and the grandson of Dāmōdara. The hero of the eulogy under study belonged likewise to a Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior, and he was the son of a *Kōśādhyaṅksha* (name lost) of king Chāhaḍa and the grandson of Dāmōdara. It appears possible that the name of Chāhaḍa's *Kōśādhyaṅksha* which is lost in our record was really Lōhaṭa which suits the metre of the stanza in question. Thus it seems that the present eulogy was composed by Śivanābhaka in order to record a pious deed of one of his brothers or of his own self. We have seen how verses 20-22 describe the eldest of Dharmā's sons as a poet who was an expert in describing genealogies and as one engaged in the service of the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla, although the name of the person is lost. It is, however, interesting to note that the description suits very well the poet Javastūha, son of Lōhaṭa and the author of a *praśasti*¹ composed in V.S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) during the reign of Gōpāla's son Gaṇapati.

Pīthana, maternal grandfather of the hero of our *praśasti*, cannot be identified. The name, however, reminds us of Pīthana of the Gaudahara Kshatriya community, who was the father of Dēvadhara, the chief minister of Āsalla according to a *praśasti*² of Gōpāla's time, composed by Śivanābhaka in V.S. 1336 (1279 A.D.). The identification of the two Pīthanas is possible if it can be believed that the Māthura Kāyasthas and the Gaudahara Kshatriyas intermarried between themselves.

Among **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Kāsī and Gayā are famous holy places. As already indicated above, verse 3 seems to refer to the hill-fort of Narwar as the capital of the territory called Pādōnalaksha-vishaya which may have been the name applied to the dominions of the Yajvapālas.

TEXT³

[Metres : verse 1 *Upajāti* ; verses 2, 4, 6-7, 9-12, 15-20 *Anushtubh* ; verses 3, 5 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 8, 13-14, 21 *Āryā* ; verse 22 *Gīti*.]

1 Siddham⁴ || Siddhiḥ || Ga[ṇapati-pra]sāddhāt(dāt) || Nī[1-ām]vu(bu)ḍa-syā(śyā)[ma-ru]chiḥ
kapōlē punā[tu] Laksh[my]āḥ prativīm(bīm)vi(bi)tō vaḥ | sphuran-mayūkhē [vi]malē Murā.⁵

2 [riṣ=u]— — — — — [ṇḍa]m=imḍōḥ || [1] ..ī⁶ tamasō [vā(bā)ḍham] sphurantī [sthiti-śā]linī
| kuṇḍalē vas=tanur=vv=āpi Śivāyā [dis(śa)tām] śi[va]m(vam) || 2

3 [Pā]— — — — — [vishay-aika]-vibhūshaṇam y[ō] yō N[ai]shadha-ksh[i]tipa-kīrtti-vikāśa-hētuḥ |
yaḥ śrēyasām cha vibhavasya cha pātram=ēkam=ās[t]ē sa [ś]rīṅga⁷-kha-

4 chi[ta]— — — — — d[r]iḥ⁹ || 3 Tasminn=abhūta-pūrvvō=bhūch=**Chā** ī-patiḥ¹⁰ | bhuja-sau-
(śau)ṭīrya-nirddhūta-pratī[pa]-bhāṭa-pauru[sha]ḥ || 4 Tasmād=abhūd=ama[la]-⁵

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 337, text lines 20-21, verse 22.

² Above, p. 32.

³ From impressions. This is No. 146 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* here together with a cancellation mark intended to cover a little blank space at the end of the line.

⁶ The word lost here seems to be *Śambharī* qualifying the word *tanuḥ*.

⁷ The name may possibly be restored as *Pādōnalaksha*.

⁸ There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

⁹ The passage may be conjecturally restored as °*chīta*=*tu* *Nal-ābhīdh-ādriḥ*.

¹⁰ The damaged passage may be restored as °*Chāhaḍaḥ prithivī-patiḥ*.

- 5 k[rttir=i]— — —[h śrīmā]n=Nṛivarmma-nṛipa[tiḥ] — — — — — [1*] [tri]-Śka[m]da-
Chandra-Paritaiḥ paribh[ū]ya yēna Dhār-ādhipād=api karō jagrihē=tidṛiptāt || 5
- 6 Tat[ō=bhū]ch-chhri...[1]lah¹ sinha-sani[hāra]... [1*]...²[pa]vitr=ābhūd=yasya kīrttir=iva
priyā || 6 Lēbhē tasva padam kīrtti-pūta-nihṣē-
- 7 sha... h³ |[7*]...⁴ jal-ā[r]dra-kar-āgrah pratihata⁵-vigrahaḥ(ghna) sad-ōdit-
ākhila-si-
- 8 ddhi[h | asti].....[8*]... itim nīti-sampannām sa-vanām=avan-ōjva(jjva)lām
| alamkurdva(rvva)ti⁶
- 9 saurājya.....[9*]...[śē]..... [sa]rvvamamgalaḥ | asti Gōpagirir=nāma durggō
Durggāpatir=yathā || 10
- 10 Vamśō dhar-āvata[m]⁷.....nēna [cha | tēshām] Hāri[ta]-gōtrānā[m] Māthurāpām
yaśō-rthinām(nām) || 11 Guṇaiḥ suchir api Śyāmō nāmnā Śyā-
- 11 mō vaṭō yathā | [rū].....[yō] hṛita-tāpō-rthinām- abhūt || 12 Adhyāsta Bhuvanapālō Dhār-
ādhiśasya Bhōja-bhūpasya | sinhāsanam=apy- a⁸
- 12 rddham mant[r]a-va(ba)lān mukh[y]a..... || 13 Va(Ba)lavān=uddhṛita-gōtraḥ [pa]ra-
hita-kṛityē[sh]u samtatam nirataḥ | upasamit-āhita-nāgas=tasya sutō Vā-
- 13 sudēvō=bhūt || 14 [Kṛi].... prītir-gōtr-ānamdī vṛisha-sthitiḥ | Dāmōdarō=bhavat=tasmād=
apūrvvō=mita-vikramah || 15 Tataś=Chāhaḍa-bhūpāla-
- 14 koś-ādhyakshō viśu...⁹ [1*]...¹⁰[s-ta]nayō jajñē kutumva(ba)-bhara-sāsahih || 16 Kāśi-
Gay-ādi-tīrthēshu snāna-piṇḍ-ōdaka-kriyāḥ | kṛitv=ātma(tmā)
- 15 mōchitō yēna [tri]..... [māt] || 17 T[ēna] Dharm-ābhidhā dharmmyā sādhvī Pithana-
putrikā | upayēmē kutumvā(b-ā)rthi-dvij-ānamda-parā priyā || 18
- 16 Tasyām samāna-śī¹¹.....[tō]=rthinām(nām) | utpāditāḥ sutāḥ prājñāḥ pañcha Pañ-
chēshuṇā samāḥ || 19 Tēshām-ādyah kṛit-ābhyāsō vidyāsu saka-

¹ The damaged passage may be restored as *śrīmān-Āsallah*.

² The name of the queen is lost. But No. 141 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1952-53. App. B., gives it as *Lāvanyadēvi* (cf. above, p. 34, text line 8). There is, however, no space for five syllables here. The passage may be conjecturally restored as *Lāvany-āti-pavitr=ā*.

³ The intended reading may be *dīk-mukhaḥ*.

⁴ The word lost here may be *dāna*.

⁵ There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.

⁶ There is an unnecessary double *danda* here together with a cancellation mark.

⁷ The expression appears to be *dhar-āvataṁsa*. The passage may be conjecturally restored as *°vatamśa-
tra kulēna cha dhanēna cha*.

⁸ There is an unnecessary *danda* here with a cancellation mark.

⁹ The expression may be conjecturally restored as *°śuddha-dhīḥ*.

¹⁰ The name is lost here. It may be *Lōhaḥ*.

¹¹ The damaged word may be restored as *°śilāyām*.

17 lāsv=api | esy=a [t-āgrāṇiḥ] || 20 Mānita-mārggaṇa-vṛiṇ[da]ḥ kavir=asmin varṇa-
varṇanā nīpunaḥ | śaḥyair=iva pravāṇ(baṇ)dhair=ni-

18 rdōshair=yō yāsa[s-tēnē | 21] kāryēshu Gōpa-bhūpasya | śastrē śāstrē nīpunaḥ
āu[chi]r=anu[kūla]ḥ priyamvadō dātā || 22 Tad-avarajō hṛi¹

¹ The rest of the *prośasti* was not engraved although there is space for several lines after this. The last *akṣara* of the line (i.e. *hṛi*) may have begun a personal name like *Hṛishikēśa*, *Hṛidayēśa*, etc. The metre of this stanza cannot be determined.

No. 11 NOTE ON KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1248

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(Received on 24.4.1958)

The inscription under study was originally found in the locality called Yellanagar in Kalyāṇa, the ancient capital of the Chālukyas and Kalachuris in the Gulbarga District of the former Hyderabad State. It is now preserved in the Husainī Bārgāh in the fort at Kalyāṇa. The inscription has been twice edited, once by Mr. R. M. Joshi in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 1936-37, pp. 43-45, and again by Mr. P. B. Desai in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 165-70 and Plate. Unfortunately the writing and engraving of the inscription are both very careless and some of the letters are damaged. There are moreover numerous errors in the language.¹ The text is thus very difficult to decipher and interpret. It is therefore no wonder that both the published transcripts of the epigraph are full of errors and consequently the text has not been properly understood. The readings of the verses in the second half of the record are particularly unsatisfactory in the published transcripts and the editors have disregarded both the metre and the sense.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī; but the letter *kh* has been written in line 30 in its early Southern form. It seems that *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*.

The inscription is written in both prose and verse. Lines 1-14 contain a document in a few sentences in prose, and verses 1-4 in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre in lines 14-29 record the main object of the epigraph. This part is in continuation of the prose section referred to above. There is also a fifth stanza in *Anuṣṭubh* in lines 29-30 mentioning a new fact. The last two lines of the record (lines 31-32) are damaged.

The introductory part in lines 1-8 gives the date: Śaka 1248, Kṣhaya (called Akṣhaya in verse 2), Kārttika-śrūti 15, Monday (November 10, 1326 A.D.), when Mahārājādhirāja Suratāṇa (Sultān) Mahamada (Muḥammad ibn Tughluq Shāh of Delhi, called Suratrāṇa Mahamada in verse 1) was the reigning monarch, his Mahāpradhāna Mallika Kāmadīna (Malik Qivāmuddīn Qutluḡ Khān) was the viceroy of Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala and the latter's subordinate Khōjā Ahamada (Khawāja Aḥmad) surnamed Janḍamalantara was the Syāramallika (Persian Sāir Malik, Collector of Taxes) at Kalyāṇapura. The office of the viceroy is indicated by saying that the Mahāpradhāna was conducting the affairs associated with the imperial seal (or, carrying the imperial seal, according to verse 1).

The purpose of the inscription is introduced in the following sentences. It is stated, that, during the troubled days associated with [the rebellion of] Vāhavadīnnu (Bahāuddīn Gurshāsp, son of the Sultān's father's sister), the people of Karṇāta discontinued the worship of the god Madhukēśvara, installed in a temple at the city of Kalyāṇa as indicated more clearly in verse 1 below. The reason behind this discontinuation of the god's worship is not stated in the record. It may have been due to the priests and devotees of the deity having fled from the city in trouble. It is difficult to ascribe it to the desecration of the god by the Muslims as in that case the Śivaliṅga would have most probably been broken to pieces. The language of the record seems to suggest that the old Śivaliṅga was re-installed for worship which had been stopped.² Obviously when

¹ We are amused at Joshi's remark that 'the language is grammatically correct'.

² If the expression *punaḥ-pratishṭhā*, used in this connection, may be taken to mean installation of another Śivaliṅga in the place of an old one, the passage *avabhaṅga-vipadam ... Sambhōḥ* in verse 1 may suggest that the old Liṅga called Madhukēśvara had been broken and that the attempt was for its replacement by a new one. But the statement of fact in the passage *ajānam baddhīkrītam* (cf. lines 9-10) merely speaks of the stoppage of worship and not of any damage to the Liṅga.

better days returned to the Kalyāṇa area after the revolution, there was a controversy among the citizens on the restoration of the god's worship. Some of them (probably the local Hindus) argued that the god should be purified at his place [for the re-introduction of his worship]. But there was another group of citizens (probably Musalmans) who were opposed to the re-installation of the deity.¹ Then *Ṭhakkura Mālā* (Malla), son of *Ṭhakkura Naiṇapāla*, went to the *Khōjā* (i.e. Ahamada) and represented the case. The *Khōjā* granted his request saying that the worship of the deity was the religious obligation of the supplicant and the members of his community (*kula-dharma*) and that therefore the deity could be re-installed. *Mālā*, son of *Naiṇapāla*, is mentioned in the versified part of the record as *Malla*, son of *Naiṇasimha*. The word *naiṇa* in the name *Naiṇapāla* or *Naiṇasimha* stands for Sanskrit *nayana* while *Mālā* is the same as Sanskrit *Malla* or *Mallaka*.

The interpretation of the above section of the record offered by us here requires some elaboration since both Mr. Joshi and Mr. Desai have read and interpreted the text differently. Some of their views are quoted in the following analysis while their readings have been quoted generally in the foot-notes to our transcript of the inscription.

As regards the latter part of the above section of the inscription, Joshi's transcript contains several errors while his faulty translation runs as follows : " When at Kalyāṇa, Khwāja Ahmad... (Shahābuddīn, etc.) appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadīna), in Karṇāṭaka, during the rebellion, the vicinity of the god Madhukēśvara was awaiting consecration. Efforts were being made (?) ; desires as to why the deity should not be installed were whispered (?) ". What he has understood from the text is given elsewhere in the following words : " Due to a mutiny, the local temple was defiled. Attempts were made to find out the image and re-install it in the former place. Nēṇapāl, the son of Ṭhākura Malapo, perhaps out of hesitation consulted the local Qāzī who spoke as follows : ' That is your religious and family duty and you should act upto it ' ". These statements are not all correct. Desai's interpretation of this part of the record is equally erroneous. Thus he says, " It seems that, in connection with the revolution (*viparyaya*) caused by Bāhabadīnu, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with Jaṇḍamala, went to Syāra Mallika. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of Madhukēśvara and even broken the Śivaliṅga. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the Karṇāṭa section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as *Kārṇāṭa-līkaṇḥ aṇjana-buddhiḥ kṛitā*. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple. After sometime when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of re-installing the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual, by Ṭhakkura Malla (Māla), son of Vainasimha or Vainapāla, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his secretary (named Jaṇḍadāsa, probably the same as Jaṇḍamala)." Most of these statements appear to be unsupported by the language of the record as read by us.

In the first place, lines 7-8 appear to read *Kalyāṇapurē tam(tan)-nirō(rū)pita-Shō(Khō)jā-Ahamada-Jaṇḍamalantārē Syāramallika[va]m gata(tē)*, 'when Ahamada-Jaṇḍamalantara, appointed by him (i.e. Kāmadīna), was the *Syāramallika* at Kalyāṇapura.' *Jaṇḍamalantara* seems to be the surname or designation of Khwāja Ahmad, while *Syāramallika* seems to be derived from the Persian words *sāir*, 'tax' and *malik*, 'a master' in the sense of 'Collector of Taxes'. Thus there seems to be no reference to Ahmad having gone to Syāra Mallika in the company of Jaṇḍamala. Secondly,

¹ It is not altogether impossible that the controversy was between the local Śaivas and the members of some other Hindu community such as the Vaishṇava. But normally a Hindu community is not expected to object to the re-introduction of the worship of a deity by another Hindu community.

the next sentence in lines 8-10 reads : *Vāha[va]dinnu-viparyayē Madhukēśvaradēva-sam(sām)-vadhya(or sannidhau) Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) añjana[m] vudhikṛitam*. Desai's emendation of the last portion as *añjana-buddhiḥ kṛitā*, 'made a premature offer to embellish [the temple]', is unsatisfactory in view of the passage *Madhukēśvaradēva-sānnidhyē* (or **sannidhau*), 'before Madhukēśvaradēva (i.e. the god Madhukēśvara)', occurring in the same context, although he reads it wrongly. In our opinion, the intended reading for *vudhikṛitam* is *baddhikṛitam* in which *baddha* means 'stopped'. The root *añj* means 'to celebrate', 'to honour', and *añjana* may indicate 'celebration', 'worship'. It therefore seems to us that all celebrations in the presence of the god Madhukēśvara were stopped by the people during the troubled days of Bahāuddīn's rebellion. This necessitated the purification and re-installation of the god in his old temple and that is exactly what is referred to again not only in the following section of the prose part but also in the versified section that follows.

The third sentence reads : *jalpanta : dēva[h*] [śō]dhanīya[h*] tatra kim : na hi*. In this, *jalpanta* is apparently a mistake for *jalpanti*, '[the people] are talking'. This means to say that there was a talk or controversy among the people. The conflicting views in the controversy were : *dēvaḥ śōdhanīyaḥ tatra kim ? na hi*, "Should the deity be purified [for re-installation] there [in his temple]?" "Certainly not." As already indicated above, it is possible to think that, in this controversy, the Hindu citizens of Kalyāṇapura were in favour of the re-installation of the god while the Muslims of the place were opposed to the idea. This state of affairs, apparently referring to the time after the *viparyaya*, led to the efforts of Malla or Mālā, son of Naiṇapāla or Naiṇasimha, for the re-installation of the god.

The following section of the prose part reads : *tatra tasmin [ni*]ja-sthānē punar=api dēva-sthāpana-pūjana-vidhayē* (or **vishayē*) *saṁ(saṭ)-ṭhaku(kku)ra-Naiṇapāla-suta-ṭhākura-Mālā(ṭhakkura-Mallēna) Shō(Khō)jā-samksha(samaksham) udyāsaḥ [kri]ta[h*] Khōjē[na*] prasādam(daḥ) dattam-(ttaḥ) | yuṣhmākam kula-dharmō varttatē | tat=karaṇīyam(yam) |* The meaning of the section is quite clear. Mālā (Malla) appeared before the Khōjā and made an effort in regard to the re-installation of the god in his old temple and the re-introduction of his worship. The Khōjā favoured him with his permission. In case the controversy was really between the local Hindus and Muslims, the Khōjā was on the side of justice and fairplay in giving this permission against the feeling of the local Muslims. Praise is certainly due to him for this act of courage in those days of bigotry and religious fanaticism.

As regards the contents of the versified portion following the prose part discussed above, Joshi says, "... Kalyāṇa, with its increasing glory, had the chariot of Śambhu moving freely. Naiṇasimha's son, the best of the Kāyasthas, who was perhaps a worshipper of Viṣṇu, did not like the idea. In 1248 Śaka, cyclic year Kshaya, on the full-moon day in Kārttika, when at Śēśhāchala god Ṭhākura is generally worshipped, Madhukēśvara was installed." These statements are based mostly on wrong readings of the text. Desai on the other hand thinks that verses 1-2 summarise the main facts stated in the prose part. This is also based on misunderstanding.

The first four of the five stanzas in the second half of the inscription repeat only a part of what we have in the prose section analysed above and record the result of the Khōjā's permission accorded to Mālā (Malla) in respect of the re-installation of the god Madhukēśvara and the re-introduction of his worship in his old temple. But the Khōjā is not mentioned and there is only an indirect reference to the stoppage of Madhukēśvara's worship. Verses 1-2 state that, in the night of the day of the moon (i.e. Monday) which was the full-moon day of Kārttika in the cyclic year Akshaya (the same as Kshaya mentioned in the prose part), when the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, in the Śaka year counted by 8, the 4 seas, the 2 ayanas and 1 (i.e. 1248), when *Suratrāṇa Mahimada* (the same as *Suratāṇa Mahamada* of the prose part) was ruling the earth and Kāmadīn was his viceroy, the god Madhukēśvara was re-installed at Kalyāṇanagara by Kāyastha

Nainasimha's son Malla who had become ashamed at the [possible] calamity of Śambhu (i.e. the Śivaliṅga called Madhukēśvara) being broken away [in the state of neglect from which he was then suffering]. It may be pointed out that it was not the intention of the author to repeat in this part anything from the prose section excepting the date and that the mention of the reigning monarch and his viceroy is in the same connection. The installation ceremony took place at night, which fact is of course not mentioned in the date of the record given in the prose part. The verses give the additional information that the *nakshatra* on the date in question was Rōhiṇī.

Verse 3 is in praise of the god Mahēśvara (i.e. Śiva in the form of Madhukēśvara) who received re-installation. There is no mention of king Mahāmada or Mahamada in this stanza as suggested by Mr. Desai. The next stanza (verse 4) prays for Madhukēśvara's favour in granting the desires of Malla's heart. Verse 5 speaks of a *śāsana* or grant (probably of land) which was made in favour of Madhukēśvara by a person named Vaijāditya and states that this grant was honoured by certain rulers including one named Uśyārasiniha who was probably a local chief. Mr. Desai considers this stanza to be a passage in prose and speaks of Vijāditya 'who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter' and was 'respected by Syara Sihādārāja'. He further identifies Syara Sihādārāja with Syara Mallika of line 8.

The last two lines of the inscription, which are damaged, appear to contain some personal names. These persons may have been witnesses to the grant made by Vaijāditya in favour of the deity.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² || svasti śrī-Śā[k]ē 1248 Kshaya-samvatsarē || Kārttikē
- 2 śudi 15 Sōmē || ady=ēha samasta-rāj-āvalī-māl-ālaṁ-
- 3 kṛita-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-suratāṇa-Maha-
- 4 madah(da)-rājyē tat-pāda-padmāpajīvitasarnā³-bhāra-[nirū].
- 5 pita-mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadīna(nē) Mahārāshṭra-mam-
- 6 ḍalē samasta-mudrā-vyāpā[rā*]n paripamthayati [i*]ty=ēvaṁ kā-
- 7 lē varttamānē Kā(Ka)lyānapurē tamnirōpita⁴-Shō(Khō)jā⁵-Ahama-
- 8 da-Jaṁḍamalanitarē Syāramallika[tva]m gata(tē)⁶ | Vā(Bā)ha[va]dīnnu-⁷
- 9 viparyayē Madhukēśvaradēva-sam(sām)nidhyē⁸ Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) amja-
- 10 na[ni] vudhikṛitam⁹ | jalpamta¹⁰ dēva[h*] [ś]ōdhanīya[h*] tatra kim na hi¹¹ | ta-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read *padm-ōpajīvita-sarva*.

⁴ Read *tan-nirūpita*.

⁵ Sandhi has been avoided here.

⁶ Joshi: *Khāja Ahamada Jandra [Makhatarē] Sārē Malikatrāṅga*; Desai: *Ahamada[h*] Jaṁḍamala(lah) ta[tha(thā)] [Syā]ra-Mallikantam(k-ārtham or °k-antikam) gatā(tau)*. The errors in Joshi's transcript have not been noticed in all cases. His readings have often been quoted after removing misprints and inserting diacritical marks. Some minor differences with Desai's transcript also have been left unnoticed.

⁷ Joshi: *Syāha Badīnu*; Desai: *Bāhabadīnu*. I have doubts whether the letter *b* has been used in the name. The mark inside the loop of the letter preceding *dī* may be a flaw in the stone.

⁸ The reading may also be *samnidhau*.

⁹ Read *baddhikṛitam*. Joshi: *sannidhau Kārṇāṭa-lōkē añjanaḥ kṛitam*; Desai: *sam[tiyā(bhūthyām)] Kārṇāṭa-lōkē(kaiḥ) amjana-vudhi(buddhiḥ) kṛitam(tā)*.

¹⁰ Read *jalpamti*.

¹¹ Joshi: *[gataṁ] ta dēva śōdhanīyam tatra kin=nahi*; Desai: *jalāmīa-dēva[tō dha nī]gatra kim na hi (jal-āntar=daiva[tō dhaḥ kshīyatē=tra kim na hi)*.

- 11 tra tasmin [ni*]ja-sthānē¹ punar=api dēva-sthāpana-pūjana-vidhayē² |
 12 saṁ(saṭ)-ṭhakkurē(ra)-Naiṇapāla-suta-[ṭh]ākura-Mālā³ Shō(Khō)jā-samksha(samaksham'
 udyā-
 13 saḥ [kṛi]ta[h |*]⁴ Shō(Khō)jē[na*] prasādam(daḥ) da[t]tam(ttaḥ)⁵ yushmāka⁶ kula-
 dharmō varttatē |
 14 tat=karaṇiya[m](yam) || chha || Prithvisā(ś ā)dhīpatau Mahīmada-suraṭrā-
 15 nē mahīm sā(śā)satī prasphūrjargu(d-gu)ṇa-Kāmadīna⁷ sa-vivī(dhīm)
 16 mudrām dadhānē tadā⁸ | Kalyāṇē nagare=vabhaṅga⁹-vipadam dashtva(dṛishṭv=ā)-
 17 [pi] Sam(Śam)bhōr=ayam¹⁰ Kāyas[th]-ōttama-Naiṇasimha¹⁰-tanayau(yō) dhīmām(mān)
 18 punar=llajji[taḥ]¹¹ || 1 Sā(Śā)kē=slt-āv[dh]yē(bdhy-a)yan-aika-nāmnī¹² viśhamā(mē)
 19 Samvat[sa]rē ch=Akshayē mā[s]jē Kārttika-samjñakē Vidhu-yuta-śrī-pau-
 20 rṇamā[s]yā[rh]¹³ tithau | Rōhinyā[rh*] nīsi vipra-maitra-vihitai[h*] sē-
 21 vā-chaṭhai(yai)¹⁴ [sh-ṭha]ku(kku)rō Malla[h*] śrī-Madhukē[śva]rasya vidadhē dha-
 22 nya[h*] pratishṭhām punaḥ || 2 Ya[m](Ya)n-nētr-āna[la]-tējasā samabhavat Kānō(mō)=
 23 pa(py=a)namg-āspada¹⁵ yat-kamīṭh-ābharaṇa[m] jaguḥ(a(d-ga)ti-hara[m*] ta[t*] kāla-kūta[m*]
 viśha[m*] |*]
 24 [ya]dōlēnē¹⁷ purā Pura-trayam=api prāptam kathā-śēshatām¹⁸ sō=yam mahya-
 25 Mahēśvarō='dhikurutē vataḥ¹⁹ pratishṭhā-padam(dam)²⁰ || 3 Vam(Ya)n-nētrām(tr-ā)chala-ti-

¹ Desai: *tasmin prasthānē*.

² The reading may be *viśhayē* also. The following *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ Read *ṭhakkura-Mallēna*.

⁴ Joshi: *sambandha Nēnapāla-suta ṭhakkura Malapōja (?) samksha (?) uda samlaptā (?)*; Desai: *saṁ(buddha*) ṭhakkura-Vaiṇapāla-suta-ṭhakkura-Māla | Shōjā sam(balidha*) Janādāsah utu*. Desai, who reads the names of the father and the son respectively as Vaiṇapāla and Māla, thinks that an incomplete sentence ends after Māla. Note that *ṭhakkura* is a colloquial form of *ṭhakkura*. The name of Mālā is found in verses 2 and 4 below. Malla.

⁵ Joshi: *Khājēna sandishyatē*.

⁶ Read *°dīnē* which, however, violates the metre. The author probably thought of *Kāmadīn*.

⁷ Desai: *tathā*.

⁸ The word *avalhaṅgu* means 'breaking off'. Joshi: *abhanga*; Desai: *varāṅga*.

⁹ Joshi: *Sambhō ratham*, translated as 'the chariot of Sambhu'.

¹⁰ Desai: *Vainasimha*; but the first consonant is clearly *n*. Naiṇasimha is no doubt the same as Naiṇapāla of line 12 where, however, the letter may be confused with *v*.

¹¹ Desai: *su-Murllāji[taḥ](Mall-ōrjitah)*.

¹² The word *nāmnī* is not happy in this context.

¹³ Desai: *pau(pū)ṇamā[pō(yām)]*.

¹⁴ Joshi: *Śēsh-āchulē*; Desai: *°śēshāvinaib (°ś=aiḥ pāvanaiḥ)*.

¹⁵ Read *°āspadō* or *°āspadam*. Joshi: *patitrātaja tējasā samabhavata Kānō yanam (?)*; Desai: *yamtrē rāna-yatē [asya] samabhavata kānō patamgāspadu*. The reading of the verb is clearly *samabhavat* and not *samabhavata* as read by both Joshi and Desai.

¹⁶ Joshi: *ya[nnaga] bharaṇam jagatīti harata kālakūja viśha*; Desai: *pakamja bharaṇē jagaddhati harata kālakūja viśhamadē* (with two syllables of the following foot of the stanza).

¹⁷ The intended reading may be *yad-bānair=nu*.

¹⁸ Joshi: *madrūtē pura-trayam=api kathā-śēshatām*; Desai: *madē | tēnē purā pura-trayam=api [ghā]tam kathā-śēshatām*.

¹⁹ The intended reading may be *v=llah* or better *pūlah*.

²⁰ Joshi: *sō=yam sūtya mahēśvarō=pi kurutē chēnāḥ pratishṭhā-padam*; Desai: *sō=yam Mahā-Mahēśvarō=dhikurutē [chē]taḥ pratishṭhā-padam*.

layā pratipadam la[kahmy]ā chiram chi[hn]itā[h*]¹ [S]ūryā-[Chandra]masau Satakra-
 tu-mukhā dēvā labhan[t]ē padan(dam)² | sō=yaṁ [sarva]-sur-ēśvarō=pi mahatīm
 dashvā(dṛishtvā) pratishṭā[m](shṭhām)³ nijā[m*] dēva[h] śrī-Madhukēśvarō vitanutān=Ma-
 llasya chitai(tt-ai)shaṇān(ṇam)⁴ | 4 Śrīma[d-U]syara-si[m*]h-ādā(dya)-rāja-pūjita-dai-
 va[vava(vat)]⁵ | Vaijādityasya likhita[m*] śāsanam⁶ Ma(Mā)dhukēśvara[m*]⁷ || chha ||
 ṭhakura-Rēdhūnu Viśvarūpa Madhukē[śva]rā⁸

¹ Joshi : . . . layā pratipudām tasyam chiram chihṇita ; Desai : vāmrē trām valaśā tathā pratipadam lakṣmā
 chiram chihṇitām.

² Joshi : . . . Satkra(possibly Satakra)tu-mukhā dēva labhantē padam ; Desai : kata-ripu-matau satalā
 tu-mukhā dēvā labha[m*]tē padam.

³ Joshi : mahatā va(ba)dhva pratishṭām nijā ; Desai : mahatām datvā pratishṭā[m*] nijā[m*].

⁴ Joshi : vitanutē sarvasya vitt-ēṣaṇam ; Desai : vitanutāt=tat=tasya vitt-ēṣaṇām.

⁵ The intended reading may be daivatam. Joshi : śrīmato samarasiha rājya prajita dē (?) . . . ga ; Desai :
 śrīmatu Syara Sīhādā-rāja-pūjita-[dē]m[vachā].

⁶ The word śāsana here seems to mean a gift of land. This gift was made by Vaijāditya. The intended word
 for likhita may be vihitam. In any case, the writer of the document does not appear to be mentioned in the stanza.
 If the word śāsana is taken in the sense of the present document, its epithet in the first half of the verse would be
 unenitāble.

⁷ Joshi : Ija(yā)dityasya likhita śāsanam Madhukēśvara ; Desai : Vijādityasya li[chhi]khi)ta-śāsanam Madhu-
 kēśvara. In likhita[m*], the letter kh is of the early Southern type.

⁸ Joshi : . . . Kurarē . . . Madhukēśvara ; Desai : . . . ṭhakura rēdhātu Viśvarūpa Madhukēśvara . . .

⁹ Joshi : . . . punarāna . . . ; Desai : . . . [stāna] . . .

No. 12—NOTE ON MADAKASIRA INSCRIPTION OF DILIPARASA, SAKA 870

K. V. RAMESH, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.2.1958)

The slab which bears this inscription¹ was found in the Chōlarāja temple at **Maḍakasira** in the Taluk of the same name in the Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh. The text of the inscription was first published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, Si. No. 35, and again in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 25.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing occupying an area about 6 feet 10 inches in length and between 2 feet 3 inches and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There is a rectangular space in the centre measuring about 2 feet in length and 1 foot and 3 inches in height, which contains a sculpture in relief depicting a warrior being attended upon by two damsels bearing chowries. The inscription is written in **Kannaḍa** characters and language.

The date of the record is quoted as **Śaka 870** (written in words), **Kilaka-samvatsara** which corresponds to **948-49 A.D.** It refers itself to the reign of the Nolamba-Pallava ruler Diliparasa.

The inscription opens with the word *svasti* followed by the date-mentioned above. It records the death of Ponnayya, a servant of **Ballaha**, in the battle of **Ipīli**, in which he is said to have fought with great bravery against **Gajāṅkuṣa-chōla**. The scene in the rectangular space obviously suggests that, on his death, he was welcomed by celestial damsels in heaven. The epigraph further states that Ponnayya was the son of Chikkayya and Āchabbe and the younger brother of Śivaya and Bikṣayanna. Śivaya is eulogised as the foremost archer in the 32000 country, no doubt meaning Nolambavāḍi. It is also stated that the Nolamba-Pallava chief Diliparasa joined the army of Ponnayya when it was on the march.

Diliparasa has been called *samadhigata-paṇḍita-mahāśabala*, *Prithivī-rallabha*, *Pallava-kula-tilaka*, *Iṣiva-nolamban*, etc., like the other rulers of his family. The title *Pallava-Rāma* attributed to the chief in this record is interesting in that it is not known to have been assumed by any other Nolamba-Pallava ruler. The title *Ēkavākya* was enjoyed both by Diliparasa's father Ayyappa and by Iṣiva-Nolamba Nollipayya.

Iṣiva-nolamba Diliparasa was the younger son of Bīra-nolamba Ayyappa and ascended the throne on the death of his brother Anniga. The exact date of Diliparasa's accession is not known. On the strength of the Deoli copper-plate inscription² of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, dated Śaka 862 (940 A.D.), which is the last known inscription to refer to Anniga and in which Anniga is said to have been defeated and reduced to a miserable plight by the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch, and the Hemavati inscription³ of Diliparasa dated 912-13 A.D., which is his earliest known inscription, we can only say that Diliparasa occupied the throne sometime between 940 and 942-43 A.D. He was apparently a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, mentioned as Ballaha in the inscription under study.

A point of interest in the inscription is the mention of a certain **Gajāṅkuṣa-chōla** against whom the battle of **Ipīli** was fought. The epigraph itself does not help us to identify this person. Basing their arguments on the fact that Kṛṣṇa III led an expedition against the Chōla country about the time our inscription was set up, scholars have suggested that **Gajāṅkuṣa-chōla** may have been the Chōla king Parāntaka's eldest son Rājāditya.⁴ We know that this Chōla prince was killed in the

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1916, No. 728.

² According to some scholars (cf. *Karnāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, pp. 217-18), Nollipayya was the son of Diliparasa. Mr. N. L. Rao, however, suggests that Diliparasa and Nollipayya were one and the same chief (*QJMS*, Vol. XLVIII, 1957-58, p. 36).

³ Cf. *QJMS*, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴ *SI*, Vol. VI, p. 109.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, Parts II, p. 106; *Karnāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, p. 217

famous battle of Takkōlam by Gaṅga Būtuga in the year 949 A.D.,¹ that is to say, within a few months after the issue of the record under discussion, which seems to have been engraved soon after the battle of Ipīli. The battle of Ipīli must have been fought at a place to the north of the Gaṅga territory,² possibly in the present District of Anantapur. It is thus possible that the modern Ippēru in the Anantapur Taluk was known in early times as Ipīli.³ There is no reason to believe that Rājāditya was at this time camping anywhere near Anantapur. On the other hand, we learn from inscriptions⁴ that he was stationed with a huge army for a number of years at Tirunāmanallūr in Tirumūṇaippāḍināḍu, situated in the present District of South Arcot, obviously with a view to protecting the kingdom from the Gaṅgas.

Following in the footsteps of his enterprising father Āditya I, the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I extended his dominions upto Neilore. But the death of Gaṅga Prithvīpati II, his strongest ally in the north, started a series of troubles from which the Chōḷa kingdom suffered throughout Parāntaka's reign. The foremost among the difficulties was created by the usurpation of the Gaṅga throne by Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line. As a result of this, Parāntaka not only lost his hold on the Gaṅgas but had to count them among his enemies.⁵ The Vaidumbas, Bāṇas and Nolamba-Pallavas were no doubt already in the enemy's camp. But the Gaṅgas were the nearest among Parāntaka's enemies and their king Būtuga was closely related to the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa III. It is therefore no wonder that Rājāditya was given the task of safeguarding the north-eastern boundaries of the kingdom against the Gaṅgas. It is also apparent from this that Rājāditya could not have been in the Nolamba-Pallava kingdom unmindful of the more powerful neighbour, Gaṅga Būtuga, who had no reason to be friendly with the expanding power of the Chōḷas.

Who then was this Gajāṅkuṣa-chōḷa, if he was not of the family of the Imperial Chōḷas? It is not possible to say anything definite regarding his identity without further light on the subject. But a suggestion may be offered.

The name Gajāṅkuṣa seems to indicate that this Chōḷa chief belonged to the family of the Telugu-Chōḷas, probably of the Rēnāṇḍu branch. In the Velurpalaiyam plates⁶ of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, mention is made of Chōḷa-mahārāja Kumarāṅkuṣa. It has been said that this Kumarāṅkuṣa belonged to the family of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas.⁷ Balliyachōḷa, the Telugu-Chōḷa chief of Rēnāṇḍu, who flourished in the ninth century, also enjoyed the title *Kumārāṅkuṣa*,⁸ and this seems to strengthen the suggestion that Kumarāṅkuṣa of Pallava Nandivarman's epigraph belonged to the family of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas. If this is accepted, we may further conclude that names ending in *āṅkuṣa* were popular in the family of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. On this basis, Gajāṅkuṣa-chōḷa may be said to have belonged to the same family. The attack on him led by Nolamba Dilīparasa and the army of Kṛishṇa III seems to have been part of the Rāshtrakūṭa offensive against the Imperial Chōḷas.

¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 1st ed., pp. 157-58.

² There was an intervening stretch of Gaṅga territory between the kingdom of the Chōḷas and that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. If the battle was fought further in the south, probably the Gaṅgas and not the Nolamba-Pallavas would have been involved in the conflict.

³ This village is situated to the north-east of Chōḷasamudram and was within the territory of the Rēnāṇḍu Chōḷas. It may be that the invading army hurriedly retreated after an indecisive encounter and that, on reaching Maḍakasira within the Nolamba-Pallava kingdom, a hero stone commemorating the death of Ponnayya was erected.

⁴ Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55.

⁵ No doubt the descendants of Prithvīpati II continued to be loyal to Parāntaka I and his successors. But with the bulk of the territory, which Prithvīpati II had been ruling, now under the control of Būtuga of the main Gaṅga line, their power declined and they counted for nothing in the long period of trouble during which the very foundations of the newly-built Chōḷa empire were so rudely shaken.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 507-10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 20.

⁸ *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XV, p. 258.

No. 13—BHAIRAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 17.3.1958)

Bhairavakonda is a hill in the Eastern Nallamalai, which extends over a part of the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. Its highest point is about 3000 feet above sea level. At a level about 400 feet down from this point, amidst thick jungle, is an unpretentious temple enshrining a small *linga* called Bhairava. The nearest village from which the temple could be reached is Mohidānpuram, a hamlet of Bōgōlu, and the temple is situated at a distance of about 5 miles from it. There is a small pond in front of the shrine and, close to it, a much weather-worn image of Gaṇēśa. Another sculpture by the side of this depicts a seated figure with four hands, holding a staff in one of its right hands. Among the other sculptures lying scattered near the temple and mutilated beyond recognition may be mentioned a stone tablet about 2' long and 6" broad depicting labelled images, in relief, of the Seven Mothers (*Saptamātṛikās*) with their characteristic *vāhanas*. The epigraph¹ published here is on a slab near these images.

The inscription, occupying a rectangular area about 11 inches by 23 inches, is engraved on the dressed surface of the slab. The letters are neatly incised and the entire inscription runs to just 10 lines.

The **language** of the record is Telugu and it is written in archaic **characters** which may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. Medial *i* is formed by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter. For this loop formed by an anticlockwise flourish, cf. *lli* (line 2) in which the left end of the loop has not been fully extended so as to join the main letter; see also *ndi* (line 4) in which the flourish starts from the top of the shaft over *na* and, after sweeping over it in a circle, descends on the other side of it a little further down than where it started, and *ñchi* (line 6) in which the sign commences almost with an upright stem over which the loop is formed. A further sharp inward bend of the left end of this loop marks the sign of medial *i*. The vowels *ā* and *e* occur in the words *ācharlu* (line 8) and *Eyu[va]* (line 7). Attention may be drawn to the archaic forms of *b* in *bōl* showing the tendency to the formation of the open *b*, of *ṛ* formed by a horizontal stroke inside a flattened loop, and of *kh* indicated by an elongated upright curve with its ends opening towards the left and its lower end bent inside. Among **orthographic** peculiarities may be mentioned the use of *s* for *ś* in the names Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara (lines 4-5) and the use of *ṛ* in place of *r* in the expression *ācharlu* (line 8).

The inscription records the setting up of the images of Gaṇapati, Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara by Kalli-bōl. It mentions [Mu]nasaṅga, the son of Eyuva-ācharlu, probably as the sculptor, and ends, with a short sentence in Sanskrit attributing [the engraving of] the document to the same person.²

The main interest of the epigraph lies in establishing the identity of the ruler Vikramāditya and the deity Daṇḍīśvara mentioned in it. In the absence of any *praśasti* and distinguishing titles or epithets in the epigraph, it is difficult to identify the king. But the internal evidence of the inscription offers some help.

The first sentence of the record states that during the reign of **Vikramāditya**, Kalli-bōl had the [images of] Gaṇapati, Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara made. In the name of Kalli-bōl, the

¹ A. R. Ep., 1949-50, No. 251.

² The Turimeḷla inscription of Vikramāditya I also ends with a sentence in Sanskrit although the main part of the record is in Telugu. See above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff.

suffix *bōḷ*, is the honorific plural of *bōyu* and it is found both as *bōḷ* as in the record under review, and as *bōyuḷ* or *bōya*. Generally, in the formation of such names, the prefix indicates a place name, e.g., in *Ātakuru-bōya*, *Kumunūru-bōya*, etc., and the expression as such is construed to stand for the person who held the office of the *bōya* of the place. Sometimes such names are followed by the names of the persons themselves, e.g., *Naḍukuri-bōya Sarvaśarman*, *Kanpar-bōya Maṇḍaśarman*, etc.¹ It may therefore be suggested that in the expression *Kalli-bōḷ*, the word *Kalli* stands for the name of the village of which Gaṇapati was the *bōya* or *bōḷ*.² If this were so, a person named Gaṇapati may have caused the images of Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara to be made. But it has to be noticed that there is actually an image of the god Gaṇapati near the inscribed slab. It is therefore more probable that this is one of the images mentioned in the record and that *Kalli-bōḷ* himself was the author of this and the other two.

Lines 7-9 of the text mention a person named [Mu]nasaṅga as the son of Eyu[va]-ācharḷu. This statement is followed by the last sentence of the record, in Sanskrit, attributing the writing (or rather the engraving of the epigraph) to this individual. That this person himself was the sculptor of the images is not ruled out, since his father is referred to by the epithet *ācharḷu* (i.e., *āchāryulu*) which is indicative of the artisan class to which he belonged. The term *āchāri* is the common designation of an artisan, either a carpenter or a mason.

All the three images mentioned in the inscription, viz., Gaṇapati, Nandīśvara and Daṇḍīśvara are lying near the inscribed slab and two amongst them have already been referred to above. About a foot high, in the usual seated posture, with the *mūṣhaka* as his characteristic *vāhana*, is a much worn out image of Gaṇapati. By the side of the aforementioned image, there is an equally worn out image of the bull Nandin, which is invariably associated with any temple of Śiva. This is indeed the Nandīśvara referred to in the record. The third image, viz., that of Daṇḍīśvara, is a seated figure with four hands, holding a *daṇḍa* or staff in one of its right hands, the objects held in the other three hands being too worn out to be recognised. However, the seated posture of the image and the unmistakable *daṇḍa* are enough indications for identifying the image as of Daṇḍīśvara referred to in the inscription. It may be recalled that the Mālēpāḍu and Dommara-Nandyāla plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Puṇyakumāra quote an invocatory verse in praise of Lakṣṭapāṇi (Lakulīśa).³ *Lakṣṭa* or *laguḍa* being a synonym of *daṇḍa*, the identity of Lakṣṭapāṇi with Daṇḍapāṇi, Daṇḍēśa or Daṇḍīśvara is obvious. As Lakulīśa appears to have been the family deity of a branch of the Telugu-Chōḍas of Rēnāḍu, Vikramāditya to whose reign the record purports to belong was, in all probability, a member of this branch of the family. It has been shown that there was a branch of this family, the members of which bore names ending in *āditya*, such as Vikramāditya, Uttamāditya, Satyāditya, etc. Among them are two kings who bore the name Vikramāditya⁴ and were related to each other probably as grandfather and grandson. Judging from the similarity of the names and the provenance and palaeography of the records,⁵ it is very likely that Vikramāditya of the record under review is identical with either of these two rulers (more probably the second of the two) of this branch of the Telugu-Chōḍa family the relationship of which to the main branch is, however, still unknown.

If the identification suggested above is accepted, the present epigraph adds one more to the two known lithic records⁶ of Vikramāditya. The sculpture of Daṇḍīśvara, identified with Lakulīśa, appears to be the earliest known representation of the deity in South India.⁷

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 79, text lines 36-40.

² The word *bōya*, said to be a derivative of *bhōḡika*, stands for an office. *A.R. Ep.*, 1921-22, Part II, p. 97.

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 337 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 268 ff.

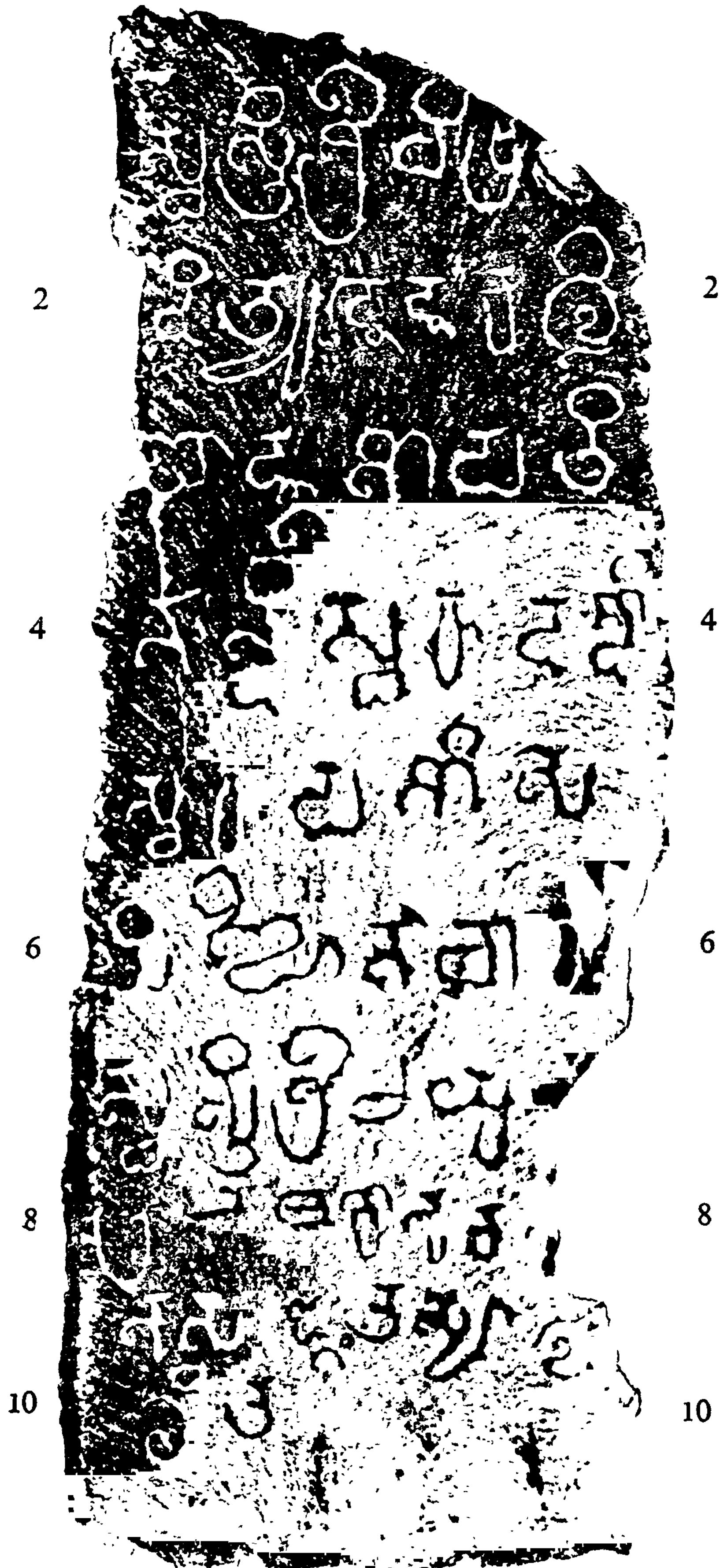
⁴ Ibid., XXVII, p. 248.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Plate facing p. 346.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 236.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 269, note 1.

BHAIRAVAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA



Scale : Three-eighths

TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī-Vikra[mā-]
 - 2 dityu[-ā] Kalli-
 - 3 bō[-Gaṇapati
 - 4 Nandi(ndī)śva(śva)ru Daṇḍi(ṇḍī)-
 - 5 śva(śva)ru paṇi(ni)sē-
 - 6 yiñchinavāru [*]
 - 7 Svasti śrī-Eyu[va]-
 - 8 āchaṅga koḷuku [Mu]-
 - 9 nasaṅga [*] Tasyā(śya) li-
 - 10 khita[ni [*]
-

No. 14—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 30.8.1957)

There is a small stone pillar preserved in the Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa. The pillar is four-sided and measures about $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 5 inches in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. Three of its faces bear each an inscription in three lines. Sometime before the year 1915, the inscribed stone was brought to Baripada by Mr. Kamakhya Prasad Basu, then an officer of the former Mayurbhanj State, from the village of **Pēḍāgaḍhi** in the Udala Sub-division of Mayurbhanj, lying about 4 miles from Udala. There is a temple of the goddess **Bhīmā** or **Bhīmēśvarī** in the forest adjoining the village¹ and the internal evidence of the records would suggest that the stone was secured from the area of the said shrine.

The inscriptions were recently published by Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru in *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, July 1952, pp. 178-79, with Plates. While going through Pandit Rajaguru's article, I felt that most of his views on the inscriptions, including their reading and interpretation, are unacceptable. Thus, in the first place, he assigns the three inscriptions on palaeographical grounds to different periods ranging from the ninth to the eleventh century and apparently considers the record mentioning Dhruvarāja to be the latest amongst the three. I, on the other hand, have no doubt that Dhruvarāja's epigraph is the earliest of the three records and that they may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 10th century A.D. The three sides of the slab bear votive records of three different rulers; but the king, who was responsible for fashioning the stone into a pillar for the definite purpose of incising his record on it, is expected to have used one of the two broader faces (5 inches wide) of the pillar and not one of the narrower side faces ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide). It has to be noticed that Dhruvarāja's inscription occupies a broader face of the pillar, the opposite side at its back remaining blank and the left and right faces bearing the two other inscriptions. It appears that the stone was so placed originally in the temple of a goddess that only the three inscribed faces were visible to the visitors and that at first there was inscription only on its front face, the two side faces being inscribed at later dates. This is also suggested by the fact that, of the three records, Dhruvarāja's inscription is the most neatly and carefully engraved apparently because, as already indicated above, the stone was dressed for the special purpose of engraving his record. Its characters also appear to be somewhat earlier than those of the other two epigraphs. Secondly, according to Pandit Rajaguru, the two other records speak of *Kumāra Dharmarāja alias Durgarāya* and *Śatrubhañja* respectively. In my opinion, what has been read as *Kumāra-Dharmarājēna* is very clearly *Kumāravarmarājēna*, so that the person referred to is a king named Kumāravarman and not a prince named Dharmarāja. Moreover, I do not find the name *Durgarāya* in this record nor the name *Śatrubhañja* in the other. Thirdly, I do not agree with Pandit Rajaguru's reading and interpretation of the purport of any of the three epigraphs, even though it has to be admitted that, excepting Dhruvarāja's record, the two other inscriptions are very carelessly engraved and are therefore extremely difficult to read and interpret especially because both of them are damaged, a few letters being lost at the end of the lines.

Such being the case, I requested Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, to be so good as to send me a few inked impressions of the inscriptions for study. Although Mr. Acharya could not send me the impressions required by me, he was very kind to place

¹ See N. N. Vasu, *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, 1911, p. 85.

the inscribed stone at my disposal for examination when I visited the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar in January 1956. The stone was brought from Baripada to Bhubaneswar for me and I am extremely thankful to Mr. Acharya for his kindness.

The **characters** of the records belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth or eleventh century and resemble those in the early inscriptions¹ of the Bhañjas of Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭa (modern Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District at 21°55' N., 85° 50' E.) who call themselves Ādi-Bhañja and are known to have ruled in the eleventh century. The **language** is only seemingly Sanskrit. It is extremely corrupt in all the three records. But their **object** is fairly clear and it is to record certain gifts of land made in favour of a deity, called by the name Durgā in Inscription No. 3. She seems to be none other than the goddess Bhīmā now worshipped at Pēḍāgaḍhi, findspot of the inscribed stone. No date is quoted in any of the epigraphs.

The **first of the three inscriptions** covers an area about 13½ inches in length and 4 inches in height. There is no doubt about its reading and interpretation even though a few letters are broken away from the end of the lines and the first letter in both lines 2 and 3 is damaged. The inscription records the grant of the localities called Vanagrāma, Araṇapadā and Bharāḍihu made by Dhruvarāja as an *agrahāra* (i.e. rent-free holding) for the *bali* and *nivēḍya* (*naivēḍya*) apparently of a deity whose name, however, is not mentioned no doubt because the inscription was exhibited in the shrine of the said deity. As indicated above, the deity seems to be no other than the goddess Bhīmā of Pēḍāgaḍhi. Pandit Rajaguru, who could not decipher some of the letters and read some of them wrongly, translates the record as follows : “ (*It is a grant made*) by Śrī-Dhruvarājadēva for the purpose of *bali* and *naivēḍya* of (*the goddess*) Bharāḍi of Arachhupadā”. But he admits that the letters *hāra* in line 3 are unintelligible to him. Unfortunately he does not make it clear as to what the object granted by the king was and apparently fails to realise the absurdity of his interpretation of the record. As it stands, his translation would suggest that it was the inscribed stone which was granted by Dhruvarāja in favour of a deity for *bali* and *naivēḍya*. Since the stone has no cash value at all, the interpretation is absolutely unwarranted, even if Pandit Rajaguru's reading is accepted as correct. The goddess Bharāḍi of Arachhupadā is no doubt imaginary.

The **second inscription** records a grant made by Kumāravarṃmarāja. The facts that the epigraph is carelessly engraved and that a few letters are lost at the end of lines 1 and 2 make it difficult to read and interpret the record. But it apparently records a grant of land just as Inscription No. 1 noticed above. Possibly it mentions two gift villages as Duśākhi situated in Dūga . . rayēśa and Dāṭiā lying in Lōshṭhaja . . rya. Pandit Rajaguru translates the record, as he has read it, as follows : “ (*It is*) a grant made by Kumāra Dharmarāja (*who is also called*) Durgarāya in favour of Pinākipati, for the fulfilment of his desires.” But his reading of many of the *aksharas* in the passage *Kumāra-Dharmarājēna Durgarāyēna Piṇākipatē abhīshṭajavai* is imaginary. I do not find any mention of Durgarāya and Pinākipati in the record. His interpretation of *pinākipati* as Śiva, called Pināki or Pinākin, is not happy while *abhīshṭajavai* is meaningless. Moreover, in this case also, Pandit Rajaguru fails to realise that his interpretation of the record involves the absurd suggestion that the donor re-granted the same stone previously granted by Dhruvarāja. Of course he seems to place Dhruvarāja's inscription in the eleventh century and the present epigraph in the ninth century. But the inherent impossibility of a king making the grant of a stone and a later ruler granting it once again still remains.

The **third inscription** records the grant of a king whose name ends with the word *bhañja*. It was a grant of land made in favour of the goddess Durgā who, as suggested above, may be the same as the modern Bhīmā of Pēḍāgaḍhi. The gift land seems to have consisted of three localities called Tōlērṇā, Bhujā and Rai . . which were all situated in Nēmi-grāma in the Maḍāhā *vishaya* (district). The grant was made to last as long as the sun and the moon would exist. The passage

¹ See e.g. above, Vol. XXV, Plate facing p. 160 ; N. N. Vasu, op. cit., Plates 79 ff., etc.

containing the name of the donor at the beginning of line 2 seems to read *!!ōdhabhañjēna*. If it may be believed that the letters *Śrīma* are broken away from the end of the previous line, we may suggest *Śrīmat-!ōdhabhañjēna* and in that case the name of the donor may be **Tōdhabhañja** even if it sounds rather peculiar. But it is equally possible that one or two of the letters broken at the end of the previous line actually formed a part of the donor's name. Strangely enough Pandit Rajaguru finds a stanza in the *Anushtubh* metre in the inscription, the first half of which is read as *Maḍārdā-vishayē ti(tī)rē Sa(Śa)trubhañjēna datah(tta)[taḥ |*]* while the third foot is supposed to read *Līlēsabhadrā Durgāyā*, the first five syllables at the end of line 2 and the remaining three at the beginning of line 3. His translation of the record runs as follows: "This grant is made on the border of the *Maḍārdā vishaya* by Śatrubhañja in favour of *Līlēsabhadrā Durgā (in perpetuity)* as long as the sun and the moon exist." Unfortunately both the reading and the interpretation are in most part imaginary and unwarranted. It is impossible to read the names Śatrubhañja and Līlēsabhadrā in the inscription, while the emendation *dattateḥ* is quite meaningless in the context. The translation 'on the border of the *Maḍārdā vishaya*' of what has been wrongly read as *Maḍārdā-vishayē ti(tī)rē* is equally unsound. Moreover, it would involve the impossible suggestion that the inscribed stone, raised on the border of a district, was granted in favour of a goddess. In case a plot of land on the border of the district was meant to be the object of the grant, it is impossible to believe that the record gives only its location without any other details. Indeed there is scarcely any such instance in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. Pandit Rajaguru fails to notice that a few letters are lost at the end of lines 1 and 2 and that the record is in prose. The fact that his interpretation leaves it uncertain as to what the gift really was renders both his reading and translation of the inscription unacceptable.

The importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that they mention three rulers, apparently petty chiefs of the Mayurbhanj region, who flourished about the 10th century A.D. The same area was under the rule of the Ādi-Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa from about the beginning of the eleventh century. Some of the earliest records of this family, which originally owed allegiance to the Imperial Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, bear dates in the Bhauma-Kara era.¹ This era seems to have started from 831 A.D.² The dates in this era found in the inscriptions of the Ādi-Bhañjas have been read as the years 288 and 293; but, as we have tried to show elsewhere,³ the intended reading of the symbol taken to be 200 is really 100. Thus these dates actually stand for 188 and 193 respectively and therefore they appear to correspond to 1019 and 1024 A.D. The three rulers mentioned in the records under study appear to have flourished sometime before these dates apparently as feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

It seems that the Bhañja ruler mentioned in No. 3 of our inscriptions belonged to a branch of the Bhañja family of Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa; since, however, his name is not mentioned in the records of the family among its earlier rulers, we may suggest that the branch represented by the Bhañja ruler of our inscription was overthrown by the Ādi-Bhañja dynasty known from inscriptions. That the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa called themselves *Ādi-Bhañja* or 'Original Bhañja' would suggest that there was at least another (probably, earlier) Bhañja ruling family in the area, which was regarded by them as of a more recent origin than their own dynasty and may have been overthrown by them. It also seems that kings Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarmarāja belonged to a dynasty that flourished in the region before the rise of the Bhañjas. This dynasty appears to have been overthrown by the Bhañja family represented by the Bhañja ruler mentioned in No. 3 of our inscriptions.

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 221. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 150; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1487; above, Vol. XXV, p. 157.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191, note 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 184; cf. Vol. XXVII, p. 327, note 1.

Whether the rulers mentioned in the records under study had their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa, i.e. modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj, cannot be determined. Considering, however, the facts that there is no other site in the area, which can be compared with Khiching in regard to antiquity and that some of the sculptures found at the place are earlier than the eleventh century when the Ādi-Bhañjas flourished,¹ it seems very likely that the pre-Ādi-Bhañja rulers of the region had also their capital at Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa. Indeed it is possible that Khiching was originally the centre of a big kingdom comprising the northern part of Mayurbhanj and the adjoining areas of Manbhum and Singbhum. But whether the Mānas, possibly of Ōdra origin, also ruled from here in the sixth century² cannot be decided without further evidence. But it is not altogether impossible.

The **geographical names** mentioned in Inscription No. 1 are Vanagrāma, Araṇapadā and Bharāḍiḥu. Nos. 2 and 3 also mention several localities; but the reading of the names is not beyond doubt in all cases. I am not sure about the location of any of them, although they appear to have been situated in the present District of Mayurbhanj in Orissa.

TEXT*

No. 1

- 1 Siddham⁴ [|*] Śrī-Ddh[r*]uvarāja⁵dēv[ē]na Va[na]-⁶
- 2 [grā]ma-Araṇa(ṇa)padā-Bharāḍi[hu]...⁷
- 3 [gra]hāra va(ba)li-nivēdya sa[ma]...⁸

No. 2

- 1 Siddham⁴ [|*] Kumāravarmarājēna Dūga...⁹
- 2 rayē[śē]¹⁰ Du¹¹śākhī Dāṭiā¹² Lōsh[ṭha]ja...¹³
- 3 ¹⁴[ryē] data¹⁵ [|*]

¹ For an account of the architectural monuments and sculptures of Khiching, see R. P. Chanda's notes in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, pp. 124 ff., Plates XLI-XLII; 1923-24, pp. 85 ff., Plates XXXII-XXXIV; 1924-25, pp. 111 ff., Plate XXXV. I do not agree with Chanda's view that the earliest antiquities from Khiching should be assigned to the eleventh century and to the age of the Ādi-Bhañjas. In his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd. ed., J. N. Banerjea assigns some of the sculptures roughly to the tenth century (pp. 378, 440) and some others vaguely to the early medieval period (pp. 360, 481). At least the following illustrations in Banerjea's work appear to me to be earlier than the Ādi-Bhañja age: frontispiece; Plate XX, figures 1-2; Plates XXX, figures 2-3; Plate XXXV, figure 3.

² Cf. *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, December 1956, pp. 263 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The intended reading may also have been *śrīmad-Dhruvarāja*.

⁶ It is difficult to determine if a letter is broken away after the damaged *na* which may possibly also be read as *la*. But Vanagrāma makes a good name for a village and many localities of this name are known in Eastern India.

⁷ The traces of this lost letter at the end of the line suggest *ma*, so that the expression is *°rāḍiḥum=agrahāra*.

⁸ The intended word was apparently *samarpita*. In correct Sanskrit, we should have *Vanagrām-Āraṇapadā-Bharāḍiḥu-nāma-grāmāḥ agraḥāratvēna bali-nivēdy-ārtham samarpitāḥ*.

⁹ There were two letters here, which are now damaged beyond recognition.

¹⁰ Of the triangle forming the left limb of *ś*, only the base can be seen now.

¹¹ The letter *d* resembles its form in *Dūga* in line 1. The *akshara* may also be read as *dra*. It does not appear to be *pra*.

¹² The *ā-mātrā*-like part of the vowel is not quite clear on the impressions.

¹³ At least one letter is lost here.

¹⁴ The three letters of this line are engraved about the middle of the space.

¹⁵ The intended word is *datta*; but, in correct Sanskrit, we should have [*dvaṁ grāmaṁ*] *dattaṁ*.

No. 3

- 1 [Siddham]¹ . . ²Maḍāhā-vishay[ē] [Nē]mi-[grāmē] . . ³
 2 ॐ-Ṭō[dha]bhañjēna data[h]⁴ Tōlēr[n]ā⁵(ṛṇā)-Bh[u]jā-Rai . . ⁶
 3 Du[r]gāy[ā] yāvata chandr-ārka varttati⁷ [[]]

¹ Expressed by symbol.

² There are traces of two damaged letters here. Probably the word is *svasti* followed by a double *danḍa*.

³ The *aksharas grāmē* are considerably rubbed off. Two or three letters have broken away after this word. They may be conjecturally restored as *śrīma*.

⁴ The word intended is *datta*, although in correct Sanskrit we should have *dattāḥ*.

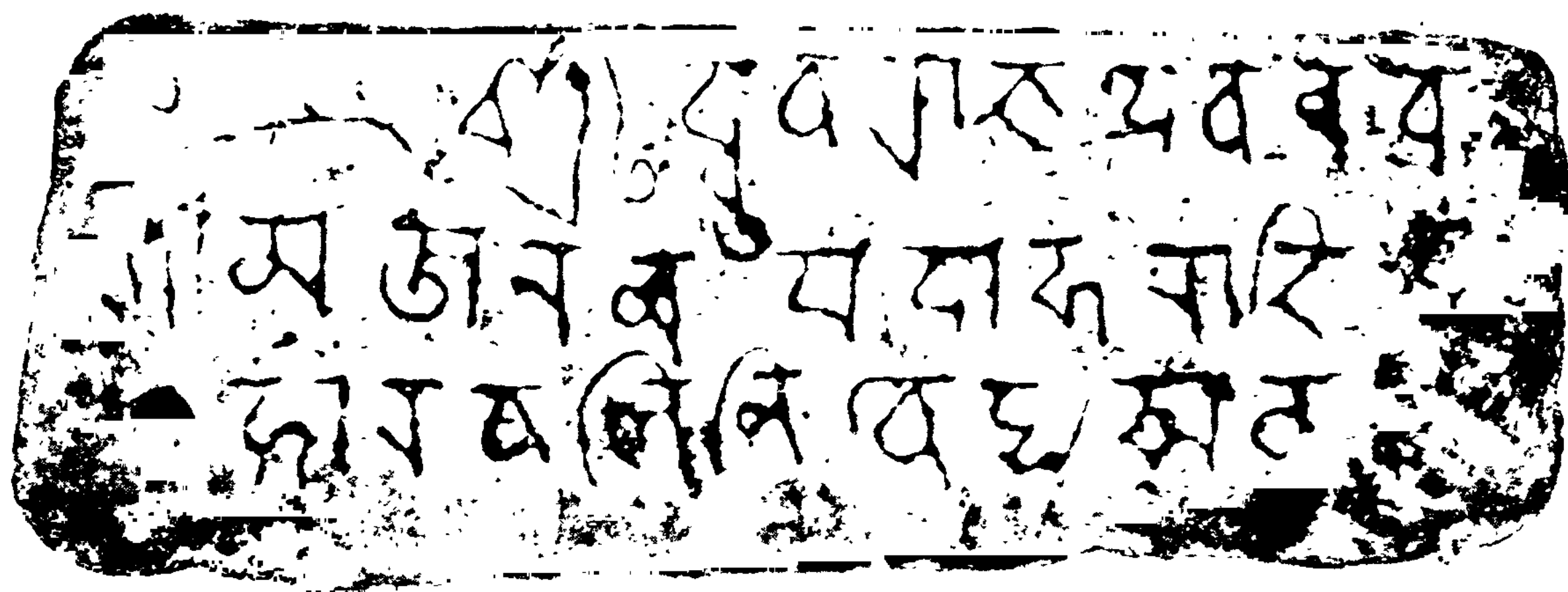
⁵ The letter *n* seems to be imperfectly formed. The *akshara* may possibly be read as *ḍā*.

⁶ About two letters are lost after *rai*.

⁷ In correct Sanskrit, we should have *Durgāyai yāvat chandr-ārkaṁ varttē*.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN BARIPADA MUSEUM

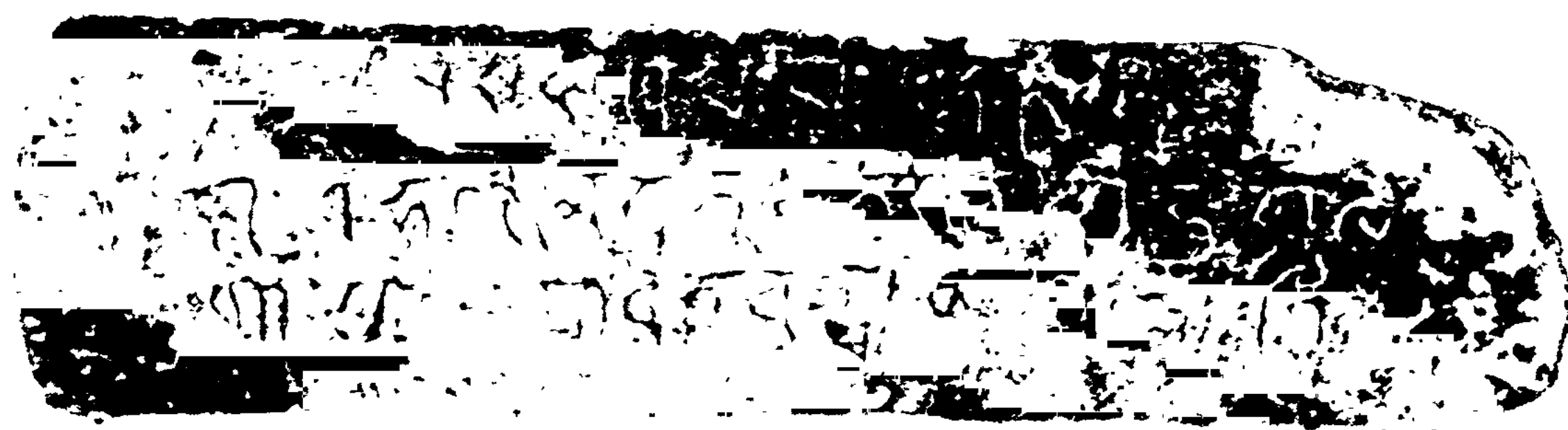
No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



Scale : Two-fifths

No. 15—DAVANGERE PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 34

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

A set of three copper plates strung on a ring bearing a seal was received by the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, quarter of a century ago, from Mr. Nadiga Basappa who was a lawyer of **Davangere** in the Chitaldurg District of Mysore State. It was edited with illustration in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the Year 1933*, pp. 109-16, Plate XXII. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcript and translation of the record. The most serious defect in the treatment of the inscription is that the grant portion has been wrongly read and translated and consequently the very name applied to the record, viz. 'Kōramaṅga grant of... Ravivarman,' seems to be a misnomer.

The editor of the inscription says, "The lands granted are said to be situated near Kōramaṅga, Samana and Āsandi. Kōramaṅga is probably the same as Kōramaṅgala, a village situated about eight miles from Hassan and about 40 miles from Āsandi. Āsandi is a village in the Kadur Taluk of Kadur District near Ajjampur, and Āsandi or Āsandi-nāḍu or the province of Āsandi is often referred to in inscriptions.¹ The extent of the lands granted seems to be three *nivartanas*..." There are several mistakes in this statement. In the first place, of the four plots of land granted by the charter, three were situated around a *sētu* or embankment in the southern part of Āsandi and the fourth in a locality called Vēdirkōda apparently within Āsandi or in its neighbourhood. Secondly, what has been read as *Kōramaṅga* (line 17) seems to us to be *Kōravēga* which was moreover a locality where the above-mentioned embankment was situated. It was therefore a part of Āsandi and does not appear to be a place 40 miles away. Its identification with Kōramaṅgala is thus extremely doubtful. Thirdly, what has been read as *Samane* (line 19) appears to us to be *samayē* and the passage *samayē sētu-bandhasya* means 'at the extremity of the embankment'. The inscription therefore does not refer to a village called Samana. Fourthly, as our analysis below will show, the area of the four plots of the gift land, excluding the site of the embankment, was six *nivartanas* and not three *nivartanas* only. Besides these, there are numerous other errors in the published transcript and translation of the inscription. Under the circumstances, no apology is needed for re-editing the inscription in the following pages.

The **three** plates measure each 7½ inches by 3 inches. The seal fixed to the ring on which they are strung does not show any representation. The **characters** closely resemble those of other Early Kadamba charters, especially those issued by king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) of Vaijayantī (modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District).² The record also resembles other Early Kadamba epigraphs in respect of **language** and **orthography**. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription, with the exception of the auspicious word *Siddham* at the beginning, is written entirely in verse. The orthography is characterised by the reduplication of some consonants following *r* and the use of both the *anusvāra* and the class nasal without discrimination. Final *m* has been invariably employed at the end of the halves of stanzas. The *jihvāmūliya* has been used once in line 3.

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kadur, No. 145.

² Cf. above, Vol. VIII, pp. 146 ff.; Vol. XVI, p. 264; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 25-26, 28, 29-30.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 15 (verse 14). It is the **34th regnal year** of the **Early Kadamba king Ravivarman**, the day referred to being one in the **bright half of the month of Madhu** (Chaitra) when the *nakshatra* was **Rōhinī**. We know that Ravivarman began to reign about 490 A.D. His 34th regnal year thus fell about 524 A.D. The exact date of the charter, however, cannot be calculated as neither the *tithi* nor the week-day is mentioned.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *suddham* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the *Sarvajña Sarvalōkanātha*. Since both Sarvajña and Lōkanātha are well-known names of the Buddha, we prefer to identify the deity referred to in the stanza with the founder of Buddhism, even though the editor of the inscription was inclined to associate the verse with Jainism. As will be seen from our discussion below, the objects of the grant were the maintenance of worship in the *Suddh-āyatana* and the increase of the *Saṅgha*. The editor of the epigraph regarded these as Jain religious institutions. But *Saṅgha* is well-known in the sense of the Buddhist church. As will be shown below, a *Suddh-āyatana* is also known to have been associated with the worship of the Buddha. We know that the Early Kadambas were Brahmanical Hindus. Although they had Jain leanings and many of their charters contain Jain adorations and were issued in favour of Jains or Jain institutions, they claimed to be devotees of the god Mahāsēna and the Mothers. This claim is found in the records of Ravivarman, one of which proudly mentions the Kadamba family as having performed the typical Brahmanical sacrifice known as the *Aśvamēdha*.¹ If it is believed that the charter under study was really issued in favour of Buddhist religious institutions, it shows that, in spite of their Brahmanical faith, the Early Kadambas not only favoured the Jains but also the Buddhists. This points to the catholicity of their religious policy.

Verses 2-4 speak of the following four Kadamba kings: (1) Raghu, (2) Kākustha (correctly *Kākutstha*), the younger brother of Raghu, (3) Śāntivarman, the son of Kākustha, (4) Mṛigēśa, the son of Śāntivarman and (5) Ravi whose relationship with Mṛigēśa is not specified, although from other records we know that king Mṛigēśa or Mṛigēśavarman was the father and predecessor of Ravi or Ravivarman. The description of the predecessors of Ravi is short, but that of the reigning monarch Ravi continues in the following eight stanzas. Verse 8 speaks of the city of **Vaijayanti** indirectly as the capital of Ravi's kingdom.

An interesting point in Ravi's description is offered by verse 7 which states that the land as far as the **Narmadā** (i.e. the people of that region) sought refuge in the Kadamba king and rejoiced. This no doubt refers to Ravi's claim of a sort of suzerainty over the whole of South India as far as the Narmadā in the north. The claim is of course conventional and merely means that Ravi was an independent or imperial ruler. As we have shown elsewhere, powerful monarchs of ancient and medieval India generally claimed to be rulers or conquerors of the whole of India which was regarded as the conventional *chakravarti-kshētra* or sphere of influence of an emperor; but sometimes a South Indian monarch speaks of similar possession of the land between the Vindhya and Cape Comorin and a North Indian emperor of that between the Vindhya and the Himalayas.² It may be pointed out here that the editor of the record read *narmmadam tam mahī* instead of *Narmmadānta-mahī* and thereby missed an early and interesting reference to the southern *chakravarti-kshētra*.

Among other conventional claims of the Kadamba king, reference may be made to verses 10-11. The first of these stanzas states that the whole earth wanted Ravi to be its lord while the second says that his coronation ceremony was performed by the goddess Lakshmī herself. But

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 146 ff. Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 255, 260 ff., 269 ff.

² See *JRASB*, Vol. V, 1939, pp. 407 ff; *Sarūpa Bhārati*, pp. 315 ff.

verse 12, the meaning of which is rather obscure, seems to refer to a historical fact. It states that a hillock or hill-fortress called Kuṇḍa resisted (*adhārayat*) the missile (*īlī*) let down upon it by Raghu but that it submissively obeyed Ravi's command. This appears to mean that the Early Kadamba king Raghu failed but his descendant Ravi succeeded in capturing a hill-fort called **Kuṇḍa-giri**. This incident is not mentioned in any other record of the family. The identification of Kuṇḍagiri is also uncertain unless it is Kūḍgere in the Shimoga District.

Verse 13, with which the grant portion of the record begins, states that a certain Haridatta made a request to the king [in respect of the grant to be recorded in the charter] with a view to obtaining religious merit and that the king was pleased to reply to it (i.e. complied with it). This fact suggests that the real donor of the grant was Haridatta.¹

Verses 14-18 record the grant proper. The first of these stanzas gives the date of the grant which has already been discussed above. The other four stanzas state that the following plots of land were granted by the king at **Āsandī** for the maintenance of worship at the *Siddh-āyatana* and the extension or prosperity of the *Śaṅgha* : (1) a piece of land (*mahī*) covered by the stone of an embankment (i.e. by an embankment made of stone) at Kōravēgā together with an additional area measuring one *nivartana* ; (2) a plot of land measuring one *nivartana* according to the royal measure in the area under water (*kēdāra*) near the said embankment, which lay in the southern part of Āsandī ; (3) one *nivartana* of land at the extremity of the said embankment ; and (4) a plot of three *nivartanas* according to the royal measure, which was situated at Vēdirkōḍa. The first three plots of the gift land are mentioned in connection with the embankment apparently in the southern part of Āsandī. It is not quite certain that Vēdirkōḍa was also situated within Āsandī ; but it is not improbable that it was a locality within Āsandī like Kōravēgā where the embankment was situated. The expression *Siddh-āyatana* seems to indicate a Buddhist temple associated with the name of a *Siddha* like Nāgārjuna. It reminds us of the mention of the *Pūrva-Siddh-āyatana* associated with the worship of the lord Pitāmaha Samyaksambuddha (i.e. Buddha) in an early inscription from Kosam.² The exact area of a *nivartana* of land is unknown since it was not the same in all parts of the country and all ages of history.³

Verse 19 states that the plots of land were granted by the king in the presence of all the *sāmāntas* together with the *samādhi* or *samādhis* and that they should have to be exempted from *uñchha* and other dues. It is difficult to say whether the word *sāmānta* here means a feudatory of the king or an inhabitant of the neighbourhood of the gift land. The mention of *uñchha* in this context reminds us of the passage *uñchha-kara-bhar-ādi-vivarjita* used as an epithet of the gift land in the Halsi plates⁴ of Ravivarman. It possibly meant a sort of tolls. The word *samādhi* means 'storing of grains' and may indicate in the present context 'a granary'. The lands thus appear to have been granted together with the royal granaries in it.

Of the last four stanzas of the record, three are the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory verses often found in copper-plate grants. The first of these is, however, a new stanza.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the river Narmadā and the city of Vaijayantī are well-known. Āsandī has been identified with a village in the Kadur District of Mysore. The hillock called Kuṇḍa-giri, as indicated above, cannot be identified.

¹ Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 245, note.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 28.

TEXT¹[Metres :-verse 1 *Praharshinī* : verses 2-19, 21-23 *Anushṭubh* : verse 20 *Vasantatilaka*.]*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham¹ [||*] [Sū]ry-āṁśu-dyuti-parishikta-paṅkajānām śōbhām yad=vahati sad=āśya pāda-
padmam [||]
- 2 dēvānām=makuṭa-maṇi-prabh-ābhishiktaṁ Sarvvajñas=sa jayati(ti) sarvva-lōka-nāthah ||
[1*]
- 3 Kīrtiyā dig-antara-vyāpī Raghur=āsīt=na²rādhipaḥ [||*] Kākustha-tulyaḥ=Kākusthō⁴ yaviyā-
mś=tasya bhūpatiḥ [|| 2*]
- 4 Tasy=ābhūt=tanayaś=śrīmāñ=Śāntivarṁma⁵-mahīpatiḥ [||] Mṛigēśas=tasya tanayō mṛigēśvara-
parākramaḥ || [3*]
- 5 Kadamb-āmala-vamś-ādrē[r=mmau]⁶li[tām=ā]gatō Raviḥ [||] Uday-ādri-makuṭ-āṭōpa⁷-dīpr-
āṁśur=iv=āṁśumān || [4*]
- 6 Nṛipa-chchhalēna kim⁸ Viṣṇur=ddaitya-jishṇur=ayam svayam [||*] hiraṇmaya-chalan-mālam
tyaktvā chakraṁ vibhāvita[m]⁹ || [5*]
- 7 Sāmrajyē varttamānō=pi¹⁰ na mādyati paramatapah [||*] Śrīr=ēshā madayaty=anyān=atipit=ēva
vāruṇī || [6*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 Na[rma]d-āṁta¹¹-[ma]hī prītyā yam=āśrity=ābhinandati [||*] kaustubh-ābh-āruṇa-chchhā-
yam vakshō Lakshmīr=Harēr=iva || [7*]
- 9 Ravāv=adhiyayant=īyam Surēndranagarīm śriyā [||*] Vaijayantī chalach-chitra-vaijayantī
virājatē || [8*]
- 10 Ravēr=bhuj-āṅgad-ā[ślishta]¹²-chandana-prīta-mā[na]sā [||*] tathā Śrīr=nn=āmavat¹³=prītā
Murārēr=api vakshasi || [9*]

¹ From the illustration in *A.R. Mys. Arch. Surv.*, 1933.² In the left margin near the beginning of line 2.³ Read °āsīn=na° which is the reading in *A.R.*⁴ *A.R.* reads *tulyam=Kākusthō* and suggests the correction *tulyaḥ Kākusthō*. The correct form of the name Kākustha is *Kākutstha*.⁵ *A.R.* reads °varṁmā.⁶ *A.R.* reads *vamś-ādrēḥ mau°*.⁷ *A.R.* reads *makuṭaṭēpa* and suggests the correction *makuṭ-āṭōpa*. There is a metrical defect here.⁸ *A.R.* reads *nṛipaś=chhalanaki* and suggests the correction *nṛipaś=chhalanakō* which is meaningless in the context.⁹ *A.R.* reads *vibhāvitaḥ* which does not suit the context.¹⁰ *A.R.* reads *nandamānō=pi*.¹¹ *A.R.* reads *narmmadam tam*.¹² *A.R.* reads *bhuj-āṅga-dās=iva*.¹³ Read °ābhavat which is *A.R.*'s reading.

- 11 Viśvā vasumati nāthan=nāthatē naya-kōvidam [*] dyaaur=iv=Ēndram jvalad-vajra-dīpti-kōrakit-āṅgaḍam || [10*]
- 12 Yasya mūḍhni svayaṁ Lakshmī¹=hēma-kumbh-ōdara-chyutaiḥ [*] rāḥy-ābhishēkam=akarōd=ambhōja-saṭalair-jalaiḥ || [11*]
- 13 Raghupā lambitām=īlīm² Kuṇḍō girir=adhārayat [*] Ravēr=ājñām vahaty=adya mālām=iva mahīdharah || [12*]
- 14 Dharim-ārttham Hari[da]³ttēna sō-yaṁ vijñāpitō nṛipah [*] smita-jyōtsn-ābhishiktēna vachasā pratyabbāshata || [13*]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 [Chatu]stri[m]śattamī⁴ śrīmad-rāḥya-vṛiddhi-samā samā [*] Madhur=mmāsas=tithiḥ puṇyā [ś]ukla-pakshaś=cha Rōhiṇī || [14*]
- 16 Ya[dā] tadā mahā-bāhur=Āsandyām=aparājitaḥ [*] Siddh-āyatana-pūj-ārttham Saṅghasya parivṛiddhayē || [15*]
- 17 [Sētō]r=upalakasy=āpi Kōra[vē]g⁵-āsritām mahīm [*] adhikān=nivarttan-ānyēna⁶ dattavāms=tām⁷=arindamaḥ || [16*]
- 18 Āsandī-dakṣiṇē=sy⁸=ātha sētōḥ kōdāram=āsritam [*] rāja-mānēna mānēna kshētram=ēka-nivarttanam || [17*]
- 19 Sama[yē]⁹ sētu-ba[m]dhasya kshētram=ēka-nivarttanam [*] tach=ch=āpi rāja-mānēna Vēdikōdē¹⁰ tri-nivarttanam || [18*]
- 20 Uñchh-ādi-pariharttavyē(vya)-samādhi-sahitam hi tam [*] dattavāñ=śrī-mahārājas=sarvva-sāmanṭa-samnidhau || [19*]
- 21 Jñātvā cha puṇyam=abhipālayitur=vviśālam tad-bhaṅga-kāraṇa-mitasya cha dōshavattām [*]

Third Plate

- 22 [varṇ-ā]śram-[ā]skhalita¹¹-sa[m]yaya(vā)man-aika-chittāḥ samrakashaṇē=sya jagatīpatayaḥ pramāṇam || [20*]
- 23 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rāja[bhī]s-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya ta[sya] tadā phalam || [21*]

¹ A.R. reads *Lakshmī*.

² Better read *īlīm*. A.R. reads *mūlī* and suggests the correction *mūlū*.

³ An unnecessary subscript *t* is noticed with *da*.

⁴ A.R. reads *śattamā*.

⁵ A.R. reads *Kōramāy*.

⁶ A.R. reads *adhikān=nivarttanān=yēna* which is grammatically wrong and meaningless.

⁷ A.R. reads *dattavām svām*.

⁸ A.R. reads *dakṣiṇasy*.

⁹ A.R. reads *Samañē*.

¹⁰ A.R. reads *Vēdikauṣē* and takes it to be a word of doubtful import. There is a metrical defect here.

¹¹ A.R. does not read the first two *akṣaras* and reads the following letters as *śrama-skhalita*.

2
4
6

2
4
6

ii, a

8
10
12
14

8
10
12
14

ii, b

16
18
20

16
18
20

iii

22
24

22
24

24 Adbhir-ddattam trib' i[r=bhu]ktam sadbhiś-cha paripālita[m] [!*] ētāni na nivarttantē
pūrvva-rā[ja]-k[ṛi]tāni cha || [22*]

25 Śua-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta va[sum]dharā[m] [!*] śhaṣṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē
pachyatē tu saḥ || [23*]

No. 16—GYARASPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKUMARA TRAILOKYAVARMADEVA

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.4.1958)

Gyaraspur, a town in the former Gwalior State, lies at a distance of 24 miles from Bhilsa on the road from Bhilsa to Sagar. Cunningham gave an account of the antiquities of the place in his Reports.¹ He noticed two fragmentary inscriptions engraved on a plain pillar built into a platform near what is known as the Hindola Toran.² The first of these records is dated V. S. 936. The second inscription, which is of a much later date, forms the subject of this article. It is published here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **language** of the inscription, which is fragmentary, is Sanskrit and the **characters** employed are Nāgarī of about the 12th century. There are only four lines of writing, the concluding part of all of which is broken away and lost. The inscription refers to the consecration of an image of the god Chāmuṇḍasvāmidēva and records the grant of a village, excluding the lands already in the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas, with a view to provide for the god's worship. The donor's name is given as *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarmadēva* who made the grant from his camp at **Harshapura**. The passage containing the other royal epithets enjoyed by the ruler is insufficiently preserved. In connection with the date, the *tithi navamī* is mentioned in the extant part. But the other details of the date and the grant are lost due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The record is important inasmuch as it is the only stone inscription of *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarmadēva* who no doubt belonged to the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Bhopal plates of the Paramāra *Mahākumāra Harichandradēva* (Hariśchandradēva) published in this journal³ revealed to us for the first time that the said Paramāra ruler acquired sovereignty through the favour of *Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarman* who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. It is also stated in that record that Trailōkyavarman meditated on the feet of the illustrious Yaśōvarmmadēva, the well-known Paramāra king of that name. The late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggested that Trailōkyavarman, if he was not identical with Hariśchandra's father Lakshmīvarman, may have been a son, or more probably a brother, of Lakshmīvarman⁴ and that he was possibly ruling as a regent during the minority of Hariśchandra with the full power of a chief. Though the present record does not throw any light on the position of Trailōkyavarman in the genealogy of the Paramāras, it confirms the fact that he ruled for sometime as a *Mahākumāra*.

The Bhopal plates, dated in V. S. 1214 Kārttika śu. 15, lunar eclipse, corresponding to Saturday, the 19th October, 1157 A.D., were issued when Hariśchandra was ruling. He seems to have ascended the throne sometime before that date. Thus Trailōkyavarman, the donor of our record, ruled as a *Mahākumāra* about the middle of the 12th century. The grant under study is stated to have been made by Trailōkyavarman when he was encamping at Harshapura which is no doubt the same as Harsaudā, mentioned as Harshapura in an inscription⁵ of Paramāra Dēvapālādēva, dated V. S. 1275. Harsaudā is a village in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. This suggests that the tract over which Trailōkyavarman ruled extended from the Gyaraspur region in the

¹ Op. cit. Vol. X (Report of Tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77), pp. 31 ff.

² A. R. Ep., 1952-53, App. B, No. 151. The stone bearing these inscriptions is now deposited in the Gwalior Museum.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 228.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

Bhilsa District to the District of Nimar. Lakshmīvarman, father of Hariśchandra and the earliest known Paramāra *Mahākumāra*, claims to have appropriated a portion of Mālwa sometime before V.S. 1200, the date of his Ujjain plates.¹ It seems that, after Lakshmīvarman, Trailōkyavarman and Hariśchandra ruled successively over the tract referred to above, while members of the main line of the Paramāra dynasty were ruling over the territory around Dhārā.

The only place mentioned in the record is **Harshapura**, the location of which has been indicated above.

TEXT²

- 1 Siddham³ [r*] Svasti || Śrī[r*]=jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Ady=ēha śrī-Ha[r*][sha]pura-sthitēna samasta-rājā⁴
- 2 ta-samasta-prakriyā-virājamāna-mahākumāra-śrī-Trailōkyavarmmadēvēna
- 3 navamyārī śrī-Chāmunḍasvāmidēva-kārīta-pratishṭhāyām⁵ pūjā-nimittē
- 4 bhōjy-āya-sahitam dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukti-va[r*]jam grāmō=yam
śrī-Chāmunḍasvāmī[nē]

¹ Ibid., Vols. XVI, pp. 254 ff. See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 230.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ There is a letter after jā ; but its reading is doubtful. The rest of the line as of the other lines is broken away.

⁵ The language here is faulty though the sense is clear.

No. 17—COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.2.1958)

A copper coin of a king named **Harigupta**, stated to have been found at Ahichchhatrā (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District, U. P.), was published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*.¹ Its weight is given as 41 grains and size .6 inch. The obverse of the coin contains the representation of a *pūrṇa-kumbha*² on a pedestal while the legend in two lines on the reverse was read as [śrī]-mahār[āja]-[Ha]riguptasya. Allan who entered the coin in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*,³ however, observed that the reading of the legend is very uncertain, *guptasya* alone being clear. But, as regards the reading, we are inclined to agree with Cunningham. Elsewhere in the same work,⁴ Allan admits his inability to offer any suggestion regarding the identity of the king who issued the coin, but observes⁵ that the palaeography of the legend suggests a date in the fifth century A.D.

Assuming the correctness of the reading of the name Harigupta in the legend, we have to see what relations the ruler might have with the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. It has to be pointed out that the Ahichchhatrā coin of Harigupta is not without resemblance with the copper coinage of the Imperial Guptas in type and style. One type of copper coins issued by the Gupta emperor **Chandragupta II** (circa 376-414 A.D.) shows a *pūrṇa-kumbha* (with flowers or leaves hanging down its sides) within a dotted border on the obverse and the legend *Chandra* beneath a crescent within a similar border on the reverse.⁶ Elsewhere Allan suggests that, this type was probably struck in Malwa in imitation of the Mālava tribal issues just as Chandragupta II imitated the coins of the Śaka rulers in his silver coinage meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śakas.⁷ The vase within a dotted border is a well-known feature of the coins of the **Mālavas**.⁸ It has to be admitted that the weight of the seven coins of this type of Chandragupta II in the British Museum cabinet varies between 3.3 and 18.0 grains, while the weight of the Ahichchhatrā coin of Harigupta is 41.0 grains. But a number of copper issues of the Gupta monarch are known to weigh between 40.5 and 49.5 or more grains.⁹ Now we have to determine whether Harigupta imitated the copper coinage of Chandragupta II or whether he ruled over a tract near about the Malwa region and imitated the tribal issues of the Mālavas.

In this connection we have also to see whether Harigupta of the Ahichchhatrā coin was related to another ruler of the Malwa region who bore a name ending with the word *gupta* and some of whose coins have been discovered in East Malwa. Some years ago, six copper coins of a ruler named **Rāmāgupta** were discovered in a locality near Bhilsa (near the capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārṇa country comprising East Malwa) and were published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.¹⁰ Their obverse exhibits, within a dotted border, a lion sitting, facing left, with its tail raised and curled, while their reverse shows the legend *Rāmāguta* or *Rāmāgupta* beneath

¹ See p. 19, Plate II, No. 6.

² This is often described as a flower-vase.

³ Cf. p. 152, No. 616; Plate XXIV, No. 16.

⁴ See p. lxi.

⁵ Cf. p. cv.

⁶ Ibid., p. 60; Plate XI, Nos. 21-26. Allan describes the *pūrṇa-kumbha* as a flower-vase.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. cvi.

⁸ See Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 171 f.

⁹ Cf. Allan, *Cat. (Gupta Dynasties)*, pp. 52 ff., Nos. 141-45, 147-48, 152-53, 160-61.

¹⁰ Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.

a crescent within a similar border. The weight of these coins varies between 2.5 and 31.3 grains. It may be pointed out that lion is a familiar device on the Mālava coins, although generally they exhibit the animal in a standing posture.¹ The palaeography of the legend on Rāmagupta's coins suggests that they were issued sometime in the fourth or fifth century A. D. Another group of four copper coins, similar to the above six, also found at Bhilsa, have been published in the same journal.²

There has been a controversy whether Rāmagupta of the Bhilsa coins was a local ruler of the Bhilsa region or should be identified with the Gupta king of the same name who, according to literary traditions, succeeded the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (circa 340-76 A.D.) but was ousted by his younger brother Chandragupta II.³ It is difficult to be definite on this point without further evidence, although the Prakritic form of the name *Rāmaguta* found on some of the coins would suggest a date earlier than the time of Samudragupta who is the first Gupta monarch to have extended his supremacy in the Malwa region.⁴ Another point which can scarcely be ignored in this connection is that, if Rāmagupta really belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty and ruled as an emperor even for a short period, we would have by now discovered at least a few of his gold coins, since the largest number of Gupta coins so far found are gold issues, the Gupta silver and copper coinage being by far less copious. The genuineness of the literary tradition regarding the existence of a Gupta emperor named Rāmagupta has not yet been proved by any other evidence. The problem to be solved now is : if Rāmagupta is regarded as a local ruler of the Malwa region unconnected with the Imperial Gupta house and assigned to a date somewhat earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in the said area about the middle of the fourth century A. D., should Harigupta of the Ahichchhatrā coin, on which the reading of the name has been doubted by Allan, be regarded as a scion of Rāmagupta's family or of any other local ruling house and as flourishing before the middle of the fourth century ? The problem of this ruler is, however, rendered more complicated by two factors. In the first place, a newly discovered copper coin of the king not only gives the name quite clearly as Harigupta but is also a very clear imitation of a type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II. Secondly, we have an inscription testifying to the fact that a king named Harirāja, who claimed to have been a scion of the Gupta dynasty, ruled over the region comprising the present Banda District of U. P. sometime in the fifth century and it is very probable that he is identical with the issuer of the Ahichchhatrā coin.

A copper coin, now exhibited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, was examined by me when I visited Allahabad in December 1957. Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, was kind enough to allow me to take a plaster cast of the coin. There can be no doubt that the prototype from which this coin was imitated is the second variety of the second type of the copper coinage of Chandragupta II described and illustrated by Allan in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*.⁵ The prototype may be described as follows :

Obverse : King standing to left (three-quarter length), apparently casting incense on altar with uplifted right hand (as on similar gold coins of the Chhatra type) ; left hand behind on hip ; behind the king a dwarf attendant holding the parasol over him.

¹ Smith, op. cit., p. 172.

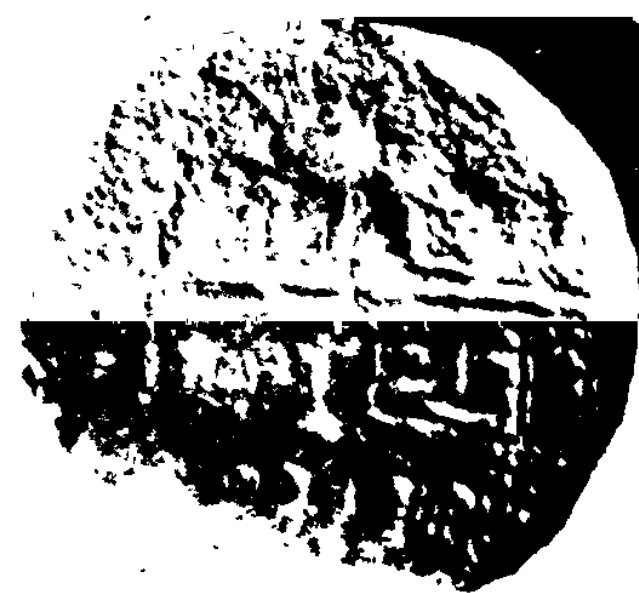
² *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128 ff.

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 103 ff.

⁴ One of Samudragupta's inscriptions has been found engraved on a pillar at Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh (i.e. in East Malwa) and his Allahabad pillar inscription refers to his success against the Āryāvarta king Rudradēva who is apparently the Śaka ruler Rudrasēna III of Western India. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 257, 260 ff. ; *Proc. IHC*, Madras 1944, pp. 78 ff.

⁵ See p. 53, Nos. 144-47 ; Plate XI, No. 4.

COPPER COIN OF HARIGUPTA



(from Photographs)

Reverse: The bird Garuḍa (the emblem of the Guptas) standing, facing, with outspread wings (without human arms with bracelets as seen on the first variety of these copper coins); legend below the above reading *Mahārāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* in one line.

The size of the coins is about three quarters of an inch and weight between 36.5 and 101.5 grains. On the coin under study, the obverse does not clearly show the parasol in the hands of the attendant and the proper right side of the bird on the reverse is blurred, while the legend beneath the bird reads *Mahārāja-śrī-Hariguptasya* in two lines in characters similar to those of the legend on the Ahichchhatrā coin. The size of our coin is .85 inch and its weight 49 grains, although its exact findspot seems to be unknown. We have no doubt that the same *Mahārāja Harigupta* also issued the Ahichchhatrā coin, even though Allan doubted the reading of the name on it.

An inscription on a bronze image found in the ruins of Dhaneswar Kherā in the village of Ichchhāwar or Nichchāwar in the Banda District, U. P., was published by Smith and Hoey as early as 1895,¹ although they could not decipher the record satisfactorily. The correct reading of this record in two lines is as follows:—

1 Dēya-dharmmō=ya[n*] **Gupta**-vaṇśo(vaṇś-ō)dita-śrī-**Harirājasya** ra(rā)jñī-Mahādēvyā[h]
[|*] yad=attra puṇya[rñ*] tad=bhavatu

2 sa[rvva]-sa[tvā(ttvā)nā][rñ*] māta(tā)-pitṛi-pū[rvva]ṅgama(mē)na anuttara-pada-jñāna(n-ā)-
vāptayē [|*]²

It seems that the ruins of Dhanesar Kherā referred to above represent the site of the headquarters of **Harirāja** mentioned in the inscription. We know that, about the fifth century A.D., the title *Mahārāja* was enjoyed by the subordinates and feudatories of the Gupta *Mahārājādhirājas*.³ Our **Harirāja**, called *Mahārāja* in the legend on his coins, thus appears to have been a subordinate of the contemporary Gupta emperor. The first question now is: if **Harirāja** belonged to the Imperial Gupta family, why was he called **Harirāja** and not **Harigupta**? We know that from the assumption of imperial status by **Chandragupta I** about 320 A.D., his descendants assumed names ending in the word *gupta*. But we also know that the second name of **Chandragupta II** is sometimes quoted as both *Dēvagupta* and *Dēvarāja*.⁴ Thus mere mention of the ruler's name as *Harirāja* instead of *Harigupta* does not prove anything. The second question to be answered then is: if **Harirāja-Harigupta** was a scion of the Imperial Gupta family even from his mother's side, why is his family relationship with the contemporary Gupta emperor not specified in the inscription? The answer to this seems to be that the relationship was not a very close one.

Thus, even if the problem of the Ichchhāwar inscription can be solved, the Ahichchhatrā and Allahabad Museum coins offer yet another difficult problem. The king enjoyed the feudatory title *Mahārāja* and there is no doubt that he imitated a type of the copper coins of **Chandragupta II**. The question now is whether a subordinate ruler was allowed by his Gupta suzerain to issue coins of his own. This seems to be extremely doubtful in the present state of our knowledge. As we have already seen, *Mahārāja Harigupta* of the Ahichchhatrā and Allahabad Museum coins cannot be assigned to an age earlier than the expansion of Gupta supremacy in Malwa and Central India since he certainly imitated one of the types of the copper coins issued by **Chandragupta II**, the obverse design of which was itself a copy of the well-known Chhatra type of the same monarch's

¹ *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 159 ff. and Plate.

² See *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, 1949, pp. 185 ff.

³ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.

⁴ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273, 420.

gold coinage. But when did Harirāja-Harigupta issue his copper coin of the same type? The answer to this question may be that Harigupta issued the coins on the decline of Gupta power about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. He seems to have selected some of the popular types of Imperial Gupta coinage prevalent in the area over which he ruled. Considering the problem of local conservatism in ancient Indian numismatics, it does not appear necessary to think that Harirāja-Harigupta's coins were issued shortly after the issue of their prototypes.

No. 18—BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, Ootacamund

(Received on 20.1.1958)

Dr. A. S. Altekar has recently published, in the pages of this journal¹, a brick inscription in Brāhmī characters of about the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. Its language is Prakrit which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. It is a fragmentary record in one line referring to the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Āśvavātāyanīputra Devīmitra.² Dr. Altekar has wrongly taken the name of the performer of the sacrifice to be Devamitra. This inscription was discovered in a mound near the village of Musānagar in the Kanpur District, U.P.

In December 1957 I visited the Lucknow Museum where I noticed another brick inscription³ of the type of the Musānagar epigraph published by Dr. Altekar. It is also a fragmentary record, the left portion of the brick ($11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$) being broken away exactly as in the case of the other inscription. The two records may have been originally of the same length; but the extant part of the present inscription, engraved in one line on a side face of the brick and covering an area of about $7\frac{3}{4}''$ in length, is smaller than that of the Musānagar epigraph. Individual *aksharas* in our epigraph are between $\frac{3}{4}''$ and $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in height. Dr. Altekar suggests that the inscribed brick originally formed a part of the platform built round a sacrificial post or pillar.

The resemblance between the two inscriptions is striking. In the first place, both the present epigraph and the Musānagar inscription are incised on a narrow side face of the bricks in question and not on a broad face of them. Secondly, our record refers to a **horse-sacrifice** performed by **Dāmamitra**, a name ending in the word *mitra* as in the case of Devīmitra of Musānagar inscription. Thirdly, the size, style, characters and language of the two epigraphs are similar. Fourthly, both the records end with a symbol standing midway between a cross and the so-called Ujjayinī symbol found on early Indian coins. Fifthly, although the exact findspot of our inscription is unknown, the inscribed brick is stated to have been presented to the Lucknow Museum by Mr. F. S. Fanthome, when he was Additional District Magistrate of Kanpur and thus appears to have been discovered in a locality in the Kanpur District if not at Musānagar itself. There is an old mound at Musānagar and ancient coins have occasionally been found there after the rainy season.⁴ It is therefore not impossible that both Devīmitra and Dāmamitra belonged to the same family of rulers having their capital at Musānagar or its neighbourhood.

As already indicated above, the **characters** of our record closely resemble those of the Musānagar inscription. But there are some indications which appear to suggest that our epigraph belongs to a slightly later date. In the first place, the triangularity of the lower part of *m* and of *v* is more pronounced in the record under study. Secondly, the *i-mātrā* in *mī* is a prolongation of the right upper limb of *m* while the other inscription exhibits the said vowel-mark as a distinct addition to the consonant. Thirdly, while both the left and right limbs of the lower part of *t* are of the same size in the Musānagar epigraph, the right stroke is considerably elongated in the present record.

¹ See Vol. XXX, pp. 118 ff. and Plate.

² Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

³ A photograph of the inscription was published in *Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, Plate LXIX, C.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 118.

On palaeographical considerations, the inscription of Devimitra may be assigned to the close of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. and that of Dāmamitra to a date in the first half of the first century A.D.

The Language of the record is Prakrit ; but the influence of Sanskrit is indicated by the use of *śva* (for *sa=ssa*) in the word *aśvamedhe*. It may be pointed out here that, in the Musānagar inscription, Dr. Altekar read this word as *aśvamerdha* while we suggested the reading *aśvamedhe* or *aśvamedham*. The present record makes it clear that the intended reading of the word in the Musānagar inscription is neither *aśvamerdha* nor *aśvamedham* but *aśvamedhe*.

Our inscription begins with the *akshara sa* which is, however, not fully preserved. Since this is followed by the expression *Dāmamitasa* (Sanskrit *Dāmamitrasya*), it may be regarded as the remnant of a metronymic like *Aśvavātāyaniputasa* (Sanskrit *Aśvavātāyanīputrasya*) qualifying *Devimitasa* (Sanskrit *Devīmitrasya*) in the Musānagar record. The last word of the inscription is *aśvamedhe* (Sanskrit *aśvamedhañ*). This is followed by the symbol referred to above, which indicates the end of the writing. Although no regal epithet is applied to Dāmamitra's name, the attribution of the performance of the Aśvamedha to him suggests that he was a ruler of importance.

The two early rulers of the Kanpur region of U.P., viz. Devimitra and Dāmamitra known from their brick inscriptions, do not appear to be known from any other source, although coins of many kings with names ending in the word *mitra* have so far been discovered from various sites in that State. Their relations with other known rulers of the said region, especially with the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbī and Ahichchhatrā, can scarcely be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But our inscription adds one more name to the list of the performers of Aśvamedha, who flourished in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian history.¹ The name Devimitra points to the influence of the cult of the Mother-goddess on the royal family in question.

TEXT²

.. [sa]³ D[ā]mamitasa aś[v]amedhe []⁴

TRANSLATION .

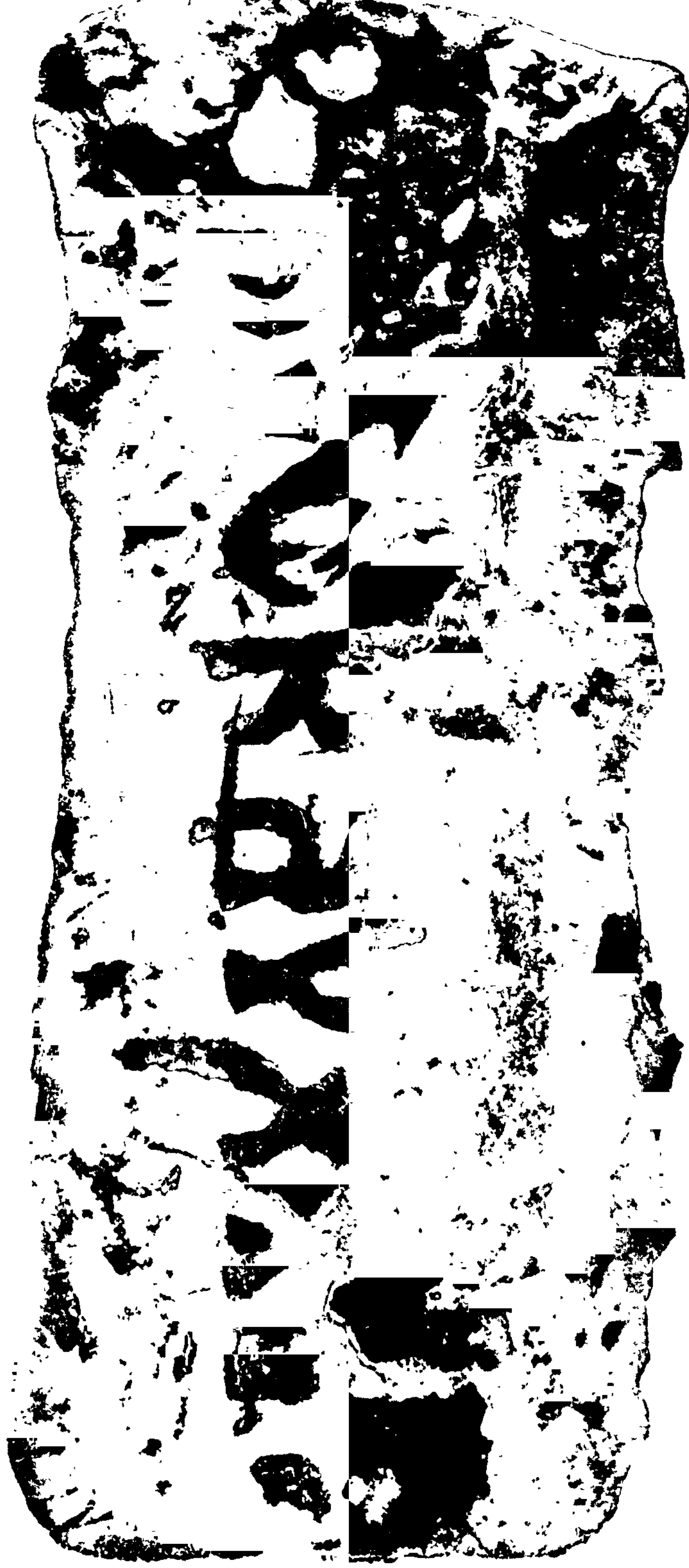
The horse-sacrifice of (i.e., celebrated by) Dāmamitra, the....

¹ Cf. Sundaram Pillai Com. Vol., pp. 93 ff

² From impressions.

³ This is apparently the last *akshara* of an epithet of Dāmamitra in the sixth case-ending. This stop is indicated by a symbol.

BRICK INSCRIPTION OF DAMAMITRA



Scale : Actual Size

No. 19—NOTE ON ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN III

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 19.7.1957)

Some time ago I examined the dates of the Gaṅga era, which contain details necessary for calculation, and showed that the epoch which suits them all is Śaka 419 (497-98 A.D.) for a current year and Śaka 420 (498-99 A.D.) for an expired year.¹ Later I examined two more dates of the era, which were discovered subsequently.² I have shown that both of them corroborate the epoch which I had fixed and that none of the other epochs suggested by other scholars is applicable in their case. Recently we have another date of this era, viz., Gn. 133, furnished by the Andhavaram plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III.³ It provides me with another opportunity of testing the epoch fixed by me.

The plates record a grant made by the king on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Further, in lines 19-20, the plates record the date in the following words: *śrī-pravarddhamāna-Tumvu(bu)ru-vaṇśa(vaṇśu)-rājya-samva(mva)tsarāṇām śatē triṇśaty(triṇśad)-adhikē samva(samva)tsarāḥ 100 30 3 Śrāvaṇa-māsa-amāvāsyā-dināni cha*, i.e., in the augmenting dominion of the Tumburu family, in the year hundred increased by thirty —133— on the new-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. It will thus be seen that the date given in words does not agree with that expressed in numerical symbols. In the indifferent facsimile of the inscription published previously in *JAHRS*, Vol. XX, the unit symbol appeared to denote 2, as it consisted of two curved horizontal strokes with a dot between them which appeared accidental. Taking the date as expressed in numerical symbols to be correct, I showed, in an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, pp. 271 f., that according to my epoch, the date Gn. 132 (as I read it then) was quite regular. The new-moon day in *amānta* Śrāvaṇa in the *expired* Gaṅga year 132 corresponds to the 13th August 630 A.D., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the Andhavaram plates. The excellent facsimile published in this journal, however, shows that the unit symbol of the date denotes 3 and not 2. The date as expressed in numerical symbols must, therefore, be read as 133 and not 132. It does not agree with that expressed in words; but it has been suggested that the engraver seems to have omitted *trayaśo* before *triṇśat* through carelessness.

Dr. Subrahmanyam appears to accept the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. Says he, 'The grant is said to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Śrāvaṇa. Calculating from the starting point fixed by Prof. Mirashi, i.e., Śaka 420 *plus* 132 expired years of the era, we get Śaka 552 (630 A.D.) as the date of the grant. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, on the 13th August of that year there was a solar eclipse; but this was in the month Bhādrapada'.⁴ Dr. Subrahmanyam's words appear to imply either that the date is irregular according to my epoch, or that the epoch does not suit it exactly. I propose to show that neither of these suppositions is correct.

In the detailed ephemeris given by Pillai in Vol. I, Part II, and the subsequent Volumes of his great work, the lunar months are shown according to the *amānta* scheme; but while giving the

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 192; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 37 ff. In his article on the Andhavaram plates, Dr. R. Subrahmanyam has not numbered this Indravarman though there were several kings of this name. Indravarman I was ruling in Gn. 39 and Indravarman II ruled at least from Gn. 87 to Gn. 97. So this king must be named Indravarman III, for whom we have dates ranging from Gn. 128 to Gn. 154.

⁴ Ibid., p. 40.

New Moons and Eclipses in Vol. I, Part I, Pillai has adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months. This has misled Dr. Subrahmanyam. Table II gives the solar eclipse on the 13th August 630 A.D. under Bhādrapada. As stated before, this month was *pūrṇimānta*. The same eclipse may, therefore, be said to have occurred on the new-moon day of *amānta* Śrāvaṇa, as stated in the Andhavaram plates. The date is thus perfectly regular. It further corroborates the epoch of the Gaṅga era fixed by me. It may, again, be noted that this is one of the few dates of the era in a current year and that the scheme of lunar months here is *amānta* as in several other records of the Gaṅga era as shown already.¹

Let us next see if the date would be regular according to any of the other epochs suggested by other scholars. Leaving aside such epochs as 349-50 A.D., 741 A.D., 772 A.D., and 877-78 A.D. which, on the face of them, appear to be impossible, I shall examine those that approximate to the one fixed by me. They are as follows : 494 A.D. proposed by Mr. Subba Rao, 496 A.D. by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, 497-98 A.D. by the late Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao and 504-05 A.D. by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. Mr. Krishna Rao was previously of the opinion that the Gaṅga era began on *amānta* Bhādrapada-su. 13 ; but he now says that it began on *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika-ba. 1 in the expired Śaka year 419 (28th September 497 A.D.). From the equivalents of some dates given in his recent article, he seems to take the epoch of the Gaṅga era as 497-98 A.D.² As the Gaṅga year, according to him, began in Kārttika, we shall get the Christian year corresponding to Gn. 133, for the month of Śrāvaṇa, by adding 498 to 133. The years of the Christian era corresponding to Gn. 133, according to these epochs, would thus be as follows :—

Gaṅga Year 133, Śrāvaṇa amāvāsyā

Proposed Epoch of the Gaṅga Era.	Corresponding year of the Christian Era.	Was there a solar eclipse on this <i>tithi</i> ?
494 A.D.	627 A.D.	No solar eclipse in <i>pūrṇimānta</i> or <i>amānta</i> Śrāvaṇa.
496 A.D.	629 A.D.	Do.
497-98 A.D.	631 A.D. ³	Do.
504-05 A.D.	637 A.D.	Do.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar as recently suggested that the Gaṅga era started some time between 540 and 556 A.D.⁴ As he has not, however, stated the exact epoch of the era as well as the beginning of the Gaṅga year and the scheme of its lunar months, it is not possible to test its correctness by means of this date.

The Andhavaram plates of the Gaṅga king Indravarman III thus prove the correctness of my view that the Gaṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March 498 A.D.). Thus the epoch of the era for a current year is 497-98 A.D. and for an expired year 498-99 A.D.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

² *JBRS*, Vol. XLII, Part I. Curiously enough, he regards all these years of the era as current. For an examination of his view, see *ibid.*, pp. 309 ff.

³ [This should be 629-30 A.D. according to Mr. Krishna Rao who regards the years of the Gaṅga era to be current —Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 46 ff.

No. 20—INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

We have elsewhere suggested that inscriptions set up at well-known *tīrthas* by visiting pilgrims sometimes mention kings of distant lands not because the holy places in question formed parts of their dominions but merely because the pilgrims were their subjects or subordinates and that pious people including kings often sought to secure the merit of visiting *tīrthas* of their choice by sending others to those localities at their own cost as their proxies.¹ The four inscriptions edited in the following pages come from **Gayā** which is one of the most celebrated *tīrthas* of India and they throw welcome light on the said question. The holiest shrine at Gayā is the Vishṇupāda temple and all the records are found within the precincts of that temple.

Gayā is regarded as the most suitable place for the celebration of the post-funeral ceremony called *śrāddha* for the salvation of the spirits of dead ancestors. *Gayā-śrāddha* (i.e. the performance of *śrāddha* at Gayā) can be celebrated by anybody for any deceased person at any time of the year, although the fortnight ending with the *Mahālayā-Amāvasyā* (i.e. the new-moon day in *amānta* Bhādrapada or *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina) is regarded as the best time for it and lakhs of pilgrims from all parts of India visit the holy place on that occasion.²

1. Inscription of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I

The inscription³ is engraved on a black slab of stone fixed into the eastern wall (right side) of the shrine of Śiva in front of the Vishṇupāda temple. There are in all 31 lines of writing. The preservation on the whole is satisfactory, though some letters are damaged here and there. The inscribed space measures 31 inches in height and 11 inches in breadth. Beneath the writing, there are the representations of the *Chakra* (discus) and *Śaṅkha* (conch-shell), the latter on a pedestal, and below these there is *K. 1848* incised in English. The English writing apparently refers to the utilisation of the stone slab some time in 1848 A.D. ; but it has nothing to do with the inscription. The *Chakra* and *Śaṅkha* are the well-known emblems of the god Vishṇu and appear to point to the Vaishṇava leanings of the person who set up the record under study.

The characters are Nandi-Nāgarī of the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁴ The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a passage in prose at the end. There are altogether 12 stanzas, the metre employed being *Anuṣṭubh* in all cases. The author's command over the language was, however, not quite satisfactory. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of *anusvāra* in the place of final *m* and class nasals. The

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-101.

² For the importance of Gayā as a holy place especially for the performance of *śrāddha*, see the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, chapters 105 ff. ; Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 643-79. For the antiquity of Gayā, see *JIH*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 283 ff.

³ This is No. 132 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

⁴ The name Nandi-Nāgarī is usually associated with the Nāgarī alphabet used in the South Indian records of the Vijayanagara period (cf. Ojha, *Palaeography of India*, p. 63 ; Renou et Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, Tome II, p. 682). But the development of the Nandi-Nāgarī alphabet can be traced to earlier times. We have applied this name to the characters of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 edited in the following pages because they exhibit the Nandi-Nāgarī forms of some letters. Cf. *ś* in both the records and initial *ś* in Inscription No. 2, line 18.

name *Mallikārjuna* (lines 11 and 19) has been spelt with *kh* instead of *k* as in Telugu inscriptions.¹ The inscription bears **no date**.

Verses 1-4 in lines 1-9 describe a king named **Pratāparudra**. The first of these stanzas speak of him as *nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasat-pada* and *rāja-śirō-maṇi* which may indicate that he was an independent or imperial ruler. The suggestion seems to be supported by verse 3 which represents the king as bearing the burden of the entire earth. Verse 2 refers to his capital as excelling *Amarāvati*, the city of the gods, but does not mention its name. This reference to the capital, which has no direct relation with the purpose of the inscription, seems to indicate that king **Pratāparudra** was ruling from the unnamed city when the inscription was incised.

The following five stanzas (verses 5-9) in lines 9-20 describe the preceptor of **Pratāparudra**. Verse 5 states that the name of the king's preceptor was **Mallikārjuna** who enjoyed the title *Tribhuvanīvidyāchakravartin*.² He is also called *sūri* in the same stanza and *kōvida* in verse 9 and was apparently famous for his learning. The name of **Mallikārjuna** is repeated in verse 9, while verse 7 represents him as a great devotee of the god *Śiva* as it says that *Indusēkhara* (*Śiva*) liked his stay in **Mallikārjuna's** mind better than his residence on Mount *Kailāsa*. Verses 8-9 state that a locality called **Mantrakūṭa** lying on the southern border of the **Vindhya** mountain range (*Vimdhya-ādri-dakṣiṇa-prāntē*) and on the bank of the river **Gautamī** (*Gautamī-taṭē*) was studded with numerous *lingas* and that the city called **Simhādri-nagarī**, situated in the said locality, was beautified by **Mallikārjuna** with many buildings. *Gautamī* is another name of the river *Gōdāvarī*, while **Mantrakūṭa** appears to be the same as *Manthani* (also called *Mantenna*), the headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the *Karimnagar District* in the former *Hyderabad State* but now in *Andhra Pradesh*. A chief named *Guṇḍa* is described as the lord of **Mantrakūṭa-nagarī** in the *Hānumakonda* inscription³ (Śaka 1084=1162 A.D.) of *Kākatīya Pratāparudra I*, while the same chief is called *Manthanya-Guṇḍa* in the *Palampet* inscription⁴ of Śaka 1135 (1213 A.D.), and *Manttena-Guṇḍa* in the *Ganapesvaram* inscription⁵ (Śaka 1153=1231 A.D.) of the *Kākatīya* king *Gaṇapati*. Thus the same place is called **Mantrakūṭa-nagarī**, *Manthani* and *Mantenna*. A *Śiva* temple built at the same place, called **Mantrakūṭapura**, by *Gaṅgādhara*, a general of *Kākatīya Pratāparudra I*, is mentioned in the *Karimnagar* inscription⁶ of Śaka 1092 (1170 A.D.).

Verse 10 in lines 21-23 states that **Mallikārjuna's** wife was **Gaurī** who caused to perform the *Gayā-śrāddha*, apparently of her husband **Mallikārjuna**, even though the husband's death is not clearly referred to in the inscription. As already indicated above, *śrāddha* performed in honour of the departed spirits of dead relatives at *Gayā* is regarded as specially efficacious especially during the dark half of the *amānta* month of *Bhādrapada* or the *pūrṇimānta* month of *Āśvina*. Verse 11 in lines 23-26 speaks of *Gaurī's* daily entry through the gate of *Gayā*⁷ and to her securing the salvation of the foremost of her relations (i.e. her husband).⁸ Apparently she was performing what is called *nitya-śrāddha* for the emancipation of her husband **Mallikārjuna**.

¹ Cf., e.g., P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, Part III, 1956, p. 71.

² **Mallikārjuna's** title *Tribhuvanī-vidyā-chakravartin* reminds us of the title *Sakala-vidyā-chakravartin* enjoyed by several scholars at the court of the kings of the *Hoysala* dynasty of *Dōrasamudra*. It has been suggested that the title was conferred on the court pandits by the *Hoysala* kings (see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 227). It is thus not impossible that the title *Tribhuvanī-vidyā-chakravartin* was conferred on **Mallikārjuna** by his royal disciple **Pratāparudra**.

³ P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., Part II, p. 10, text line 34.

⁴ *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 3, p. 3, text line 49.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 85, text line 15.

⁶ P. Sreenivasachar, op. cit., p. 173, text line 142.

⁷ *Gayā-dvāram=āvisantī dinē dinē* seems to refer to *Gaurī's* daily visit to the *Gayā* temple.

⁸ The expression *purōdhasam cha bandhūnām* has been used to indicate 'the husband.'

Verse 12 in lines 26-29 gives some interesting information about Gaurī, wife of Mallikārjuna. It is stated that formerly she had been passing her days playfully at the feet of the god Gōpīnātha described as the lord of the **Kandammaṭi** family, but that at the time being her residence was **Maṇikarṇika**. As regards her later residence, the place appears to be the same as the famous Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ at Banāras.¹ But the location of the deity Gōpīnātha worshipped by the members of the Kandammaṭi family is difficult to determine, although Kandammaṭi seems to be the name of a locality from which the family derived its name. Gaurī's relationship with the said family is not stated in the inscription. We may conjecture that she was born in the Kandammaṭi family. It is, however, very interesting to note Gaurī's devotion to the god Gōpīnātha, undoubtedly a form of Viṣṇu. Thus she was a Vaiṣṇava,² while her husband Mallikārjuna was a staunch devotee of the god Śiva. The document ends with an adoration of the god *Gōpījanavallabha*, the same as *Gōpīnātha*. But, while the latter is described as the lord of the Kandammaṭi family, the former is called Mantrakūṭa-Gōpījanavallabha, apparently meaning 'Gōpījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa', even if the two appear to be one and the same deity. It is possible to think that the Kandammaṭi family, which originally hailed from the village of Kandammaṭi and to which Gaurī seems to have belonged, was at a later date living at the locality called Mantrakūṭa. In that case, *Kandammaṭi-kul-ādhiśa* Gōpīnātha may of course be safely identified with Mantrakūṭa-Gōpījanavallabha.

There is no obvious clue in the inscription to help us in identifying king **Pratāparudra** and his preceptor *Tribhuvanī-vidyā-cakravartin* **Mallikārjuna**. As regards the king, who appears to have been an imperial ruler, we can only think of Pratāparudra I (generally called Rudra) and Pratāparudra II of the Kākatīya dynasty, who flourished respectively in the periods 1163-95 A.D. and 1291-1330 A.D., and the king of the same name who belonged to the Sūryavamśi Gajapati family of Orissa and ruled in the period 1496-1539 A.D. Of these three rulers, Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa was a great devotee of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī and was therefore a devout Vaiṣṇava. It is thus extremely doubtful if he could have had a staunch Śaiva teacher like Mallikārjuna of our inscription as his preceptor. On the other hand, we know the Śaiva leanings of most of the Kākatīya rulers who are described as *paramamāhēśvara* in the records of their time and some of whom are known to have received initiation from Śaiva religious teachers.³ This fact leads us to the suggestion that king Pratāparudra mentioned in the inscription under review may be identical with either of the Kākatīya monarchs bearing that name.⁴ Of the two Kākatīya kings of the same name, viz. Pratāparudra I and Pratāparudra II, the former is described in several records⁵ as *paramamāhēśvara* and *Svayambhū-pāda-padm-ārādhaka* and there can be no doubt that he was a devout Śaiva. Kākatīya Pratāparudra II has not, however, been called *paramamāhēśvara* in any of the numerous records⁶ of his time and does not appear to have been

¹ For the importance of Banāras as a holy place, see the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 181-85; Kane, op. cit., pp. 618 ff. Maṇikarṇikā is one of the five holiest spots at Banāras, the others being Daśāśvamedha, Lōlārka, Kēśava and Bindumādhava (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapter 185, verses 65-66).

² The inscription does not say that Gaurī was devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śiva.

³ Bōta II and probably also his grandson Prōla II claimed Rāmēśvara-panḍita of the Mallikārjuna-maṭha on the Śrīśaila as their *dikṣhā-guru* (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 13, p. 25, Ins. No. 7; p. 55, Ins. No. 12; cf. *Bhārati*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 194). Mahādēva is known to have learnt the Śaiva *siddhāntas* from his preceptor Dhruvāśāstra-muniśvara (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 13, p. 62, Ins. No. 15) while his son Gaṇapati was a disciple of a celebrated Śaiva teacher named Viśvēśvaraśambhu who was also revered by his daughter Rudrāmbā (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 205; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff.).

⁴ The Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā was often mentioned as Rudradēva in the masculine; but she was not called Pratāparudra.

⁵ See e.g., *SII*, Vol. X, p. 122, No. 241, text lines 5-6.

⁶ Cf. *Telengana Inscriptions*, Nos. 45 ff. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 519 (p. 281) apparently belongs to the reign of Pratāparudra I.

a staunch devotee of Śiva. The possibility therefore is that king Pratāparudra of our inscription is identical with the Kākatīya monarch Pratāparudra I.¹

There is a tradition² that the great Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya was the preceptor of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) who was the brother's son of Pratāparudra I. This, however, is clearly wrong since the Malkapuram inscription³ represents the great Śaiva teacher Viśvēśvaraśambhu, hailing from Pūrvagrāma in the Rāḍha division of Gauḍa, as the *di-kshā-guru* of king Gaṇapati. But, confused even if it is, the above tradition seems to be based on the fact that a Kākatīya monarch was amongst the disciples of the great *Paṇḍitārādhya*. If such was the case, the Kākatīya disciple of Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya was probably none else than Pratāparudra I since the contemporaneity of the Śaiva teacher and the Kākatīya king has been admitted by scholars.⁴ Under the circumstances, it may not be unreasonable to identify Pratāparudra and Mallikārjuna, mentioned in the inscription under study, respectively with the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra I and the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya at least tentatively for the present till further light is thrown on the subject by new discoveries.

A number of legends grew around the celebrated name of Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya, the details of many of which may not have any foundation in facts. But, as indicated above, the traditions representing him as a contemporary of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I appear to be genuine. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar identifies the *Paṇḍitārādhya* with the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna mentioned in an inscription⁵ of Śaka 1109 (1187 A.D.) from Kudavel-Saṅgamēśvaram about 10 miles from Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. Two inscriptions⁶ from the Kurnool District of the same State, dated respectively in Śaka 1154 (1232 A.D.) and 1157 (1235 A.D.), speak of a disciple of Mallikārjuna who may be no other than Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya. The language of our inscription seems to suggest that the royal disciple Pratāparudra was still on the throne when his preceptor Mallikārjuna died. This may suggest that Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya died before 1195 A.D.⁷

In spite of the mention of king Pratāparudra I of the Kākatīya dynasty of Warangal in the inscription under study, there is certainly no reason to believe that the Gayā region in South Bihar formed any part of his dominions. We know that South Bihar lay in the empire of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar from the eighth to the twelfth century and in the dominions of the Musalmans from the end of the twelfth century till the British conquest in the eighteenth century. Even in the absence of any reference in the present inscription to the ruler whose dominions comprised Gayā, king Pratāparudra mentioned in it cannot be regarded as having ruled over the Gayā region.

¹ After the preparation of this paper, we have examined an inscription of about Śaka 1121 (1199 A.D.) from Manthani (ancient Mantrakūṭa), which states that Mallikārjuna's son Gōpāla received a big plot of land at Mantrakūṭa from Kākatīya Rudradēva (i.e. Pratāparudra I) and that the township called Simhagiri-pura (the same as Simhādri-nagarī of the Gayā inscription) was built by him on the said plot. This epigraph settles the identity of Pratāparudra of the Gayā inscription beyond doubt. The Manthani inscription is being published in the pages of this journal.

² See a poem entitled 'Kākatī Prōlarājūdula prasamsa' in the *Kākatīyasamchika*, ed. by M. Rama Rao, p. 140.

³ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 207, text lines 79-80.

⁴ Cf. *Kākatīyasamchika*, pp. 26, 84, 212.

⁵ Op. cit., Part II, p. 71.

⁶ Rangachari's List, Nos. Kl. 14 and 19; *A. R. Ep.*, 1925-26, para. 52 (pp. 116-17).

⁷ The death of Mallikārjuna-panḍitārādhya has been assigned to 1169-70 A.D. (*Kākatīyasamchika*, p. 212, on insufficient and doubtful grounds).

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the holy *tīrthas* of Gayā and Maṇi-
karṇikā (called Maṇikarṇika in the record) at Banāras, the mountain range Vindhya and the river
Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) are well-known. Kandammaṭi cannot be satisfactorily identified. The
location of Mantrakūṭa has been discussed above.

TEXT¹

- 1 Śrīmaṁ(man)-nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lesa.
- 2 t-padaḥ | asti **Pratāparudr-ākhyō** rājā rāja-
- 3 śīrōmaṇiḥ |[| 1*] Yat-[pu]rī turag-ākīrṇā maha-
- 4 t-kari-ghaṭ-ākulā | paṇya-sta(stri)-muktā-vyājēna hasa-
- 5 nt=īv=Āmarāvatiṁ(tīm) |[| 2*] Yad-bhujā-nihit-āsēsha-ratna-
- 6 garbhā-mahā-bhu(bha)raḥ | śīthilika(ku)rutē nūnaṁ Pha-
- 7 ṇī[n]drō=pi phaṇā-kulaṁ(lam) |[| 3*] Guṇ-ālavāla-niya-
- 8 tā bahu-māna-phal-āṁkitā | vyāptā yat-kīrtti-
- 9 [la]tikā gagana-sthala-maṁṭapaṁ(pam) |[| 4*] Tasya tribhu-
- 10 vanīvidyāchakravartt=īti viśrutāḥ | guravaḥ saṁ-
- 11 ti lōkē=smin=**Mallikhā(kā)rjuna-sūrayaḥ** |[| 5*] Ya-
- 12 d-yaśāṁsi śarach-chaṁdra-vimalāni va(vi)tanvatē [|*]
- 13 niyataṁ diṁ-mṛigākshīṇāṁ dukūla-vasana-śrī-
- 14 yaṁ(yam) |[| 6*] Ēshāṁ mānasam=adhyāsyā bhagavān=Indu-
- 15 sē(śē)kharah | na Kailāsa-mahāsaila-sukh-ā-
- 16 [vāsa]m=apēkshatē |[| 7*] **Vi[ṁ]dhy-ādri-dakshīṇa-prāṁ-**
- 17 tē vilasad=**Gautamī-taṭē** | **Maṁtrakūṭa[ṁ*]** sahasrā-
- 18 [ṇ]āṁ līṁgānāṁ sthānam=uttamaṁ(mam) |[| 8*] Tatra **Simhādri-na-**
- 19 garīṁ **Mallikhā(kā)rjuna-kōvidaḥ** | vidvaj-janēṁ-
- 20 dra-mī(nī)raṁdhrāṁ rama-harmyām=achīkarat || [9*]
- 21 **Gaurī** guṇavatī tasya vidvaj-jana-vi-
- 22 [nō]dinaḥ | dharmapatnī **Gayā-śrā-**
- 23 ddham vī[ta]-vi[chchha(ghna)]m=akārayat || [10*]Atha
- 24 Gaurī Gayā-dvāram=āviśarātī dinē
- 25 dinē | purōdhas[ā(saiṁ) cha] baṁdhūnāṁ muktam=ē-

¹ From impressions.

- 26 v=ākarōt=satī || [11*] **Kaṁḍarimmaṭi-kul-ā-**
 27 dhīsa-Gōpīnātha-pad-ānivu(bu)jē | ta[thō]-¹
 28 syāḥ pūrvam=abhūt=k[r]i[d]ā² idānīm
 29 **Maṇikarṇikē** || [12*] śrī-Maṁtrakū-
 30 ṭa-Gōpījana[va]llabhāya
 31 namaḥ ||³

2. Inscription of the time of Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha III

This inscription⁴ is engraved on the left door jamb of the doorway leading into a Mahādēva shrine under a peepal tree in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple. The writing occupies a space of about 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and 4 inches in width, there being altogether 25 lines and each line containing about four *akṣaras*. Immediately below the above record, there is a second inscription which contains 21 lines covering a space equal in area as the first epigraph. It seems that the available space was divided into two halves for the two inscriptions which were very probably engraved at the same time.

The record is written in Nandī-Nāgarī **characters** of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. with the exception of the last line which is in the Kannaḍa script. The characters resemble those of the Gayā inscription of Pratāparudra's time, edited above. The form of *vra* in *vrajaṇa* in lines 11-12 is interesting to note. The **language** is Kannaḍa and the inscription is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the word *siṁha* has been spelt as *siṁga* (lines 3-4), while *ṛiṇa* has been spelt as *riṇa* thrice in lines 14-16.

The record bears **no date**, although it refers in lines 2-5, to a ruler named **Hōsaṇa Vira-Narasimhadēva**. *Hōsaṇa* is the same as Hoysaṇa, a well-known variant of the dynastic name Hoysaḷa,⁵ and there is no doubt that Vira-Narasimha of our record belonged to the **Hoysaḷa** ruling family of **Dōrasamudra** (modern Halebid in Mysore State). In this connection, it is interesting to note that the second inscription on the same stone referred to above, which is written in the Kannaḍa language and script, reads in lines 1-16: *śrī-Vira-Narasi[m]hadēvara-ara kaṁmaṭada Jakaṁṇana magam[*] [Cha]ṁdiraṇa Ka(Kha)ra-saṁvatsarada Bā(Bhā)drapa[da*]-ba 30 Sō [Gayā]-pravēsaṁ(śaṁ) māḍi . . .* This record, the concluding part of which is damaged, speaks of a person named Chandiraṇṇa who was a son of Jakaṇṇa, an employee in the mint of Vira-Narasimhadēva, and of his visit to **Gayā** on pilgrimage. It will be seen that both the inscriptions apparently refer to the same Hoysaḷa king named Narasiṁha or Vira-Narasimha. But, while the first record which is the subject of our study in these lines does not bear any date, the second epigraph was dated in the cyclic year **Khara, Bhādrapada-ba. 30, Monday**, i.e. the day of the *Mahālayā Amāvasyā* and, as indicated above, the most suitable time for the performance of the *śrāddha* of relatives at Gayā. Unfortunately there were no less than three kings named Narasiṁha in the Hoysaḷa dynasty of Dōrasamudra, all of whom flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reign of Narasiṁha I, son of Viṣṇuvardhana, is now assigned to c. 1141-73 A.D., while his grandson Narasiṁha II and the latter's grandson Narasiṁha III are supposed to have ruled respectively in c. 1220-35 A.D. and c. 1254-91 A.D.⁶ There is, however, a clue in the second of the two

¹ The *akṣara* looking like *thō* is redundant.

² *Sandhi* has been avoided here for the sake of the metre. Better read *ch*=*ēdānīm*.

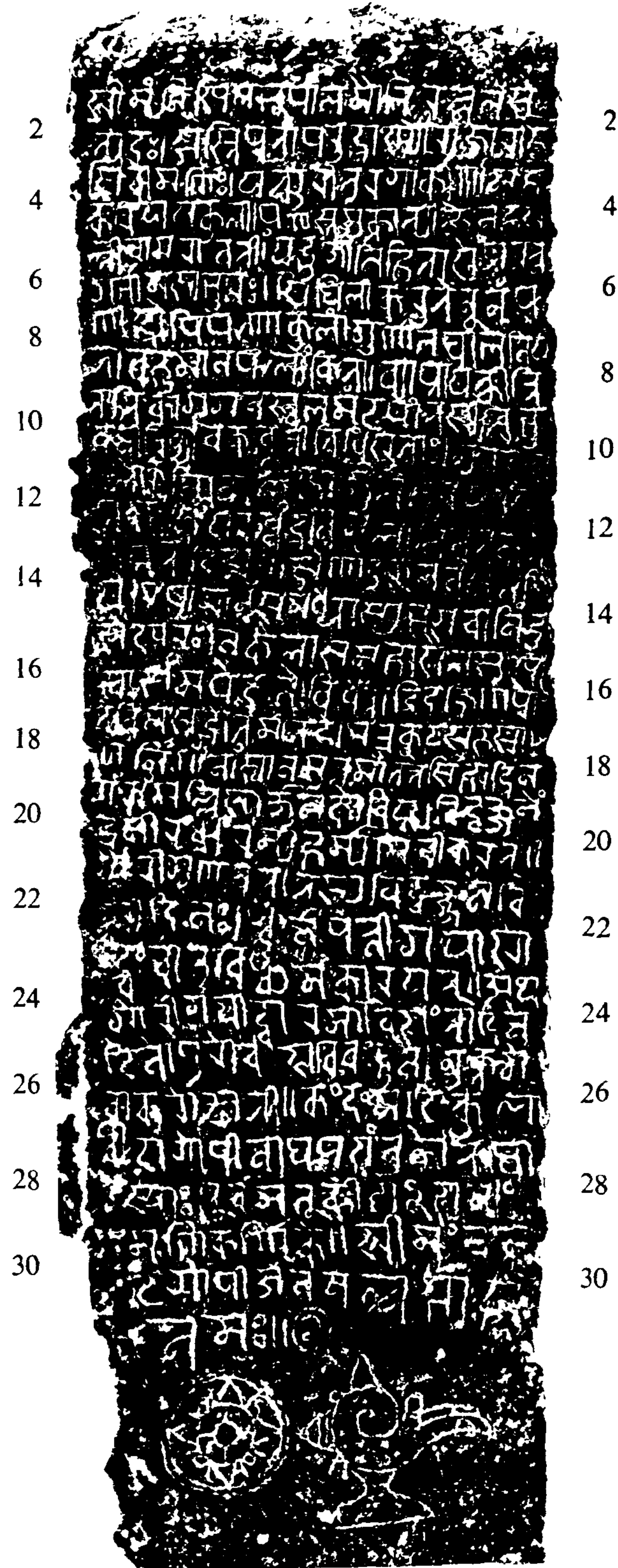
³ There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.

⁴ This is registered as No. 126 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, Appendix B.

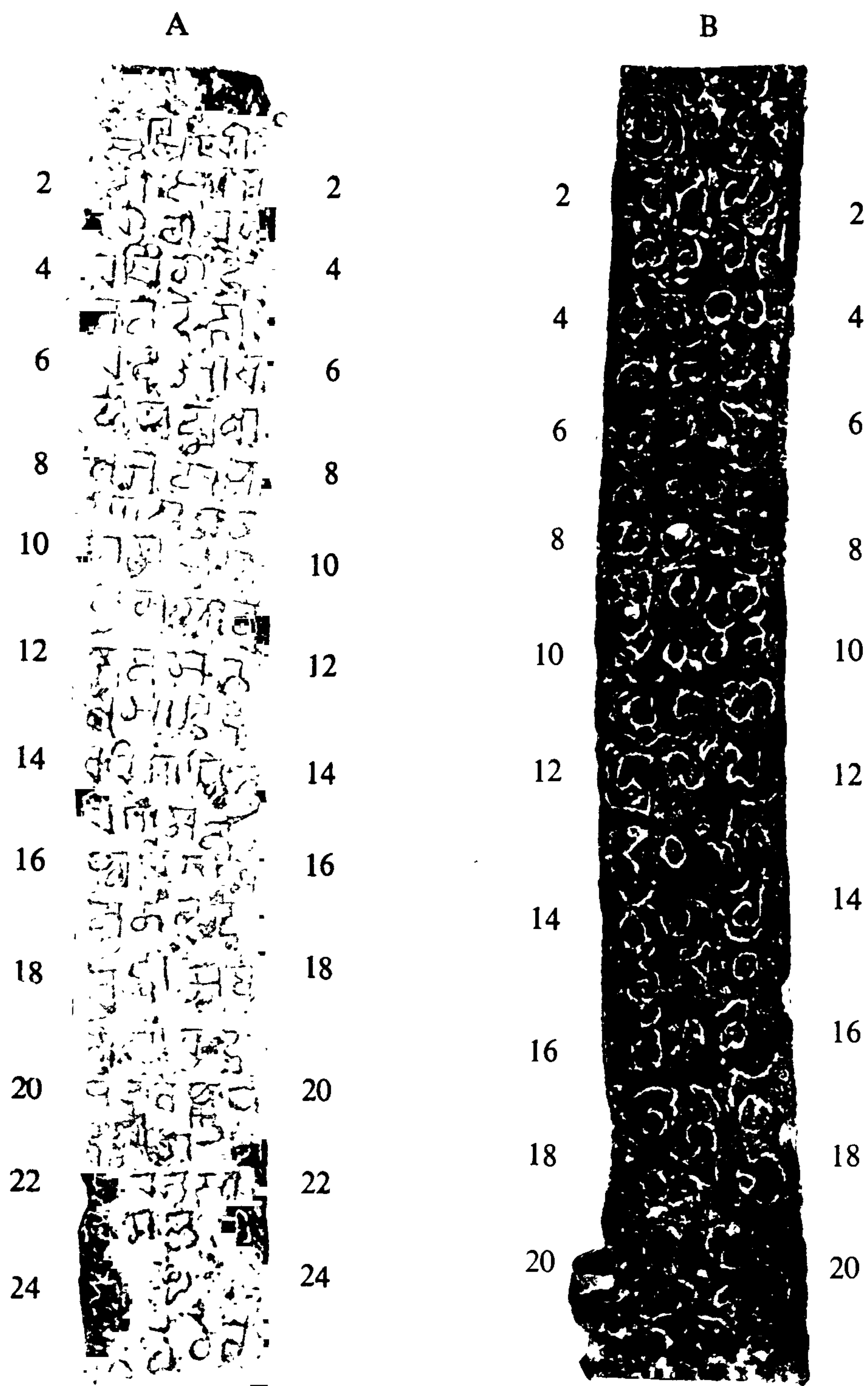
⁵ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 490.

⁶ See Coelho, *The Hoysaḷa Varṇaśū*, pp. 115, 169, 198.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA — PLATE 1
1. Inscription of the time of Kakatiya Prataparudra I



2. Inscriptions of the time of Hoysala Narasimha III



Scale : One-fourth

inscriptions as regards the identification of Vira-Narasimha. The cyclic year Khara of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India can be associated with the reign of each one of the three kings, viz. Khara=1171-72 A.D. falling in the reign of Narasimha I, Khara=1231-32 A.D. in that of Narasimha II and Khara=1291-92 A.D. about the end of that of Narasimha III. But since the week-day is given as Monday, the details quoted in the epigraph would suit only the year 1291 A.D. The date corresponds to the 24th September 1291 A.D. and the king mentioned in our epigraph is thus no doubt Hoysala Narasimha III.

The inscription under study begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by a passage in lines 1-11 mentioning a person named Apaṇṇa as the son of Āchārya Padmanābha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya of the *dēhāra* of **Hōsaṇa** (Hoysala) **śrī Vira-Narasimhadēva**. The word *dēhāra* is derived from Sanskrit *dēvagrīhaka*, 'a temple', through Apabhraṃśa *dēharaya*. The word *āchārya* is used in Kannada in the sense of a priest and *Āchārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya was apparently the priest of a temple built by the Hoysala king Narasimha probably at his capital Dōrasamudra. Padmanābha's son Apaṇṇa is stated in lines 11-18 to have caused to be constructed what is called a *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha* and to have discharged thereby his debts to the gods, to his forefathers and to other human beings. The expression *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha* appears to indicate a sort of *Dharma-śālā* which was meant for the pilgrims who visited Gayā probably from the Karnāṭa country to which Apaṇṇa belonged. Lines 18-23 mention the names of three persons called Rudrapada, Viṣṇupada and Gaḍādhara who are stated to have been the witnesses in the matter apparently of the construction of the *Maṭha*.¹ It is not clear whether these three persons, who appear to have been local people, were made trustees for the *Maṭha* in question by Apaṇṇa. Lines 23-24 contain the expression *śrī-śrī* forming a *maṅgala* and indicating the end of the document. This is followed in the last line (line 25) by the personal name Dēvarasa written in Kannada characters. Dēvarasa was possibly responsible for the engraving of the inscription analysed above as well as of the other record incised in the lower half of the surface of the stone.

It appears that Apaṇṇa of the present record and Chandirappa of the second inscription visited Gayā at the same time. There is little doubt that they were accompanied by many other pilgrims from the area of Karnāṭaka, to which they belonged, one of them apparently being Dēvarasa.

It is not clear from the inscription whether Apaṇṇa, the son of the priest of Hoysala Narasimha's temple, visited Gayā and constructed the *Maṭha* at the holy place for the pilgrims probably from Karnāṭaka on his own behalf or at the expense and on behalf of the Hoysala king. But, in spite of the non-mention of the ruler whose kingdom included the Gayā region in the inscription under study, Hoysala Narasimha mentioned in it had obviously nothing really to do with South Bihar.

TEXT:

- 1 Svasti [|*] Śrī-
- 2 **Hōsaṇa-**
- 3 **Śrī-Vira-Nā-**
- 4 **rasimhadē-**
- 5 **vana dēhā-**
- 6 **rada āchā-**
- 7 **rya-Padmanā-**

¹ It is also possible to think that the reference is to three local deities.

² From impressions. We are indebted to Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. B. R. Gopal for some help in reading and interpreting this inscription.

- 8 bha-bhaṭṭō(ṭṭō)pā-
 9 dhyāyara ma-
 10 gam=Apamṇa-
 11 nu **Gayā**-vra-
 12 jana-maṭha-
 13 va māḍi dē-
 14 va-ri(ṛi)ṇa pitu(ṭṛi)-
 15 ri(ṛi)ṇa manu-
 16 shya-ri(ṛi)ṇava-
 17 nū kaladē-
 18 nu¹ [i*] ī-ardha(rtha)-
 19 ke śrī-Rudra-
 20 pada Viṣṇupa-
 21 da śrī-Gadā-
 22 dharanu sā-
 23 kshigaḷu [i*] śrī
 24 śrī [i*]²
 25 Dēvarasa³ [i*]

3. Inscription of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya, Śaka 1444

The inscription⁴ is engraved on a sculptured stone slab built into the right wall of the Gadādhara Ghāt (in front of the Gadādhara shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple) leading to the river Phalgu. The slab measures about 2·5 feet in height and 1·5 feet in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An eight-armed female deity is engraved in low relief in an excavated bed in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. The details of the figure are not clear on the impressions. But the representation seems to be that of the goddess Mahishāsūramardīnī. Lines 12-16 of the inscription are engraved to the left and lines 17-21 to the right of the excavated bed containing the figure.

The record is in Telugu **characters** of about the 16th century A.D. The letter *k* is written in its modern Telugu form in *Kṛishṇa* (line 7) and *gamḍḍāmkkā* (lines 15-16). The letter *ḷ* almost resembles the form of modern Telugu *k*. No distinction has been made between the medial signs for *i* and *ī*. Initial *i* is used for *yī* in *vēimchina* (line 8 ;cf. *yī* for *ī* in line 17). The consonant following *anusvāra* is reduplicated in some cases.

The **language** of the record is Telugu and it is written in prose with a single verse in the middle. It is dated in **Śaka 1444** (current), **Vṛisha, Āshāḍha-ba. 13, Tuesday**, regularly corresponding to **July 2, 1521 A.D.**

¹ Read *kaḷedanu*.

² There is a symbol here.

³ This name is written in Kannaḍa characters unlike lines 1-24 in Nāgarī. This is followed by a different inscription in Kannaḍa language and alphabet, to which reference has been made.

⁴ It has been registered as No. 124 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, Appendix B.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by the date in lines 1-4. Next comes a sentence in prose in lines 5-9, which states that the *vijaya-śāsana* (apparently referring to the record under study) was set up by the illustrious *Rājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Virapratāpa-Vīra Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāja*. The above is followed by a verse in the Kanda metre, which is in praise of the king. He is represented in the stanza as the husband of **Tirumala-dēvi** and as the son of king **Īśvara-Narasa** (i.e. Narasa-nāyaka, son of Īśvara). It is interesting to note that this verse occurs in the celebrated Telugu work entitled *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* by the well-known poet Nandi-Timmana (also called Mukku-Timmana) who was an ornament of the court of king Kṛishṇadēva-rāja (1509-29 A.D.) of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. The stanza is followed by another sentence in prose in lines 17-21 stating that the *śāsana* (i.e. the *vijaya-śāsana* mentioned in lines 8-9) was composed by Mukku-Timmaya, i.e. Mukku-Timmana referred to above.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, it is a lithic record of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadēva rāja set up far away from the territory under his rule. Secondly, it is a composition of Kṛishṇadēva-rāja's famous court poet Nandi-Timmana, who is mentioned in no other epigraphic record so far discovered. Thirdly, it quotes a stanza from the poet's celebrated work *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and quotations from such works are rare in inscriptions.

The inscription refers to itself as the *vijaya-śāsana* (literally 'a document relating to victory') of king Kṛishṇadēva-rāja, set up by the king himself, as if Gayā, where it was set up, formed an integral part of his empire. But we know that in Śaka 1444 (1521 A.D.) when the epigraph was engraved, the region was a part of the dominions of the Muhammadans.¹ The said region, moreover, lay far away from the borders of the Vijayanagara empire in the extreme south of India and the sphere of Kṛishṇadēva's influence, with a number of independent states lying between the two areas, and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that the Vijayanagara monarch had anything to do with South Bihar. Thus the poet Nandi-Timmana seems to have himself visited Gayā as a proxy of his patron. The prevalence of such a practice is well-known from medieval inscriptions. Thus a record² from Bothpur in the Mahbubnagar District, of Andhra Pradesh, states how a chief named Viṭṭaya sent two persons named Bāchaya and Boppa to Vārāṇasī (i.e. Vārāṇasī or Banāras) 'in the name of his grandmother' and gave them two *Maṭṭurus* of land for their labour. Another inscription³ of Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.) from the same place seems to state how another chief named Malyāla Guṇḍa gave some lands to several people for making pilgrimages on his behalf to *tīthas* like Sētu (Setubandha-Rāmēśvara), Śrīparvata, and Alampūru on the Tuṅgabhadra.

Thus in spite of the mention of the record as Kṛishṇadēva's *vijaya-śāsana* set up by himself and of the absence of any reference to the king whose dominions comprised the Gayā region, the Vijayanagara monarch cannot in any way be associated with the area where the inscription was set up by his court poet in his name. As indicated above, Mukku-Timmana probably made the pilgrimage to the holy place on behalf of his patron and there is no reason to believe that Kṛishṇadēva himself visited Gayā.

It may be pointed out here that the expression *vijaya-śāsana* is not quite suitable in the present context. The record should have properly been called a *dharma-śāsana* (i.e. a document relating to religious merit), as found in a similar context in the record of Achyutarāja's time, edited below, since it was really associated with the king's endeavour to acquire religious merit by performing a pilgrimage to Gayā through a proxy. Of course it may be regarded as a *dharma-vijaya-śāsana*.

¹ About the period in question, the Bihar region was a bone of contention among the Sultāns of Delhi, Bengal and Jaunpur.

² P. Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Part II, p. 142.

³ Ibid., n. 152 (p. 147, text lines 135 ff.).

The great Telugu poet Nandi-Timmana, who composed the record, is known to have belonged to the Āruvēla sect of the Niyōgi-Bhrāhmaṇas and to the Kauśika *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. He was the son of Nandi-Simṅana and Timmāmbā and the nephew of a certain Malayamārutakavi. He was popularly called Mukku-Timmana and the record under study refers to him by this name.

Kṛishnadēva-rāya's services to Telugu literature are well-known. His court was adorned by eight eminent poets called the *ashṭa diggajas*, among whom Allasāni-Peddana and Nandi-Timmana were the most famous. Allasāni-Peddana is mentioned in a number of epigraphs found at Anṇiyūr¹ (South Arcot District), Kōkaṭam² (Cuddapah District) and Mēlpāḍi³ (Chittoor District) in different parts of the Vijayanagara Kingdom corroborating the statement of a *Chāṭu* verse⁴ attributed to him. Mukku-Timmana, who is mentioned only in the inscription under study, also claims in his *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*⁵ to have received a number of big villages from the king. Unfortunately we do not have epigraphs to confirm this statement. The present inscription does not mention what he received for the pilgrimage he apparently undertook on the king's behalf.

A record from Tippalūru⁶ in the Cuddapah District states that the village was once granted to the *ashṭa-diggaja-kaviśvaras* by king Kṛishnadēva-rāya. But it does not enumerate the names of the eight poets, although it is almost certain that Peddana and Timmana had their shares in it.

Of the two jewels of Kṛishnadēva's court, while Peddana was a Śaiva with Vaishṇava leanings and was a disciple of Śaṭhakōpa-yati,⁷ Mukku-Timmana was a staunch Śaiva and was a disciple of Aghōraśiv-āchārya,⁸ probably mentioned in a Pushpagiri (Cuddapah District) record⁹ dated Śaka 1423 (1501 A.D.). The representation of the goddess Mahishamardinī on the stone slab bearing Timmana's inscription is in consonance with his religious faith.

The importance of the inscription to the student of Telugu literature lies in the quotation from the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*. The work was apparently composed by Timmana sometime before the date of our record, viz. 1521 A.D.

TEXT¹⁰

- 1 Svasti | Śrī-jay-abhyudaya-Śā-
- 2 livāhana-Śaka-varshambulu
- 3 1444 agu nēmti Vṛisha-sam-
- 4 vatsara Āshāḍa(dha)-bahula 13 Ma¹¹
- 5 śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-rāja-
- 6 paramēśvara-vīra-pratāpa-vīra-

¹ *A.R. Ep.*, No. 623 of 1915. This record mentions him as the governor of the entire Karivāchi-sīma.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 715 and 716 of 1926.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 105 of 1921.

⁴ K. Viresalingam, *The Telugu Poets*, Part II, pp. 189-90: *Kōkaṭa-grām-ādy-anēk-āgrahāramul-aḍigina sīma'ayamdu=ichche*.

⁵ *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, Canto V, verse 108: *Kṛishnarāya-kshitiśa-ka ruṇā-samūlabdha-ghana-chaturamṭa-yā na mahāgrahāra-samāna-yutuḍu*.

⁶ *A.R. Ep.*, No. 282 of 1937-38.

⁷ *Manucharitramu*, Canto I (introduction), verse 6. This Śaṭhakōpa-yati seems to be mentioned in two inscriptions at Little Kāñchipuram (*A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 474 and 533 of 1919).

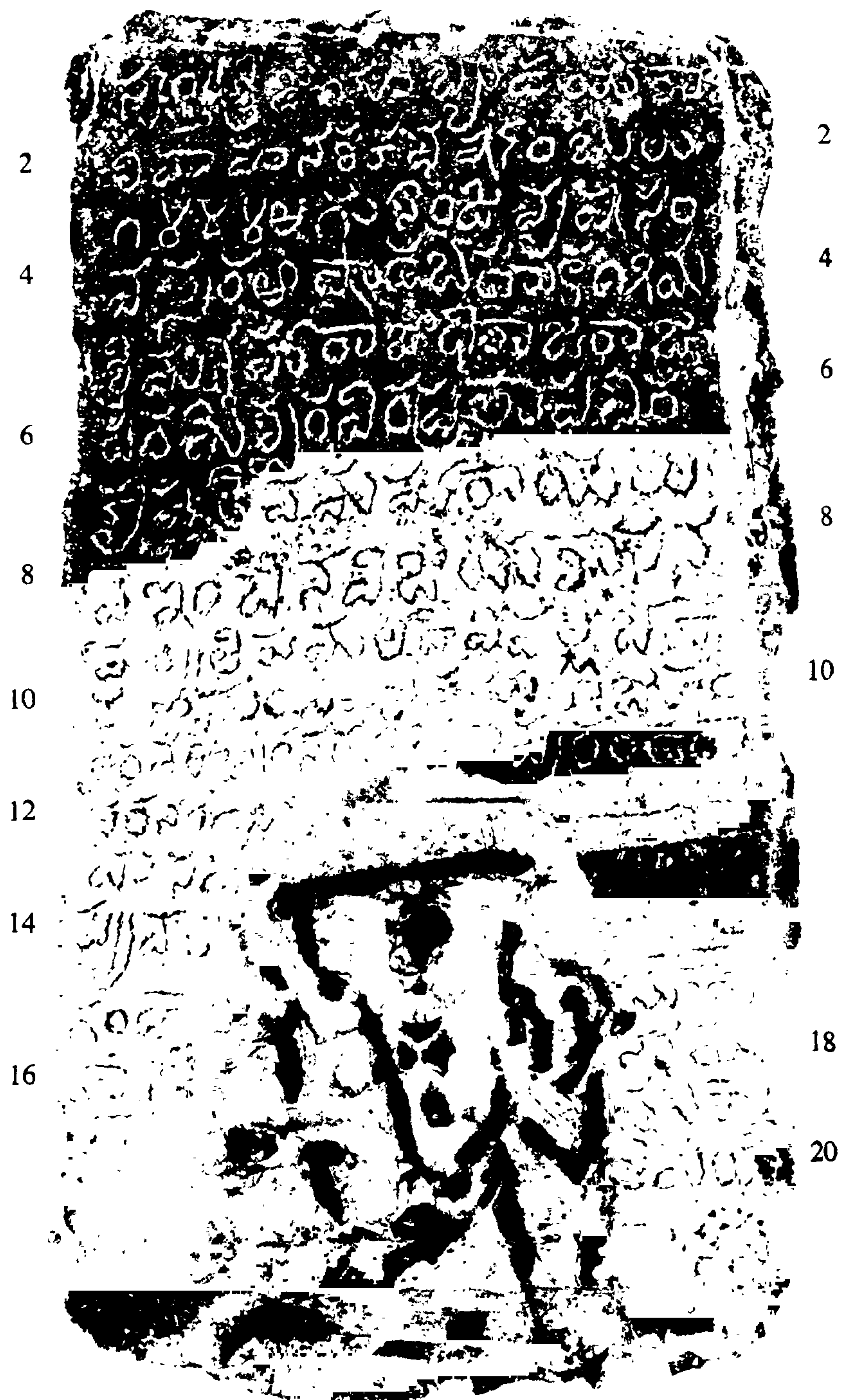
⁸ *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, Canto V, verse 108.

⁹ *A.R. Ep.*, No. 307 of 1905.

¹⁰ From impressions.

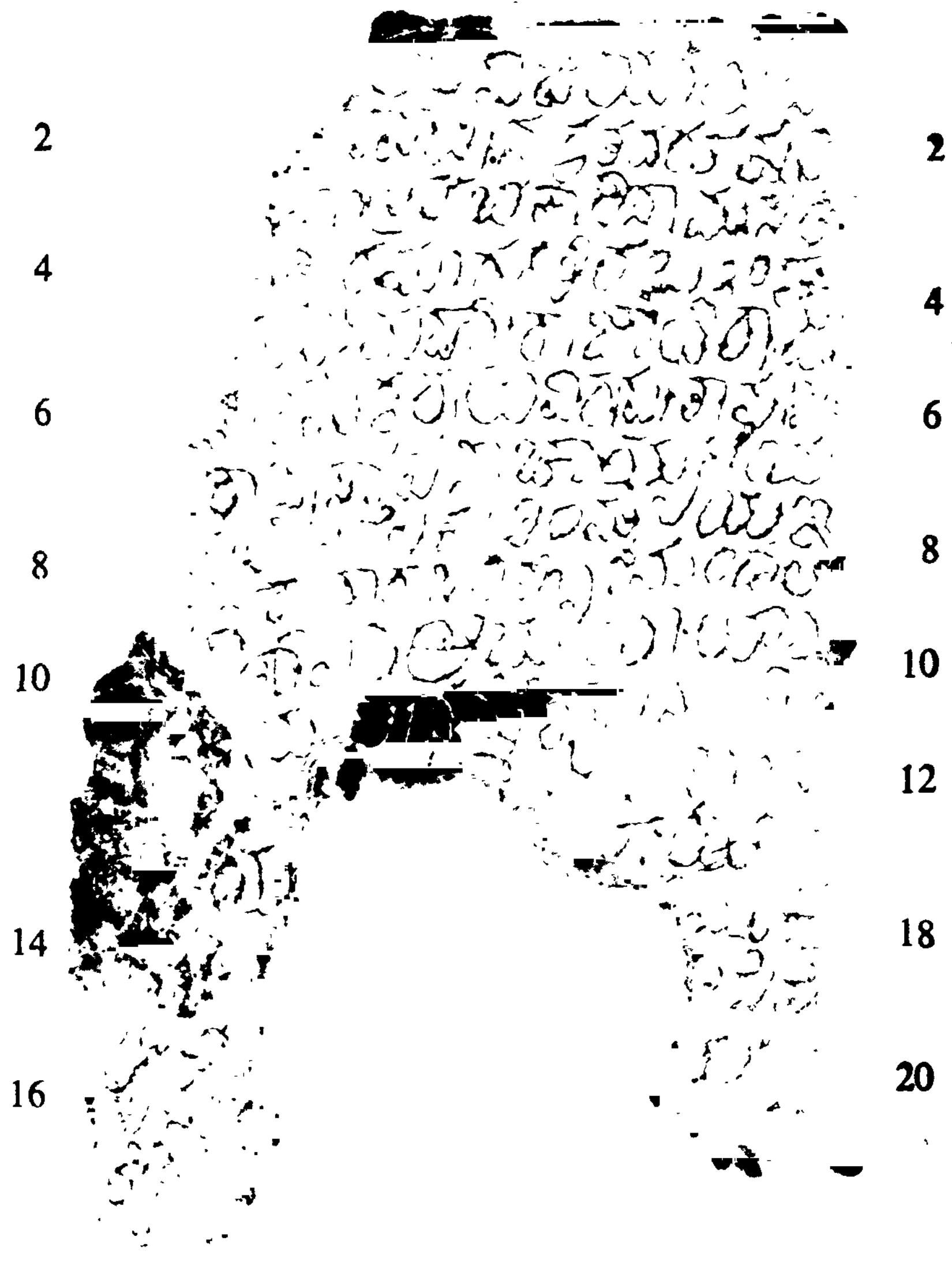
¹¹ This is a contraction of *Māṅgala-vāru*, 'Tuesday'.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAYA PLATE II
3. Inscription of Krishnadeva-
raya, Saka 1444



Scale : One-fourth

4. Inscription of Achyutaraya, V. S. 1588



Scale : One-fourth

- 7 **Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāyalu**
 8 vēim¹china vijaya-śāsana-
 9 mu || **Tirumaladēvi-vallabhaka**² ka-
 10 ruṇāmaya-hṛidaya rāja-kaṁ-
 11 ṭhīrava **Iśvara-Narasa-bhūpuraṁdara-**
 12 vara-naṁdana
 13 bāsa-da-
 14 ppuvara
 15 gaṁḍḍāṁ-
 16 kkā [|*]³
 17 yī(i)-śā-
 18 sanamu
 19 Mukku-
 20 Timmaya
 21 vrāsenu⁴ [|*]

4.—Inscription of Achyutarāya, V.S. 1588

This inscription⁵ is engraved on a sculptured stone slab kept in the Mahādēva shrine to the right of the Vishṇupāda temple in the compound of the latter. The inscribed surface measures about 20 inches in height and 12 inches in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An image of the goddess Durgā is cut in relief in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. Lines 1-11 of the record are engraved above the figure of the goddess while lines 12 and 18-21 are engraved to its right and lines 13-17 to its left. Line 12 should have properly been incised to the left of the image above lines 13-17.

The inscription is written in Telugu **characters** of about the 16th century and the letters very closely resemble those of the record of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's time, edited above. The letter *ch* is written in two different forms (cf. *stāpan-āchāryya* in line 7 and *Achchutta* in line 10), while *t* resembles the modern Telugu *k*. *B* has been used for *v* in *Vikāri* (line 3). The **language** is Telugu and the record is written in prose. The wrong spelling of the words *Ireśvara* for *Iśvara* (lines 8-9), *Achchutta* for *Achyuta* (line 10), *śyāsanam* for *śāsanaṁ* (line 11), *sēsenu* for *chēsenu* (lines 20-21), etc., exhibits the poor knowledge of the composer especially when compared with the composition of the record of Kṛishṇadēva-rāya's time.

¹ Read *vēyim*°.

² Read *vallabha*.

³ This stanza is from the *Pūrijātāpaharanamu*, Canto 2, verse 105. Lines 12-16, as indicated above, are engraved to the left of an excavated bed containing the figure of a deity in relief.

⁴ Lines 17-21 are incised to the right of the said excavated bed.

⁵ It has been registered as No. 122 of A.R.Ep., 1957-58, Appendix B.

The **date** of the inscription is very interesting. It is quoted in lines 1-4 as **Śalivāhana-Śaka 1588, Vikārin, Mārgaśira-ba. 30, Friday**. But the year 1588 really belongs to the **Vikrama Samvat** and not to the Śaka era. This is clearly suggested by several indications. In the first place, Śaka 1588 was far removed from the cyclic year Vikārin of both the North Indian and South Indian calendars and the details of the date are irregular for the said Śaka year. Secondly, the cyclic year Vikārin of the northern calendar corresponded to V.S. 1588 and the Vikrama and northern cyclic years are sometimes found side by side in the records discovered at Gayā.¹ Thirdly, the details of the date are regular only in the case of the year V.S. 1588 corresponding to Vikārin of the North Indian calendar and this date tallies with the internal evidence of the record stated to have been set up during the reign of king Achyutarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara, who was the step-brother and successor of Kṛṣṇadēva-rāya and ruled in the period 1529-46 A.D. On the other hand, Śaka 1588 (1666 A.D.) would fall more than a century after the period of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The details of the date, viz. V.S. 1588, Vikārin, Mārgaśira-ba. 30, Friday, regularly correspond to the **8th December 1531 A.D.**

The date of the inscription discussed above is followed by a passage in lines 5-11 stating that the *dharmā-śāsana* belonged to king śrī-vīra-**Achyutarāya-mahārāja**, the son of Nārasimha, grandson of Īśvara and great-grandson of Timmaya. The expression *dharmā-śāsana* means 'a document relating to religious merit' and undoubtedly refers to the inscription under study. It is quite appropriately employed in the present context since the record was apparently set up by a person who made a pilgrimage to Gayā on the king's behalf. King Achyutarāya is endowed in the inscription with the epithets *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Virapratāpa* as well as *Hindu-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya* (i.e. one who can teach how to establish the sovereignty of the Hindus) and *Yadu-kula-tilaka* (i.e. an ornament of the Yadu family). Lines 12 ff. state that a certain Timmaṇṇa made the occupants of the Vijayanagara throne *Gayā-mukta*. The passage *Vijayanagaraṁ(ra)-siṁhāsana-karta[la]* in lines 13-17 apparently refers to the departed ancestors of king Achyutarāya mentioned in the record. The expression *Gayā-mukta* (literally, 'emancipated at Gayā') no doubt means that Timmaṇṇa performed the *Śrāddha* of Achyutarāya's ancestors on the king's behalf at Gayā and thereby led their spirits to emancipation. Timmaṇṇa was probably a priest of the Vijayanagara king.

The inscription gives the genealogy of king Achyutarāya from his great-grandfather Timmaya who is the earliest historical figure in the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and is mentioned only in a few copper-plate grants² of his descendants and in literary works like the *Manucharitramu*³ and *Amuktamālyada*.⁴ He has been identified with the chief named Tirumalaidēva mentioned in two inscriptions from Tañjāvūr⁵ and Śrīraṅgam.⁶ The earlier of the two records is dated in Śaka 1377 (1455 A.D.) and refers to the chief as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mēdinīmīsaragaṇḍa Kaṭhārisāluva Sāluva-Tirumalaidēva-mahārāja*. His mention in a stone inscription of Achyutarāya is striking and seems to be explained by the fact that he was one of Achyutarāya's ancestors whose *śrāddha* was performed by Timmaṇṇa at Gayā. Timmaṇṇa was apparently sent to Gayā by Achyutarāya in order to perform the pilgrimage on his behalf and at his cost as well as to celebrate the *śrāddha* ceremony of his departed ancestors. It is impossible to believe that king Achyutarāya himself visited Gayā or had anything to do with South Bihar.

¹ See, e.g., Bhandarkar's List, No. 370 which comes from Gaya and is dated V.S. 1232 and Vikārin.

² Above, Vol. I, pp. 363, etc.

³ *Manucharitramu*, Canto I (introduction), verses 23-24.

⁴ *Amuktamālyada*, Canto I (introduction), verses 24-25.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. II, p. 117, Ins. No. 23.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 59 of 1892.

The well-known city of Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Mysore State) is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription besides Gayā.

TEXT¹

- 1 . .² Śrī-vijay-ādbu(bhyu)da-
- 2 . .³ livāhana-śata⁴-varusham-
- 3 . .⁵1588 Bi(Vi)kāri-nāma-sam-
- 4 .⁶tsara Mārggaśira-ba 30 Śu⁷
- 5 .⁸man-mahā|⁹ rājādhirāja|. ¹⁰
- 6 [ja]-paramēśvara | śrī-vīrapratāpa | Him-
- 7 [du]-rājya-stā(sthā)pan-āchāryya | Ya-
- 8 [du]-kula-tilaka | Tim(Ti)mmaya I-
- 9 rēśvara¹¹ | Nārasimhya(ha) | maṇḍalē-
- 10 . .¹²śrī-vīra-Achchutta¹³rāya-ma-
- 11 . .¹⁴yala | dha[r*]mma-śyā(śā)sanam | Tim-
- 12 ¹⁵maṇaṁna
- 13 ¹⁶[Vi]jaya-
- 14 [na]garam(ra)-
- 15 simhā-
- 16 sana-ka-

¹ From impressions.

² The two *aksharas* lost here may be restored as *svasti*.

³ The two *aksharas* lost here may be restored as *ya-Śā*.

⁴ The word intended is apparently *Śaka*. But, as indicated above, we have to read *Vikrama-samvatsaram* for *Śalivāhana-Śaka-varusham*.

⁵ The two *aksharas* lost here may be restored as *bulu*.

⁶ The *akshara* lost here may be restored as *va*.

⁷ This is a contraction of *Śukra-vāra*, 'Friday'.

⁸ The *akshara* lost here may be restored as *śrī*.

⁹ This *daṇḍa* and others in this and the following lines are redundant.

¹⁰ The *akshara* lost here may be restored as *rā*.

¹¹ Read *Īvara*.

¹² The two *aksharas* lost here may be restored as *śvara*.

¹³ Read *Achyuta*. *Sandhi* has not been observed.

¹⁴ The lost *aksharas* may be restored as *hārā*.

¹⁵ This line was incised by the engraver to the right of the image of Durgā above lines 18-21 through oversight.

¹⁶ Lines 13-17 are engraved to the left of the image.

17 rta[la]

18 ¹Gayā-

19 mukta-

20 m sē(chē)se-

21 nu [l*]

¹ Lines 18-21 are engraved to the right of the image of Durgā below line 12.

No. 21—VERAVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II

(1 Plate)

V. P. JOHARAPURKAR, NAGPUR

(Received on 2.4.1958)

This inscription¹ was found near the Police Station at **Prabhās Pātan (Vērāval)** and is now deposited at the Junagadh Museum. I am editing the inscription from an excellent inked impression received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a **stone slab** measuring 18" × 16". The left half of the slab is lost. The inscription originally contained 25 lines with 64 letters in each. Approximately 28 letters from each line are now lost with the left half of the slab. The writing is well executed and it is in a good state of preservation except in the fifteenth line. The **language** is Sanskrit and the **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D.

The inscription opens with two invocatory verses ; but the name of the deity invoked is lost. The next three stanzas describe the capital city of [**Aṇahilla**]**pāṭaka**. Verses 6-7 mention **Mūlarāja** described as respected by all kings and as the uprooter of all enemies. The following two verses refer to the kings who succeeded Mūlarāja. Verses 10-12 refer to the ruling king **Bhīma**. Then comes a description of *Āchārya* Kundakunda of Nandi-saṅgha in three verses. Verses 16-18 refer to a line of teachers that started from Kundakunda. The next two verses describe Śrīkīrti as a prominent pontiff of the line. Verses 21-23 appear to refer to Śrīkīrti's pilgrimage from **Chitrakūṭa** to 'the holy place of Nēminātha', i.e., Girnar, to the welcome he received at **Aṇahillapura** and to the title *Maṇḍalāchārya* that was conferred on him by the king. Verse 24 refers to the Mūlavasatikā temple of Aṇahillapura.² The next few verses describe the teachers who succeeded Śrīkīrti. These names include Ajitachandra, Chārukīrti, Yaśaḥkīrti and Kshēmākīrti. Their interrelation is not clear due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription. Verses 34-41 describe the restoration of a shrine which is probably the temple of Chandraprabha referred to in verse 42. The restoration was made probably at the instance of *Maṇḍalagaṇin* Lalitakīrti referred to in verse 40. Verse 42 refers to a miracle connected with the image of Chandraprabha. It is stated that the water used for its bath cured leprosy. Verse 44 gives the date of the restoration of the temple and verse 45 mentions the name of the author of the inscription, viz., Pravarakīrti.

As noted above, the inscription belongs to the reign of Bhīma who has to be identified with king **Bhīma II** of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. Numerous inscriptions of his time have come to light, ranging from 1178 to 1239 A.D.³ Bhīma was a minor when he succeeded his brother Mūlarāja II and he was supported by Vāghēlā Arṇōrāja and his son Lavaṇaprasāda in the difficulties that he faced in the earlier part of his reign. Line 3 of our inscription seems to refer to this fact. Bhīma had to face the invasions of the Yādava kings Bhīllama and Jaitugi, Paramāra Subhaṭavarman and the Muslims under the leadership of Quṭbuddīn. In 1197 A.D. his capital Aṇahilla-pāṭaka was plundered by the Muhammadans. In the latter part of his reign, Bhīma secured the assistance of Vīradhavalā, son of Lavaṇaprasāda, and his ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. He was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla whose earliest known date is 1242 A.D.

¹ It is registered as No. 403 of Appendix B in *A. B. Ep.*, 1950-51.

² [The temple seems to have been named after Mūlarāja I.—Ed.]

³ *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 78-81.

The **date** of this inscription is recorded in both words and figures ; but unfortunately they are not fully preserved. The incomplete passage *śrīmad-Vikramabhūpasya varshūṇām dvāda[śa]* in line 24 shows that the year falls in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. The third figure after *Sam* in line 25, from the part that is preserved, seems to be either 4 or 5. It may be compared with the figure 4 occurring in lines 23-25 and 5 in lines 3, 8 and 25. The date may therefore be somewhere **between V.S. 1240 and 1259, i.e., between 1183 84 and 1202-03 A.D.**

As already indicated above, the inscription records the restoration of the temple of Chandra-prabha, the eighth Jain Tīrthaṅkara, at Prabhāsa 'on the shore of the western ocean' (line 23). It is interesting to note that verse 42 referring to the miracle associated with the image of Chandra-prabha is found in Madanakīrti's *Śāsanachatuśṭikā*¹ which is a Sanskrit work in 34 verses in praise of various Jain holy places. Madanakīrti is considered to be a contemporary of Paṇḍita Āśādihara whose known dates range from 1228 to 1243 A.D.²

The inscription refers to Kundakunda of Nandi-saṅgha (line 7). The name of this illustrious Jain teacher is associated with numerous sects of Digambara Jain teachers. Kundakunda Padmanandin was the author of many Prakrit works on Jain philosophy. Though his traditional date falls in the first century B.C., some scholars put him after Pushpadanta and Bhūtabālī, the authors of the *Shatkhanda-gama*, in the second century A.D.,³ while others place him after Sarvanandin, the author of the *Lōkavibhāga* (458 A.D.).⁴ The second of these two views appears to be nearer the truth. The domicile, from which Kundakunda's name was derived, was Koṇḍakunde, now identified with Konkoṇḍala in the Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh.⁵

Early epigraphical records of the Jain sect called Kundakund-ānvaya are found in Mysore State and date from 797 A.D.⁶ They refer to several subdivisions of the line, viz. Desiga-gaṇa,⁷ Krāṇūr-gaṇa,⁸ Mēshapāshāṇagachcha,⁹ etc. The inscription under study is probably the earliest epigraphical record of this line in Northern India.

Śrīkīrti referred to in this inscription seems to be identical with the teacher of this name mentioned in Śrīchandra's *Kathākōsha*.¹⁰ In the *praśasti* portion of this work, Śrutakīrti, the disciple of Śrīkīrti, is said to have been honoured by kings Bhōja and Gāṅgēya.¹¹ He was succeeded

¹ Published by the Viraseva Mandir, Daryaganj, Delhi, 1950, and also in the *Anēkanta*, Vol. IX, p. 410. In its complete form the verse runs as follows : *Yasya snāna-payō-nuliptam=akhilam kushṭham danīdhvanyatē sauvarṇa-stabakēśa-nirmītam=iva kshēmāṅkaram vīgraham | śaśvad=bhakti-vidhāyinām śubhatamam Chandra-prabhaḥ sa prabhuḥ=tīrē pāśchima-sāgarasya jayatād=Digvāsasām śāsanam ||*

² Nathuram Premi, *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihās*, p. 346.

³ *Shatkhanda-gama*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 53.

⁴ *Jain Sāhitya aur Itihās*, p. 6.

⁵ *QJMS*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ Cf. the Manne inscription in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nelamangala No. 60. The Mercara plates of Avināta, dated Śaka 388, referring to six teachers of the Kundakund-ānvaya are considered to be spurious.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kadur No. 1 (Śaka 893).

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab No. 262 (Śaka 997).

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Shimoga No. 10 (Śaka 1001).

¹⁰ *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 427 ; *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in C. P. & Berar*, p. 725. The relevant verses are quoted below : *Anahillapurē ramyē sajjanah Sajjanō=bhavat | Prāgvāṇa-vamṣa-nishpannō muktā-ratna-śat-āgrāṇīḥ || 2 Mūlarāja-nripēndrasya dharmā-sthānasya gōṣṭhīkabh | dharmā-sāra-dharmādhārāḥ Kūrma-rāja-samah purā || 3Kund-ēndu-nirmalē Kundakundāchāry-ānvayē=bhavat | dharmō mūrtah svayam vā Śrīkīrti-nāmā munīsvarah || 11 Tasmāt=tamō-pahāḥ śrīmān=sa-prabhāvo=tinirmalāḥ | Śrutakīrtiḥ samutpannō ratnam ratnākārād=iva || 12Gāṅgēya-Bhōjadēv-ādi-samasta-nripa-puṅgavaiḥ | nūjit-ōttakṛishṭa-pād-āravindō vidhvasta-kalmashah || 15*

¹¹ [These kings are no doubt identical with Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) and Kalachuri Gāṅgēya c. 1015-41 A.D.).—Ed.]

by Sabasrakīrti whose disciple Viryachandra was the teacher of Śrīchandra, author of the *Kathā-kōsha*. The patrons of Śrīchandra were the grandsons of one Sajjana who was the *Dharmasthāna-gōshthika* of king Mūlarāja of Anahillapura.

Little is known about other teachers mentioned in the inscription. The *Nandisūṅgha Paṭṭāvali*¹ names one Chārukīrti in V. S. 1262-64. His identification with the teacher of that name mentioned here remains uncertain.

The inscription testifies to the flourishing condition of Jainism in Gujarat in the reign of Bhīma II, even after a setback received under the rule of Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II. It also goes to prove that the Digambara sect of the Jains continued to flourish in Gujarat even under the overwhelming influence of the great Śvētāmbara teacher Hēmachandra who is probably referred to in line 15 of our inscription.

TEXT²

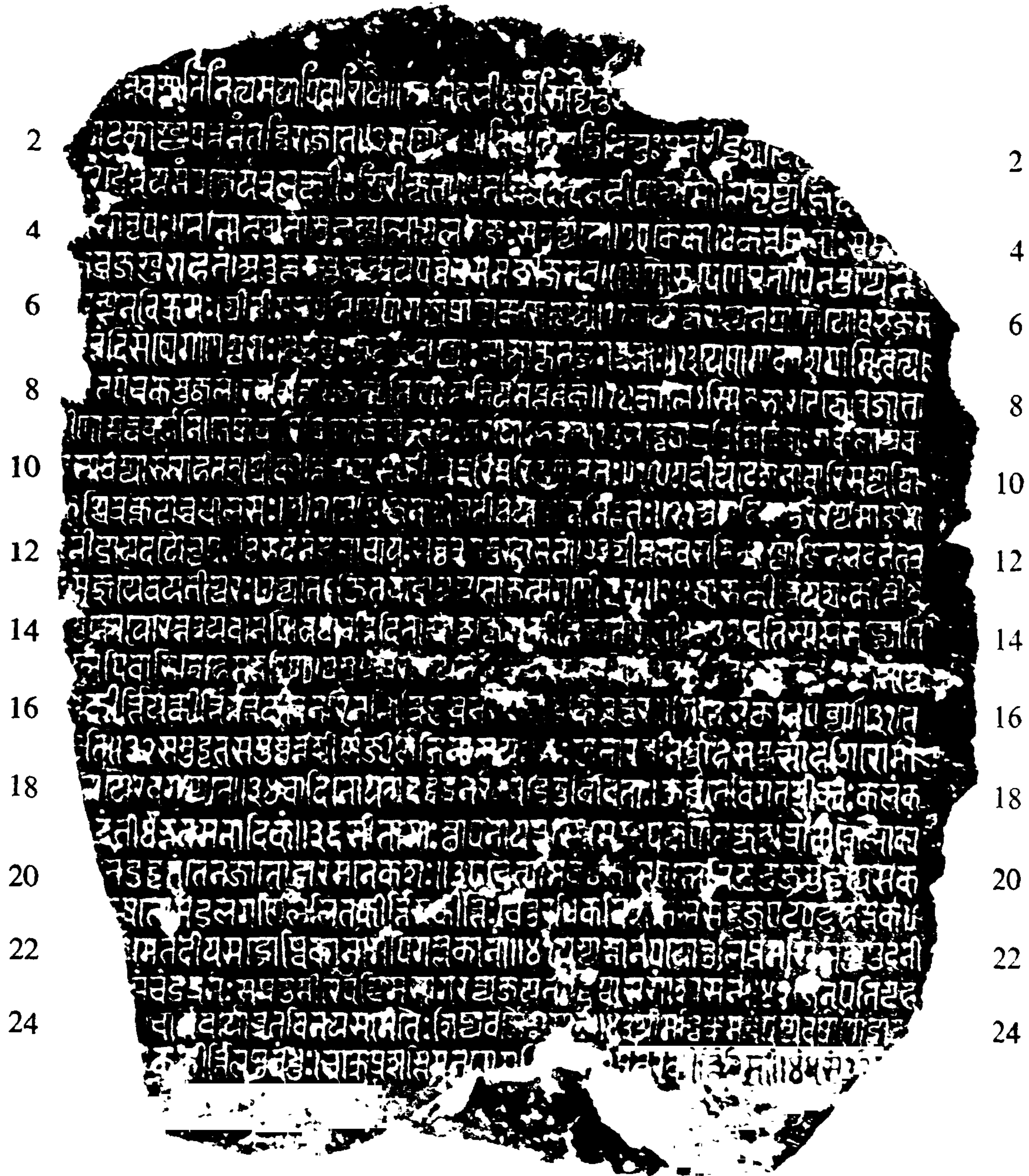
[Metres : Verses 1-23, 25-28, 33-38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 24, 31, 39-40, 44-45 *Āryā* ; verse 41 *Indravajrā* ; verse 42 *Śādūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 43 *Mālinī*.]

- 1न्नवम्प्रति नित्यमद्यापि वारिधौ ॥[१*] भूयादभीष्टसंसिद्धेय सु.....
- 2पाटकाख्यं पत्तनं तद्विराजते ॥३ मन्ये वेधा विधायैतद्विधित्सुः पुनरीदृशं(शम्)॥ (1) [क].....
- 3[न]रेन्द्रैर्नयमन्त्रज्ञैर्यत्र लक्ष्मीः स्थिरीकृता ॥५ तन्निःशेषमहीपालमौलिघृष्टांहि.....
- 4सौ नृपः । तेनोत्खातासुहृन्मूलो मूलराजः स उच्यते ॥७ एकैकाधिकभूपालाः सम.
- 5[वाजि]ग्रजखुराहतं(तम्) । अतुच्छमुच्छलत्सूर्यपर्वभ्रममजीजनत् ॥९ पौरुषेण
प्रतापेन पुण्येन
- 6रन्यूनविक्रमः । श्रीभीमभूपतिस्तेषां राज्यं प्राज्यं करोत्ययं(यम्) ॥११ भालाक्ष-
राण्यनम्राणां यो बेभञ्ज म-
- 7न्नदिसंघे गणेश्वराः । बभूवुः कुंदकुंदाख्याः साक्षात्कृतजगत्त्रयाः ॥१३ येषामा-
काशगामित्वं त्या
- 8तपंचकमुज्व(ज्ज्व)लं(लम्) । रचयित्वाथ जल्पन्ति येऽन्यन्नियमपूर्वकं(कम्) ॥१५
कालेऽस्मिन् भारते क्षेत्रे जाता
- 9[धुरी]णास्तत्त्व(त्त्व)वर्त्मनि । तेषां चारित्रिणां वंशे भूरयः सूरयोऽभवन् ॥१७
सद्वेषा अपि निर्द्वेषाः सकला अक
- 10भावस्यारुरोह तत् । श्रीकीर्तिं प्राप्य सत्कीर्तिं सूरिं सूरिगुणं ततः ॥१९ यदीयं
देशनावारि सम्यग्वि
- 11[क]श्चित्रकूटाच्चचाल मः । श्रीमन्नेमिजिनाधीशतीर्थयात्रानिमित्ततः ॥२१ अणहि-
ल्लपुरं रम्यमाजगा

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 77.

² From an impression.

VERVAL INSCRIPTION OF CHAULUKYA BHIMA II



Scale : One-third

No. 22—UNCHAHRA FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1294

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.5.1958)

The inscribed slab was secured for the Allahabad Municipal Museum from the village of Unchahra in the former Nagod State, now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The fragmentary inscription was noticed in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff., and published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 186 ff., without illustration.¹ It is re-edited here since our views do not entirely agree with those of the previous writers on the s

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about 17½ inches in height and about 12 inches in breadth. There are altogether 21 lines of writing, the first of which is only partially preserved. But it appears that the first line of the inscription is completely broken away along with the upper part of the stone, so that the first line of the extant part of the record is really line 2 of the inscription. A few letters are broken away and lost at the end of several of the lines. The *aksharas* are about three quarters of an inch in height.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. There are five stanzas in the first half of the epigraph in lines 1-13, the rest of it in lines 13-22 being in prose. The palaeography and **orthography** of the inscription closely resemble those of the later records of the Gāhaḍavāla kings, although it is a few decades later than the latest known Gāhaḍavāla epigraph. The use of final *m* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses and of the class nasal instead of *anusvāra* in some cases are interesting orthographical features of the inscription under study.

The **date** of the record is given in the prose part in lines 18-20 as the **Damanaka-chaturdaśī tithi** in the **year 1294** (in words) apparently of the Vikrama Samvat. Unfortunately the name of the week-day is lost. The month is not mentioned by the scribe no doubt because the name of the *tithi* gives a clear indication. We know that Damanaka-chaturdaśī is the name of the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Chaitra.² **V.S. 1294, Chaitra-su. 14**, seems to correspond to **Tuesday, March 30, 1238 A.D.**

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction and consecration of a temple of the god Śiva styled **Vindhyēśvara** by a lady whose name appears to be **Uddalladēvī**. The name occurs in the prose part in line 17. It was apparently also mentioned in verse 1 ; but the passage containing the letters appears to have broken away. Where exactly the temple was built is not specified ; but probably it was built near the village of Unchahra where the inscribed stone slab has been found. Verse 3 suggests that the temple stood on a hillock pertaining to the Vindhyan range and the suggestion seems to be supported by the name Vindhyēśvara applied to the deity installed in it. A hillock actually stands near the village.

Verse 1 of the inscription apparently introduces the lady who was responsible for the construction of the temple in question, although the passage containing her name, as already noted above, seems to have broken away. There is a prayer in this stanza for the continuity and continuous rule probably of the royal family to which she belonged. Verse 2 speaks of **Rāṇakachakravartin Lakshmapa alias Dharmadēva** who was related to the mother (*mātri-paksha*) of the said lady. The introduction of this ruler, who was probably the maternal grandfather or uncle of the lady, is

¹ See also *ARASI*, 1935-36, pp. 95-96.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 134.

difficult to explain unless it is supposed that he was a ruler of the Unchahra area where the temple was built by her. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) state how the lady caused a temple of the god Śūlin or Dhūrjaṭi (i.e. Śiva) styled Vindhyēśvara to be built apparently on the Vindhya. The purpose behind the construction of the temple is stated to have been the lady's desire to obtain wealth including sons and grandsons as well as the salvation of her dead ancestors. The last stanza (verse 5) states that the eulogy was composed by *Paṇḍita* Sukhākara.

The second half of the inscription in prose repeats parts of what is already stated in the versified section discussed above. But, although it does not mention *Rāṇakachakravartin* Lakshmaṇa alias Dharmadēva, it gives some interesting details not found in the verses. Here the lady **Uddalladēvi** is stated to have caused the temple of **Vindhyēśvara** to be built and consecrated it on the **Damanaka-chaturdaśī** in **V.S. 1294** for obtaining wealth including children and grand children as well as for her own beatitude and the salvation of the twentyone past generations of her family. It is possible to think that reference is here to seven generations of each one of the three families to which she was related, viz. the families to which her father, mother and husband belonged. A damaged passage in line 20 seems to suggest that she performed the pious deed as a result of the god Vindhyēśvaradēva having ordered her to do so in a dream. The lady is further described as born in the **Kanyakubja** country and to have been the daughter of *Mahāsāmantarāja* **Bharahadēva** of the **Rāshṭra** family. **Rāshṭra** here is apparently a mistake for **Rāshṭrakūṭa**. This shows that the lady was a scion of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** ruling family of **Kanyakubja**, i.e. **Kanoj**. She is stated to have been the *paṭṭa-rājñī* or chief queen of a chief named **Mahamandadēva** who is described as a *sāmanta* or feudatory of a ruler of the **Gāhaḍavāla** dynasty, whose name appears to be **Araḍakkamalla**. A person named *Paṇḍita* Śasyakara is mentioned at the end of the inscription in line 22 apparently as the writer indicating that he wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions no less than four rulers who flourished in the early decades of the thirteenth century in different parts of U. P. when that region is generally believed to have formed an integral part of the dominions of the Muhammadans. These four rulers, who are not known from any other source, are : (1) *Rāṇakachakravartin* Lakshmaṇa-Dharmadēva of the Unchahra region ; (2) *Mahāsāmantarāja* Bharahadēva of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** dynasty of **Kanoj** ; (3) *Sāmanta* Mahamandadēva, a feudatory of the **Gāhaḍavāla** king ; and (4) king Araḍakkamalla of the **Gāhaḍavāla** family. Of these, the first three were feudatories. But, while Mahamandadēva, whose name seems to exhibit an influence of the Arabic name Muḥammad, was a subordinate of the **Gāhaḍavāla** king, the overlords of Lakshmaṇa-Dharmadēva and Bharahadēva are not known. Whether they acknowledged the supremacy of the Muhammadans is not clear, although that is not improbable even if the fact has not been indicated in the inscription. The real status of **Gāhaḍavāla** Araḍakkamalla is also difficult to determine. He had no doubt some feudatories under him ; but neither subordinative nor imperial epithets have been used with his name.

The Set-Mahet inscription¹ of 1119-20 A.D. speaks of **Rāshṭrakūṭa** Gōpāla, king of Gādhipura (i.e. **Kanoj**), and king Madana. This Madana has been identified with **Madanapāla** mentioned as the son of Gōpāla in the Budaun stone inscription² of the time of Lakhanapāla who represented the fourth generation after Madanapāla and may have flourished about a century later in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Bharahadēva of our inscription may have belonged to a branch of the same house. Lakhanapāla of the Budaun inscription may be identified with Lakshmaṇa-Dharmadēva of our record if it is believed that marriage was allowed between different

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 204

² Ibid., No. 1670.

branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.¹ These Rāshtrakūṭas appear to have owed allegiance to the Gāhaḍavāla emperors and, after the overthrow of the Gāhaḍavālas, to the Muhammadans.

It is well known that in A.H. 590 (1193 A.D.), Maḥammad Ghūrī, while he was advancing against Kanoj and Banāras, encountered 'Jaichand, the Rāi of Banāras' (i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra) in the vicinity of Chandwar or Chandrāwar near the Jumna in the Etawah District of U.P. Jaichand was killed and his capital Banāras was occupied by the Muhammadans. That, however, the Gāhaḍavāla suzerainty was not completely destroyed in 1193 A.D., is indicated by the Machhlisahar plate² issued by king Hariśchandra, son of Jayachandra, on Sunday, Pausa-śu. 15, V.S. 1253 (January 6, 1197 A.D.), and the Bēlkhārā pillar inscription³ of Tuesday, Vaiśākha-śu. 11, V.S. 1253 (April 29, 1197 A.D.) when the feudatory chief Vijayakarna ruling over a part of the Mirzapur District acknowledged the suzerainty of an unnamed imperial ruler of Kānyakubja. The Bēlkhārā inscription shows that Vijayakarna was not subdued by the Muhammadans before April 1197 A.D. although he was doubtful whether he could still refer to Gāhaḍavāla Hariśchandra as his overlord. The present inscription referring to a Gāhaḍavāla king named Araḍakkamalla as the overlord of *Sāmanta* Mahamanda in V.S. 1294 (1238 A.D.) suggests that the rule of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty did not end with the death of Hariśchandra. But it is difficult to determine whether Araḍakkamalla was ruling as a subordinate of the Muhammadans or as an independent monarch in the regions still unsubdued by the Musalmans. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*,⁴ which attributes the conquest of Budāun, Banāras, Kinnauj-i-Shergarh (Kanoj) and Tirhut to Ilṭūtmish, also speaks of an independent Hindu king named Bartū, Britū or Prithu who is stated to have held sway in 'the territory of Awadh (Ayōdhyā)' and to have been killed by the Muhammadans soon after A.H. 623 (1226 A.D.). The continuity of Gāhaḍavāla rule probably to a still later date, as suggested by the inscription under study, may indicate that king Prithu was a scion of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. His name, however, does not sound like the names of the later Gāhaḍavālas ending with the word *chandra*. Nor does the name of Araḍakkamalla sound like that of a later Gāhaḍavāla. Whether this means that they belonged to a branch line of the family cannot be determined without further light on the subject. But, if Araḍakkamalla ruled as an independent monarch, it has to be admitted that even as late as the second quarter of the thirteenth century the Muslims were in occupation only of the important cities and strongholds while the countryside of the Gāhaḍavāla empire still continued to be under Hindu domination.

Only two **geographical** names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the well-known Kanyakubjadēśa (i.e. the territory around the city of Kanoj) and the Vindhya mountain range.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

1 * — — — ○ — — — ○ — — — ○ — — — ○ — — —

2 [dīpt=ai]va surēndra-maṇḍala-mu — — — ○ — — — ○ — — — [*] — — —

3 na guṇēna bhānti bhuvanē sarvvē tayā nyakkṛitā[s=ta] — — — ○ — — — [bhava]

¹ In that case, the Rāshtrakūṭas settled in the Unchahra area after their dislodgment from Budaun by the Muhammadans. According to a tradition current about the southern borders of the Allahabad District, the Gāhaḍavālas settled in the northern region of Vaghelkhand after the Muslim conquest of Kanauj and Banaras.

² Ibid., No. 433.

³ Ibid., No. 434.

⁴ Raverty's trans., Vol. I, pp. 627-29.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Probably the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti* stood at the beginning of the line.

- 4 tv=avichalam rājyaṁ praśāstv=adbhutam || [1*] Sāmantarāja-tilakaḥ prathitaḥ pī[th]i
 5 vyām śrī-Lakshmaṇō ○ ○ ○¹ Lakshmaṇa-tulya-kūṭṭil | yan-mātṛi-pakṣa mu(i)ha tā[ra]-
 6 ka-chakravartī yāthārthyataḥ khalu tathā sa cha **Dharmmadēvaḥ** || [2*] Śr[ī-Vindhyē]-
 7 **śvara**-śūlinō=dbhutatarah stambh-āvali-śō[bhi]taḥ prāsādō=[yam=a]nē-
 8 [ka-bha]dra-[pa]vitō nānā-patāk-ānvitaḥ | yach-chhṛīṅgēṇa divaṁ spri[śan=ga]-
 9 ti-harō Vindhyō ravēr=utthitō vyājād=yad-dhvaja-pamkti-pātita[ga]ti-
 10 rbhbhī(r=bhī)tō gurōr=vvākyataḥ || [3*] Prāsādō-yam tay=ākāri śrī-Vindhyēśva-
 11 ra-Dhūrjjaṭēḥ | putra-pautr-ādi-sam[pa]t[ti]yai pitṛiṇān=tāraṇāya cha || [4*]
 12 Praśasti-rachanān=chakrē paṇḍitaḥ śrī-Sukhākaraḥ | sujan-āmbhri-sarōja-
 13 nma-rajō-rañjita-mūrdhajaḥ || [5*] iti śrī-**Kanyakuvja(bja)**-dēś-ōdbhūṭayā **Rāshṭra**-²
 14 kula-vaṁśa-pradīpa-mahāsāmantarāja-śrī-**Bharahadēva**-sutayā śrīma-
 15 d-**Gaḥaḍavāla**-kula-kamala-vikāśana-sahasrāmśu-śrī-³**A[ra]ḍakkamalla**-
 16 sāmanta-śaraṇāgatavajrapaṇjara-śrīman-**Mahamandadēva**-pa[tṭa]r[ā]-
 17 jñyā śrī⁴-**Uddalladēvyā** sva-kul-aikaviṁśati-puruṣa-santāraṇ-ārtham=āt[ma] .⁵
 18 [pa]rama-niḥśrēyasa-prāptyai putra-pautr-ādi-sampattiyai samva[t]⁶ . .
 19 . . dvādaśa-śatēṣu chaturṇavaty-adhikēṣu Damanaka-chaturd[daśyā]-
 m . . .⁷
 20 vārē śrī-Vindhyēśva[ra]dēvasya svapn-ā⁸
 21 sādō=yam kāritaḥ pratishṭhāpitaś=cha || vā⁹
 22 riṇā paṇḍita-śrī-Saśyakarēṇa¹⁰ praśa[st]i¹¹

¹ Three syllables were omitted here by the scribe or engraver through oversight. A word like *jayati* would suit the metre.

² The intended name is apparently Rāshṭrakūṭa.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Above *dda* which is the second *akshara* in the name, there are what may be traces of a sign of medial *ai*. The queen's name may, therefore, possibly be Uddailladēvi (for *Uddēlladēvi* ?) also.

⁵ The lost *akshara* at the end of the line may be restored as *naḥ*.

⁶ The space at the end of this line and the beginning of the next suggests the restoration *samvatsarēṣu*.

⁷ The lost name of the week-day may be conjecturally restored as *Kuja*.

⁸ The few *aksharas* lost at the end of the line may be conjecturally restored as *ādēśād=ēva tat-prā*.

⁹ About five *aksharas* are lost here. What has been read as *vā* may also be read as *vī*.

¹⁰ Read *Śaśyakarēṇa*. The letters *riṇā* may be a part of the epithet *sūriṇā*.

¹¹ The *aksharas* lost here may be conjecturally restored as *°r-likhitā*.

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No. 23—WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUDEVA, KALI YEAR 4561

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOIACAMUND

(Received on 12.5.1958)

Many of the imperial ruling families of the Deccan had their capitals in the former Hyderabad State now merged in the Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Bombay States. Thus Mānyakhēṭa of the Rāshtrakūṭas, Kalyāṇa of the Later Chālukyas and Kalachuris, Dēvagiri of the Yādavas and Anumakoṇḍa and Varāṅgallu of the Kākatīyas were all situated in different parts of the former State of Hyderabad. It was therefore expected that the area, if properly explored, would yield a large number of interesting inscriptions and some time ago a band of my colleagues and assistants were sent to various parts of the region to begin the work. In the course of the exploration of a very small part of the area in 1957-58, Mr. K. H. V. Sarma and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam, both Epigraphical Assistants in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited **Warangal** and copied some inscriptions that were found at the place. One of these inscriptions from Warangal is edited in the following pages. I am thankful to Mr. Sarma and Pāṇḍit Subrahmanyam for the assistance they have rendered me in the preparation of this article.

About 150 years ago, Mackenzie's Pandits copied the inscription and their tentative transcript finds a place in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, 15-4-5, p. 106 (cf. *Bhārati*, Vol. XII, Part i, pp. 426 ff.). Unfortunately the Pandits could not read the epigraph satisfactorily.

The inscription is divided into two parts, the first engraved on the right wall of the gate of the Warangal fort while the second part is incised on the left wall of the same structure. The first part contains ten lines of writing covering an area about five feet in length and two feet and one inch in height. There are only eight lines in the second part which covers a space about six feet and six inches long and one foot and eight inches high. The epigraph is continued from the first to the second part.* The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory as the letters are rubbed off in many parts of the record.

The **characters** of the inscription are Telugu. Initial *a* has a rather peculiar form resembling modern Telugu *lg* in shape. But the **language** is Oriya which is, however, considerably influenced by Sanskrit. There are many errors in the language and **orthography** of the record. The **date**, quoted in lines 2-5, is **Saturday** (*Bṛiḥa-vāsara*¹), **Mṛigaśīrā-nakshatra**, **Māgha-śu. 10**, in the year **Pramāthin** which is mentioned as corresponding to the **Kali year** indicated by the defective passage *yēkaśatād-adhika-paṁcha-śat-ōttara-chatu[h*]-sahasra-parimitē*. The expression *paṁcha-śat-ōttara* (i.e. 'with the addition of 500') qualifying *chatuḥ-sahasra* (i.e. 4,000) in the same context suggests that the number intended in *yēkaśatād-adhika* qualifying *paṁcha-śata* should be less than hundred. The word *yēka* (*ēka*, 'one') forming the first part of this expression clearly suggests that the intended number is one of those immediately following 10 or any of its multiples between 20 and 90. But the name *Pramāthin* applied to the year, which apparently corresponded to one of the **Kali years** from 4501 to 4599, shows that the **Kali year 4561 current** (i.e. **Kali 4560 expired**) is intended since no other year in the said period of 99 years corresponds to the cyclic year *Pramāthin* of the South Indian calendar. Saturday, Māgha-śu. 10, Mṛigaśīrā-nakshatra, in **Kali 4561 current**, corresponds regularly to the **2nd February, 1460 A.D.**

The proposed emendation of *yēkaśatād-adhika* as *ēkashashty-adhika* is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription. As will be seen below, the record mentions Raghudēva, the governor

¹ For *Bṛiḥa-vāra* meaning Saturday, see above, Vol. XXXI, p. 100, note 1.

of Rajahmundry under Gajapati Kapilēśvara of Orissa, in connection with the Oriya conquest of the fortress of Vōrumgallu in the land (*rājya*) of Varāṅgallu, i.e. the Warangal fort. The occupation of Warangal by the Oriyas is mentioned in another inscription¹ in the fort, referring to its conquest by Kapilēśvara's son Hambīra and bearing the date Pramāthin, Māgha-sū. 10, Va (i.e. Vaḍḍa-vāra, Saturday) which is exactly the same as the date of the record under study. There is no doubt that both the inscriptions refer to the same event, viz. the conquest of the Warangal fort by the generals of Gajapati Kapilēśvara. It may be that Hambīra was the chief commander of the Gajapati forces and that Raghudēva was the second in command. It is interesting to note that Hambīra's inscription is found on the eastern gate of the Warangal fort while Raghudēva's record is incised on its western gate, locally known as the fifth gate. This appears to show that the two leaders of the Gajapati forces led the attack on the Warangal fort from two different sides. Raghudēva, the Oriya governor of Rajahmundry, is also known from several of his inscriptions bearing dates in the sixth decade of the fifteenth century.²

The object of the inscription is recorded in two sentences in the last two lines (lines 17-18). The concluding part of the first of these sentences is very much damaged. But it seems to read as *Vōrumgaṁṭi-durgga-patimku sādhlā* in which *sādhlā* (past tense of the Oriya verb *sādhivā*) has no doubt been used in the sense of 'subdued' or 'defeated'. It is therefore stated here that **Raghudēva-narēndra** subdued the lord of the **Vōrumgaṁṭi-durga** (i.e. the Warangal fort). The second sentence says that he spared the lives of the governor of the fort and the latter's followers (*yihara sasainya-sahitya jīva-dāna dilā*). The conquest of Warangal by the generals of Kapilēśvara is one of the events in the struggle between the Bahmanis of Gulbarga and the Gajapatis of Orissa.

The inscription is interesting from several points of view. In the first place, it represents the **god Vishṇu** as the imperial ruler of the earth and apparently as the overlord of the emperor **Kapilēśvara of the Sūryavarṇśī Gajapati family of Orissa**. The date of the record has been put against the background of eternity as it is represented as falling in the eternal reign period of the said god. This is because of the fact, as we have shown elsewhere,³ that Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) dedicated his kingdom in favour of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, who is regarded as a form of Vishṇu, and that the Gaṅga king's successors as well as the later imperial rulers of Orissa including their theoretical successors, the present Mahārājas of Purī, regarded themselves as the viceroys of the deity who was considered the real lord of the country. This conception is noticed in several inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty. The present epigraph is the only record outside the Gaṅga family, which echoes the same idea. There is, however, a slight difference in the conception as found in the inscription under review. The god is not represented here as the lord of the kingdom of Orissa with the king of Orissa as his viceroy. The idea expressed in our record is that the god was the lord of the earth while Kapilēśvara, endowed with imperial style, was the king of the Utkala country under him. This mode of introducing a king is possibly the only case of the kind in the whole range of Indian epigraphy.

The second point of interest in the record is its style which exhibits an influence of certain inscriptions of the Gaṅgas. Some of the passages in Kapilēśvara's description in the present inscription are copied from records like the Drākshārāma,⁴ Bhubaneswar⁵ and Kāñchīpuram⁶ inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III and one of the Kapilās inscriptions⁷ of Narasiṁha I (c 1238-64 A.D.). The

¹ Above, p. 1, note 3; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 280-81; cf. *SII*, Vol. VII, p. 372, No. 733.

² Above, pp. 1-2.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 19.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. IV, p. 467, No. 1329.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

⁷ See above, pp. 41 ff.

most interesting among these epithets are those which speak of the king as *Mahēśvara-putra*, *Purushōttama-putra* and *Durgā-putra*. In the similar representation of Anangabhīma III and his son Narasimha I, one may notice the fact that these kings, in spite of their staunch devotion to the god Vishṇu in the shape of Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, could not possibly dissociate themselves totally from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. Since, however, the hold of Vaishṇavism became gradually stronger and stronger on the kings of Orissa, it is rather strange that the same epithets were applied to Kapilēśvara who flourished two centuries later. But this may be explained by the suggestion that the Sūryavamśis were also Śaivas originally. It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēśvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Sūryavamśi Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēśvara was the Śaiva leanings of Raghudēva? It will be seen from our analysis below that Raghudēva calls himself *śrī-Durgā-varaputra* as well as *śrī-Jagannāthadēva-[labdha*]-vara-prasāda*. He also bore the typical Śaivite name Vīrabhadra. This prince as well as his father and grandfather are further represented as devotees of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī or Maṅgalachandī. These two deities are probably to be identified respectively with Śiva and Pārvatī since the name Mallinātha is known to be often applied to a Śiva-līṅga¹ and Chandī and Maṅgalachandī are both well-known names of the said goddess. As Raghudēva's grandfather was Kapilēśvara's father, it is possible to think that the family was originally Śaiva and that Kapilēśvara was the first of its members, who was devoted to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha. Kapilēśvara may have become a devotee of the said deity after his accession to the throne of Gajapati Bhānu IV, since theoretically the Gaṅga throne belonged to the god.

The first section of the inscription in lines 1-5 gives the date, viz. Saturday, Māgha-śu. 10, Mṛigaśīrā-nakshatra in the year 4561 current (in words) in the first quarter of Kali which is one of the four ages, the name of the year being Pramāthin. This year is mentioned with reference to the victorious reign of the illustrious god Vishṇu just as is done in the case of dates falling in the reigns of particular kings. In consonance with this interesting reference, the date is stated to have fallen in the second Parārdha of the god Brahman, in the Śvētavarāha Kalpa and the twenty-eighth Chatur-yuga of the Vaivasvata Manvantara. Lines 5-6 likewise mention the locality, where the inscription was put up, in an equally grand setting. The concluding part of this passage cannot be fully deciphered. But it seems to speak of the tract of Varuṅgallu (Warangal) within the dominions of Umainuśahā (°śāha) described as the Suratāṇa of Kalubaraga, i.e. the Bahmani Sultān Humāyun Shāh (1458-61 A.D.) of Gulbarga. This land is stated to have been situated in the western tract of the Āndhra country which formed a part of Bhāratavarsha lying in the Jambūdvīpa section of the earth. This is in consonance with the old conception according to which Jambūdvīpa was one of the four or seven *dvīpas* constituting the earth. The representation of a locality in a similar setting, is however, not unknown in South Indian inscriptions. Thus an inscription² of 1077 A.D. gives the situation of the capital of the Kadambas of Banavāsi in the following words: "Among the fourteen worlds is the middle world, one *raḥḥu* in extent. In the centre of that middle world is the Golden Mountain, to the south of which is the Bhārata land, in which like the curls of the lady earth shines the Kuntala country, to which an ornament [with various natural beauties] is Banavāsi."

The next passage in lines 7-17 introduces **Raghudēva-narēndra** who was responsible for the setting up of the record. First is mentioned in lines 7-8 **Jāgēśvaradēva-māhārāya** described as a devotee of the god Mallinātha and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī. Next is described Jāgēśvara's son **Pratāpa-Kapilēśvaradēva-māhārāja** in lines 8-14. Kapilēśvara is stated to have

¹ Cf. P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, Part III, 1956, Nos. Mn. 18-25 (pp. 49 ff.).

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab No. 262. See also the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka, verses 5 ff. (above Vol. XXXII, p. 260).

become a lord of the **Utkala** country at the command of the illustrious Purushōttama described as the lord of the fourteen worlds, i.e. the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī. Next he is described as 'the son of Mahēśvara (Śiva)', 'the son of Purushōttama (Viṣṇu)' and 'the son of Durgā'. As already indicated above, these epithets and some others in the description of Kapilēśvara appear to have been borrowed from certain records of the Gaṅga-king Anaṅgabhīma III and his son and successor Narasimha I. In the inscription under study, Kapilēśvara is endowed with the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* and is described as belonging to the solar race. He is further called *śrī-vīra-Gajapati* (the Gajapati who is an illustrious hero), *Gauḍēśvara* (lord of Gauḍa) and *vijita-navakōṭi-Karṇāṭ-ēśvara* (lord of the Karṇāṭa-nine-crore country conquered by him). It is interesting to note that *Kalavarag-ēśvara* (i.e. the lord of Gulbarga) is not added here to Kapilēśvara's epithets as in other records. This is probably because the inscription was set up in an area belonging to the dominions of the Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga and the local people were expected to sneer at the hollowness of the claim.

Kapilēśvara was the first independent imperial ruler of the family and Raghudēva is known to have been his younger brothers' son and his viceroy at Rajahmundry. The mention of Jāgēśvara as a *māhārāya* (i.e. *mahārāja*) shows that he was also a ruling chief. This is supported by the evidence of the Raghudēvapura grant.¹ Lines 14-15 of our inscription mention Paraśurāmadēva as the younger brother of Kapilēśvara and as a devotee of Mallināthadēva and Maṅgalachandī (elsewhere called Gaṇamaṅgalachandī). Parasurāmadēva-rāya's son Raghudēva is mentioned in the following lines. He is called **Virabhadra Raghudēva-narēndra** and is described as a devotee of the god Mallināthadēva and the goddess Gaṇamaṅgalachandī and also as having been a favourite son of the goddess Durgā and as favoured by Jagannāthadēva, i.e. the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī. It is further stated that Raghudēva was the ruler of **Rājamahēndravara**, i.e. Rājamahēndrapurā, which is the modern Rajahmundry. As already indicated above, the object of the inscription is recorded in the last two lines (lines 17-18) which state that Raghudēva subdued the governor of the Warangal fort but that he spared the lives of the said Bahmani officer and his soldiers.

The god Mallinātha seems to have been the family deity of the ancestors of Kapilēśvara. Since Mallinātha as the name of a deity is very popular in the Telugu speaking areas and not in Orissa, the original home of the Sūryavamśī Gajapati family may have been in the Āndhra country. As we have elsewhere suggested,² the mother of Kapilēśvara was probably born in the Velama community of Āndhrā.

The genealogy of the Sūryavamśī Gajapatis of Orissa supplied by the present inscription represents Kapilēśvara and Paraśurāma as the sons of Jāgēśvara, and Raghudēva, governor of Rajahmundry, as the son of Paraśurāma. This information is already available from the Raghudēvapura and Dōrapālem grants of Raghudēva edited above.³ But Raghudēva's secondary name Virabhadra is known only from the present record.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have already been discussed above.

TEXT *

Part I

1 Śrī-Viṣṇu-rājya-pravarddhamānasya⁴ |⁵ adya [Brahmaṇḍo] dvitīya(ya)-parārddhā | Svē-
(Svē)tavarāha-kalpē |

¹ Above, pp. 4, 6 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

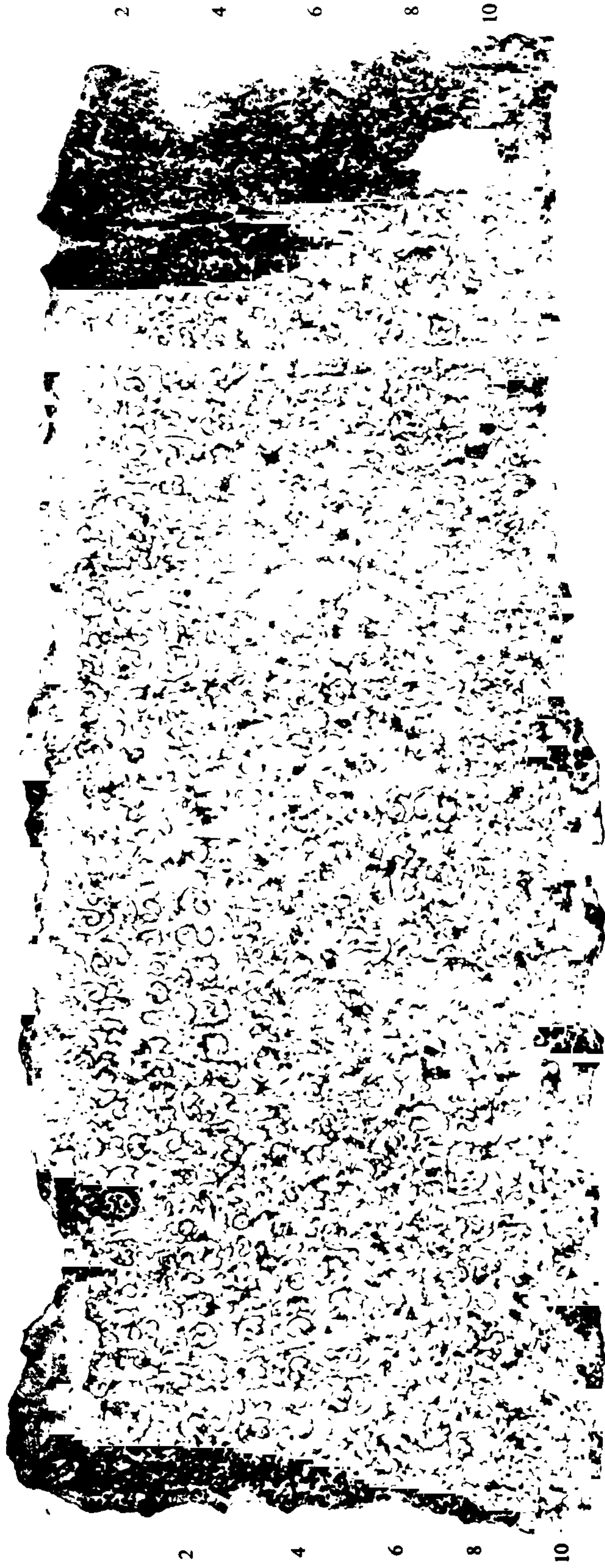
³ See *ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Better read °mānē.

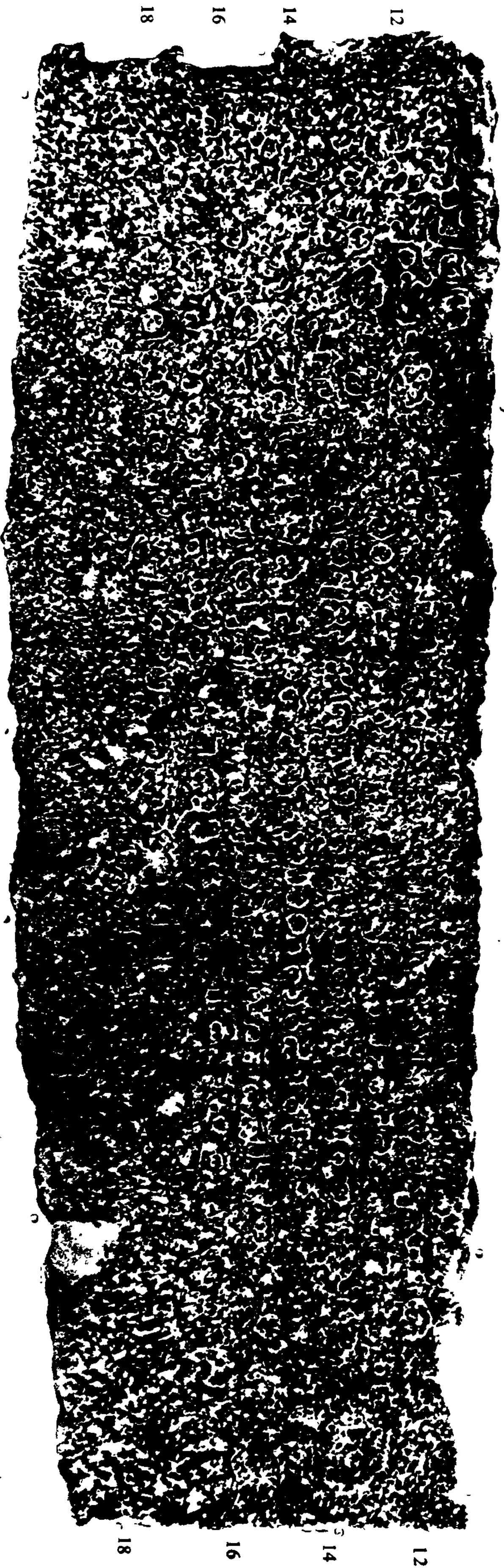
⁶ The *daṇḍa* here and in other places in this and the following lines are superfluous.

WARANGAL INSCRIPTION OF RAGHUDEVA, KALI YEAR 4561
First Part



Scale : One-sixth

Second Part



12
14
16
18

12
14
16
18

- 2 **Vaivasvata-manvanitta**(ta)rē | ashtābhiḥ | satitarā¹ | chaturyyamgana² **Kalē(lau)** | **prathama-**
pādē | **yēkaśatād-a-**³
- 3 **dhika-** | **pañcha-śat-ōttara-** | **chatu[h*]-sahasra-** | **parimit[ē]** | **avadhō**⁴ | **Pramādi-**
sahvatsarē | **Uttar-ā-**
- 4 **yaṇē** | **śiśi-rutau**⁵ | **Māgha-māsē** | **śukla-pakshē** | **daśamvārṇ** **tithau** | **Bṛiha-**
vāsarē | **Mṛigasi(śi)rā-**
- 5 **nakshatrē** | **iha** **prithivyān** | **Jambū-dvīpē** **Bha(Bhā)ra[ta]-varshē** | **Āndhra-dēś-ānta-**
rggata-[pāśchima]
- 6 **diśā-bhāgē** | **Ka[lu]baraga-suratāṇa-** | **Umainuśahā**⁶ | **Vōrumgallu-** | **rājy[ē]**.....
- 7 **śrī-Mallināthadēva-Gaṇamaṅga**lachaṁdī-chara[ṇa]-śaraṇa | **śrī-Jāgēs[v]aradēva-māhā-**
- 8 **[rāyam]kara** **putra** | **śrī-chaturddaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati** [śrīmatu] | **śrī-[Puru]shōttamasya** **a-**
- 9 **dēśād=Utkal-**ādhiśa | **kṛita-samara-mukh-ānēka-ripu-darppa-marddana** | **bhuja-bala-para-**
krama |
- 10**pūjya-sattamaḥ** | **Mahēśvara-[putra** **char-ācha]ra-jagan-mūla-kāraṇa-** | **śrī-Puru-**

Part II

- 11 **shōttama-putra** | **śrī-Durggā-putra** | **trayī-vasuindharā-samuddharāṇa-pratāpa-prachamḍa-** |
dōr-ddamḍa-[mahā-varāha | **śrīman-mahā]rā-**
- 12 **jādhirāja-paramēśvara** | **Vaivasvata-[kula]-pra[s]ūta rakshā-daksha** | **stam[bhi]ta**
..... | **śrī-Rāma-guṇa**⁷
- 13 **aḷamkṛita** | **śrī-Sūrya-vamś-āvalambana-stambha** | **śrī-Vīra-Gajapati-Gavuḍ-ēśvara** | **vijita-**
nava-kōti-Karnnāt-ēśvara | **Pratā-**
- 14 **pa-Kapilēśvara-** | **dēva-māhārājamkara** | **tasya**⁸ **anuja** | **śrī-Mallinātha-** | **dēva-Maṅga**lacha-
mḍi-charana-śaranu | **śrī-Para-**
- 15 **ś[u]rāmadēvām(vam)kara** **putra** | **śrī-Mallināthadēva-Gaṇamaṅgalacha**mḍi-charana- | **śara-**
nu | **śrī-Jaga[nnāthadēva]-[labdha*]-**
- 16 **vara-prasāda** | **śrī-Durggā-vara-putra** | **ripu-[darppa]-māna-marddana-** | **yōka**⁹ **-daksha** | **śrī-**
Rāja[mahēndra]-

¹ Read °vinśatitama°.² Read °r-yyugīya°.³ Read *ēkaśaṣṭya*-a°.⁴ Read *abdē*.⁵ Read *śiśir-artau*.⁶ Read *śāhē*.⁷ *Śandhi* has not been observed here.⁸ The word is redundant.⁹ Read *marddan-aika*.

17 **vara-īājya(ja) | śrī-Paruśa¹rāmadēva-rāya-taṇaya | śrī-Vira[bha]dra-Raghudēva-narāc-**
dra | Vōruniga[m]ṭi-[clurgga]-

18 [patimku] sādhiḷā | yihara sa-sainya-sahitya² jīva-dāna dilā [||*]

¹ Read *Paraśu*^o. The expression *śrī-Paraśurāma-dēvarāya-taṇaya* is, however, redundant since the same relationship between *Paraśurāma* and *Raghudēva* is already indicated in the passage *śrī-Paraśurāmadēvām (vam)-kara putra* in lines 14-15 above.

² The intended word is *sahita* which is redundant.

No. 24—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917

(1 Plate)

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.4.1958)

In December 1957, while touring in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State in search of inscriptions, I had the opportunity of copying about 21 inscriptions at Chikkerūr about six miles from Hirekerūr, the headquarters of the Taluk. The earliest inscription¹ so far found at Chikkerūr is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved on a stone set up in front of the temple of Banadavva. Long ago Burgess referred apparently to the same inscription² as lying in front of the temple of Banasamkari that is the same as Banadavva. According to him, the date of that record is Śaka 975. It will be seen, however, that the date is Śaka 917 and not Śaka 975.

The stone is dressed only on the surface where the inscription is engraved. There are 17 lines of writing. The engraver seems to have marked out on the stone the space necessary for incising the inscription by a line both at the top and the bottom. But as that space was not enough, he had to continue the writing below the line at the bottom. Above the line at the top, there are the figures of the sun and the moon. The record is written in Kannaḍa characters of about the tenth century A.D. Barring the imprecatory verse at the end which is in Sanskrit, the language of the epigraph is Kannaḍa and it is written in prose.

The engraver has done his job in a very indifferent way and the record contains many mistakes; of. *saṁvastara* (lines 1-2) for *saṁvatsara*, *Pamḷguṇa* (lines 3-4) for *Phālguṇa*. The form of *m* is mostly cursive. The *akshara bha* in line 2 has a peculiar form. Similarly noteworthy is the form of *n* in °*Uppaḷana* and *naḍeda* (line 9), *nijābbe* (line 11), °*nātana* (line 12) and *naraḥ* (line 15). In *puṇṇame* (line 4) the subscript is *ṇ* and not *n* as is usually found in the inscriptions of that period.

The record is dated Śaka 917 (expressed partly in words and partly in figures), **Jaya, Phālguṇa Puppame** (i.e. śu. 15), **Saturday, Uttarā-nakshatra**. The date, which is irregular, seems to be the 18th February 995 A.D.

The record opens with the word *svasti* followed by the date. Then it states that, when *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ahavamalladēva* proceeded against *Uppaḷa* (Utpala) in the course of his northern *dig-vijaya* after having subdued his adversaries in the south and when *Bhīmayya* was governing *Banavāse-nāḍu* and *Nāgārjuna* was the *Nālgāvunḍa*, Paḷḷiga, son of *Koṇḍavaṇigara Jōgayya* and *Nijābbe*, and his wife *Arasakka*, had the image of the goddess *Bhaḷari* installed. They also made a gift of land, obviously in favour of the deity.

The record does not give the name of the ruling king, but refers to a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* named *Āhavamalla*. We know that the region in question was a part of the kingdom of the Western Chālukya king Tailapa II *Āhavamalla* (973-97 A.D.). But it is difficult to identify *Āhavamalla* of our record with Taila II since the former is referred to as *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* while the latter's records give him the usual sovereign titles borne by the Western Chālukya kings. *Āhavamalla* of our record may be identified with *Iṇivabeḍaṁga Satyāśraya*, the

¹ This has been registered as No. 255 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

² *Antiquarian Remains of Bombay Presidency*, p. 12.

son of Taila II. A record from Lakkundi¹ clearly suggests that this prince was known as *Āhavamalla*. The inscription thus offers evidence in support of the statement of Ranna that Satyāśraya assisted his father in his military affairs.²

As indicated above, the record refers to a time when *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āhavamalla proceeded against Utpala in the course of his northern *dig-vijaya* after he had put down his adversaries in the south. This indicates that Taila II had to face troubles in the south. The moment the Rāshtrakūṭas were defeated by him, the feudatories of the former declared their independence. Gaṅga Mārasimha went so far as to support the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indra IV in the latter's claim for the throne. It is well known, however, that Taila II succeeded in subduing them. But he had to face the Chōlas who were the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas as they had been of the Rāshtrakūṭas previously. The contemporary Chōla king Rājarāja I conquered Gaṅgavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi and Taḍigaippāḍi,³ taking opportunity of the chaos that existed for some time after the disappearance of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Taila II took action in repulsing the Chōla advance as is evidenced by an inscription⁴ found at Kōgaḷi in the Hadagalli Taluk of the Bellary District, according to which king Āhavamalla (i.e. Taila II) was ruling from Rodda (identified with Rodam in the Anantapur District) after having defeated the Chōlas and seized 150 elephants from the enemy, on Friday, the 23rd December 992 A.D. It is quite possible that, after the battle referred to in this record, Taila II appointed his own son as the governor of that territory.

Three years later, in 995 A.D., our record shows that Satyāśraya moved from the place and proceeded against Utpala in the north. This Utpala may be identified with Paramāra Muñja.⁵ The fact that Satyāśraya proceeded against Utpala, i.e., Paramāra Vākpati Muñja, is known for the first time from our record. The date of Muñja's death has been placed between V.S. 1050 (993-94 A.D.), when Amitagati compiled his *Subhāshitaratnasandōha* during Muñja's reign, and 997 A.D. when Taila II died.⁶ Our record minimises this gap. If by February 995 A.D., Satyāśraya was on his way against Utpala, the latter's death must have taken place after that date.

It is difficult to say whether Satyāśraya was directly responsible for the capture of Muñja which led to the latter's death. *Mahāsāmanta* Bhīlāma claims in his Sangamner copper-plate grant,⁷ dated 1000 A.D., that he crushed the military force of the great king Muñja and made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious Raṇaraṅga-Bhīma. He might have helped Satyāśraya, whose identification with Raṇaraṅga-Bhīma is suggested by Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*,⁸ very considerably in the latter's battle against Utpala referred to in our record.

Bhīmayya, it is seen from our record, was ruling over Banavāsi. Several inscriptions from Yasale⁹ speak of Kadamba Chaṭṭayyadēva governing over Banavāsi in 993 A.D. Bhīmayya must have begun to govern the division some time after that date. Nāgārjjuna, who is said to have been a *Nālgāmuṇḍa*, may perhaps be identified with his namesake who is stated in an inscription from Hirēchavūṭi in the Shimoga District¹⁰ to have been a *Nārggāvūṇḍu*.

¹ *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 52.

² *Gadāyuddha*, *Āśvāsa* 2, verse 47.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, 2nd ed., pp. 174-75.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 76.

⁵ Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 47.

⁶ Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 857-58.

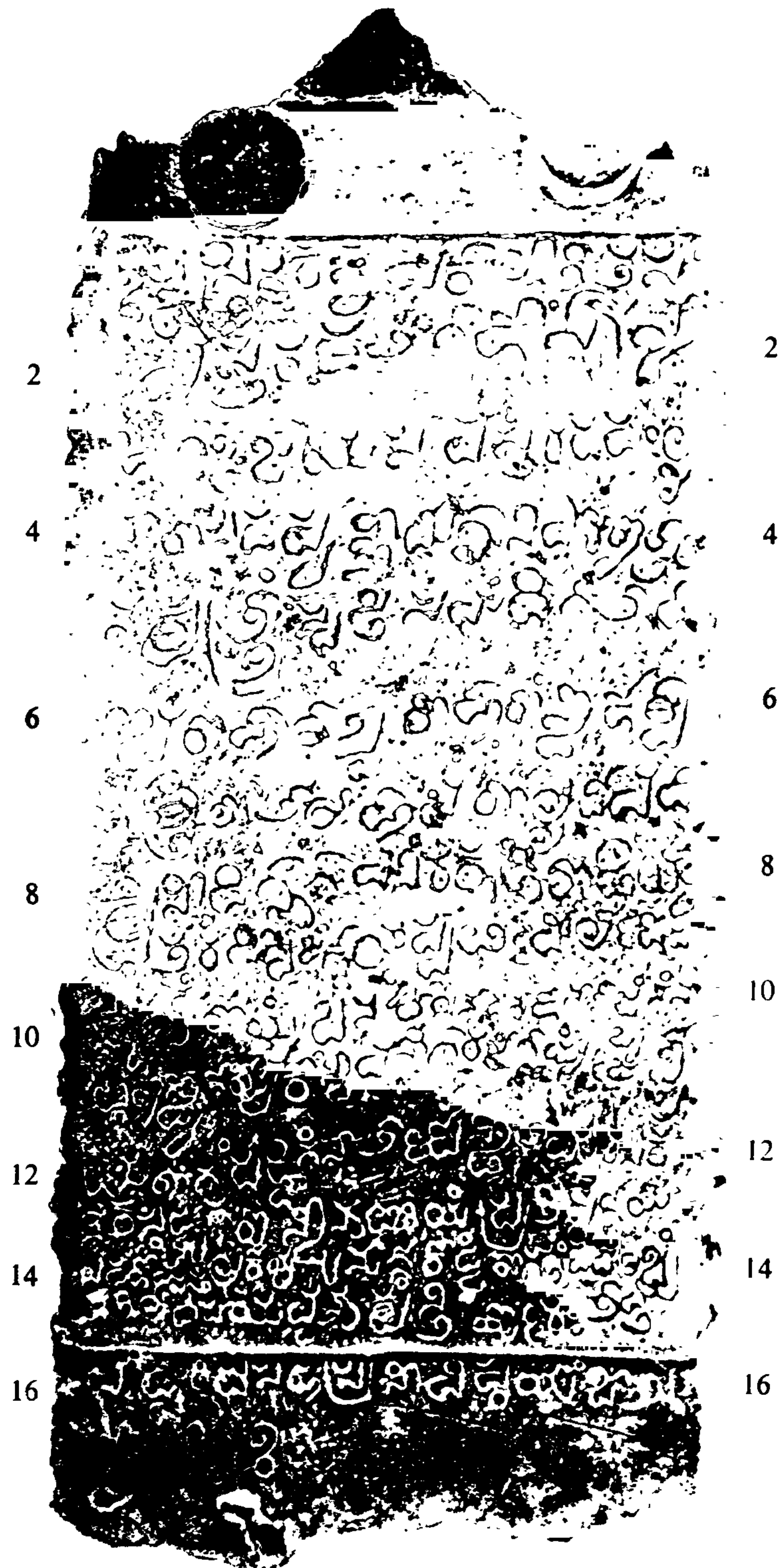
⁷ Above, Vol. II, pp. 212 ff.

⁸ For the names Bhīma, Sāhasa-Bhīma, Raṇayaśa-śrī-Rāma-Bhīma, etc., applied to Satyāśraya, cf. *Āśvāsa* 1, verses 22, 52-53, 64, *Āśvāsa* 2, verses 3, 47.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, B. K. Nos. 90, 91 and 92.

¹⁰ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII, Sd. 234.

CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF AHAVAMALLA, SAKA 917



Scale : One-fourth

Banavāse-nāḍu was the district round Banavāsi, the ancient capital of the Kadambas in the North Kanara District of the Mysore State.

TEXT¹

- 1 ²Svasti Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-āti(tī)ta-sarī-
- 2 vastara³-śataṅga[om[bhai]nū
- 3 ra 17 [nē] Jaya-sarīvastara⁴da Paṅgu-
- 4 pa'-ma(mā)sada punṇame Śanivāram=⁵utta[re]-
- 5 nakṣatṛarī [||*]svasti samadhigata[pa]-
- 6 nīchamahāśabda-mahāmān(ma)ṇḍa[ēśva-
- 7 ra śrīmat Āhavamalladēvarī da-
- 8 kṣhīpa-dig-bha(bhā)gavarī nira(rī)kuḷarī māḍiy=u-
- 9 ttara-dig-vijarī⁶-geyd-Uppaḷa[na] mēle naḍed=a-
- 10 ndu Bhi(Bhī)mayyarī Banavāsi-nāḍan-āḷe Nāgarjjunarī [Nā]-
- 11 lga(lgā)muṇḍu geyye Koṁ(Ko)ṇḍavanigara Jōgayyarī Nijāhbe-
- 12 ya magarī Paḷligarī(ga)n-ātana peṁ(pe)ṇḍatīy=[A]rasakk-a-
- 13 nēka-saṭṭugam-uṇḍu Bhaḷariyarī pratisṭhe geyi-
- 14 ⁷sidaḷ⁸ matta[la] keyya[nugge?]⁹ koṭṭarī¹⁰ ma[nī*]gaḷarī [||] Dēva-drabyarī(vyarī)
- 15 tilarī vapa yavadbhakṣamntī¹¹ yē(yō) naraḷ [||*] tāvat-
- 16 vad-varisha-sahasraṇa viśṭhayarī¹² jāya-
- 17 tē kṛimīḷ¹³ [||*]

¹ From impressions.

² There is a symbol here at the beginning of the writing.

³ Read *saṁvatsara*.

⁴ The month referred to is Phālguna.

⁵ An *anuvāsa* sign seems to have been engraved above *ma*.

⁶ Read *ijayam*.

⁷ This and the next line are engraved in smaller characters.

⁸ Read *geysidar*.

⁹ The reading and interpretation of these letters are doubtful.

¹⁰ Read *koṭṭar*.

¹¹ The intended reading may be *v=āpi yāvad=bhakṣaṣi*.

¹² Read *tāvad-varsha-sahasraṇi viśṭhāyam*.

¹³ There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.

No. 25—DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10. 4. 1958)

Five copper-plate grants of king **Śrichandra**, who ruled over the south-eastern part of Bengal about the second half of the tenth century A.D., have so far been discovered. Three of these, which have already been edited, are the Rāmpāl,¹ Kēdārpur² and Madanpur³ plates. The copper-plate grants of Śrichandra discovered at Idilpur and **Dhullā** have not yet been edited, although the contents of both the inscriptions have been published. The Idilpur plate was noticed in the pages of this journal.⁴ The Dhullā plate was discovered in 1925 by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum, whose transcript of the record was utilised by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar in noticing the epigraph in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III.⁵ On an examination of the impressions of the epigraph preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, it is found that the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters on both the obverse and reverse of the plate are rubbed off and consequently their reading is doubtful. Bhattasali seems to have waited for the preparation of a complete and more satisfactory transcript than the one supplied to Majumdar and this may be the reason why he could not publish the inscription till his sad demise about the beginning of 1947.

It is a **single** plate measuring 8½ inches in length, 7¼ inches in breadth and ½ inch in thickness. The length quoted is that of the sides, the plate being slightly longer in the middle. The well-known *Dharmachakra* seal of the Buddhist dynasty of the Chandras is fixed at the top of the plate. It is 3 inches in length and its lower part (2¾ inches wide) disturbs the continuity of the writing of the first line on the obverse of the plate. The circular surface of the seal is 2½ inches in diameter. This surface closely resembles that of the seals fixed on the known copper-plate grants of **Śrichandra**.⁶ There are altogether 47 lines of writing, 23 on the obverse and 24 on the reverse. The preservation of the writing, as already indicated above, is unsatisfactory.

The **characters** resemble those of the other inscriptions of king Śrichandra who issued the charter. Medial *ē* is of both the *prishṭha-mātrā* and *śirō-mātrā* types. *B* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The *avagraha* has been used in lines 28 and 37. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in both prose and verse in a style similar to that in the other charters of the king. As a matter of fact, all the nine verses forming the introductory part of the record are also found in one or other of the same king's records. The change of *anusvāra* before *ś* to *ṣ* and before *v* to *m* exhibits some of the **orthographical** peculiarities. It is also often changed to class nasals. Mistakes like *yātiya* for *jātiya* (line 28) and *triṇa* for *triṇa* (line 30) are interesting to note. The **date** in line 46 is difficult to read : but the reading of the portion may be *Samva(Samva)t 8 A(Ā)śvina-dinē 18*. This is of course not enough to determine the actual date of the record. But we know from other evidences, as already indicated above, that the Buddhist king Śrichandra, who belonged to the **Chandra** dynasty and ruled over South-East Bengal, flourished about the **second half of the tenth century A.D.**

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 136 ff. and Plate ; Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188 ff. and Plate ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff. and Plate.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff. and Plate ; pp. 337 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 165-66.

⁶ *Cf.*, e.g., above., Vol. XXVIII, Plate facing p. 56.

Of the 9 stanzas in the introductory part of the document, verse 1, found in all the known records of the king, is in adoration of the Jina (i.e. Buddha), the Dharma and the Bhikshu-saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church), the holy trinity of the Buddhists. Verses 2-8 are found in the Rāmpāl and Madanpur plates in the same order while verse 9 is the same as the seventh and last stanza of the introductory part of the Kēdārpur plate.

Verse 2 introduces a ruler named **Pūrṇachandra** as born in the family of the Chandras ruling over **Rōhitāgiri**. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) describe Pūrṇachandra's son **Suvarṇachandra** who became a Buddhist. Verse 5 speaks of Suvarṇachandra's son **Trailōkyachandra** who is compared to Dilīpa and is stated not only to have become the mainstay of the royal fortune of the king of the **Harikēla** country but also to have made himself the lord of **Chandradvīpa**. Pūrṇachandra and Suvarṇachandra may or may not have been rulers of Rōhitāgiri; but Trailōkyachandra was apparently the ruler of Chandradvīpa as a feudatory of the Harikēla king. If Rōhitāgiri is identified with Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar, it has to be suggested that Trailōkyachandra or one of his ancestors migrated to South-East Bengal where Trailōkyachandra succeeded in becoming the subordinate ruler of Chandradvīpa within the dominions of the king of Harikēla. It appears that the Chandras of Rōhitāgiri were originally the feudatories of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar and that one of the Chandra princes came to Bengal in connection with his services under the Pāla master. But Trailōkyachandra seems to have transferred his allegiance to the king of Harikēla and was rewarded by the viceroyalty of Chandradvīpa. As we have elsewhere¹ suggested, Chandradvīpa was the old name of parts of the Buckergunge District and Harikēla was originally the name of the area round the Sylhet District, both now in East Pakistan, although at a later date Harikēla (also spelt *Harikēlā* and *Harikēli*) came to be used to indicate the tract called Vaṅga apparently as a result of the expansion of the dominions of the Harikēla rulers over wide areas of South-East Bengal.

About the end of the ninth century, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-907 A.D.) conquered considerable areas of Bihar and North Bengal from the Pālas and the fortune of the latter was at a low ebb.² Since the Dacca-Tipperā region appears to have formed parts of the empire of Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) and Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.), this may have been the timewhen the rulers of the Dēva Dynasty, as known from the copper-plate grant³ of Bhavadēva, were ruling as independent monarchs from the city of Dēvapārvata near modern Comilla in the Tipperā District of East Pakistan. Shortly after Bhavadēva, the third known ruler of the Dēva family, a king named Kāntidēva was ruling over the tract called Harikēla as we know from his Chittagonj plate.⁴ It seems that the dominions of the Dēvas of Dēvapārvata soon passed to the hands of the ruling family of Harikēla represented by Kāntidēva and that the Harikēla kings thus came to be in the possession of wide areas of South-East Bengal including the Buckergunge region. Trailōkyachandra appears to have ruled over Chandradvīpa as a feudatory of the dynasty of Harikēla kings, represented by Kāntidēva, about the second quarter of the tenth century.

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 338-39.

² For Mahēndrapāla's stone inscriptions in these areas, dated in his regnal years ranging between the years 2 and 19 (or 9), see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1641-47. Recently I had an opportunity of examining one of these records, viz. the Rām-Gayā inscription (ibid., No. 1645) which R. D. Banerji (*Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, p. 64) read and interpreted as follows: (1) *Om Samvat 8 | śrī-Mahēndrapāla | rājyābhishē.* (2) *kā | Saūdi-rishi-putra-Sahadēvasya*, "Om, the year 8 (from) the coronation of Mahēndrapāla. (The gift) of Sahadēva, the son of the Rishi Sauri." The correct reading of the inscription is however: (1) *Siddham* symbol. *Samvata 8 || Mahēndrapāla- | rajabhisē.* (2) *ka || Saūdirisi 5 p[ra]ta-saha dēva[dharma]*. The gift of the image was made by a person named Saūdirisi and his five sons whose names are not mentioned.

³ Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 83 ff. For another inscription of the 12th regnal year of Bhavadēva, cf. pp. 21-22 of F.A. Khan's report referred to below.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff.

Verse 6 introduces Trailōkyachandra's queen **Kāñchanā** or **Śrīkāñchanā**, and the next stanza (verse 7) speaks of **Śrīchandra**, son of Trailōkyachandra and his queen. Verse 8 states that **Śrīchandra** brought the earth under his sole umbrella and this conventional description apparently suggests that he was the first independent or imperial ruler of the family. Verse 9 describes him as a *divvijayin* in the conventional way and this also supports the above suggestion. As will be seen below, there is another indication in favour of the same conclusion.

The prose passage (lines 17 ff.) following the above introductory part in verse reintroduces king **Śrīchandra** as in good health, i.e. as fit for making a grant. As in his other grants, the king is described as enjoying the imperial titles *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Paramasaugata* (i.e. one devoted to the Sugata or Buddha) *Mahārājādhirāja* Trailōkyachandrādēva and as issuing the charter from his *jaya-skandhāvāra* (meaning 'capital' in this case) at Vikramapura. It has to be noticed that, while Trailōkyachandra is endowed with the title *Mahārājādhirāja* only, **Śrīchandra** is called *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*. This supports the suggestion that the father was a feudatory and the son an independent and imperial ruler. It seems that **Śrīchandra** threw off the allegiance to the king of Harikēla, conquered a considerable part of the latter's territories in South-East Bengal and transferred his capital from Chandradvīpa to Vikramapura in the Dacca District. The rise of **Śrīchandra** may have been a result of the struggle between the Pālas and the kings of Harikēla for the Dacca-Tippera region. The Mandhuk (Tippera District) inscription¹ of the first regnal year of Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D.) shows that the Pālas succeeded in ousting Harikēla rule from Tippera before the middle of the tenth century. But shortly afterwards, **Śrīchandra** conquered the Dacca-Tippera region originally perhaps on behalf of the Harikēla king.

Śrīchandra must have flourished earlier than Gōvindachandra (c. 1015-40 A.D.) who apparently belonged to the same family and is described in Chōla records² as the lord of Vangāla-dēśa (originally the same as Chandradvīpa but later the name of the Chandra empire in South-East Bengal). The armies of the Chōla king Rājendra I had an encounter with Gōvindachandra before 1023 A.D. For some time between the reign of **Śrīchandra** and that of Gōvindachandra, the Dacca-Tippera region seems to have been in the possession of king Mahīpāla I (c. 992-1040 A.D.). This is suggested by the Bāghāurā and Nārāyanpur inscriptions dated respectively in the 3rd and 4th regnal years of the said Pāla monarch, both discovered in the Tippera District.³ Thus **Śrīchandra** seems to have ruled for at least about 46 years (cf. the issue of the Madanpur plate in the 46th year of his reign) about the second half of the tenth century between the earlier years of Gōpāla II and those of Mahīpāla I.⁴

All the geographical names mentioned in connection with the details of the plots of land granted as given in lines 20-23 cannot be fully deciphered from the impressions, even though Bhattasali offered readings for all of them. There were altogether five plots of land. The first of these was situated in a village (called Durvāpatra and situated in **Vallīmuṇḍā-maṇḍala** according to

¹ *IHQ.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.

² Cf. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

³ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1624; *Ind. Cult.* Vol. IX, pp. 121 ff.

⁴ Pāla rule appears to have been ousted from the Dacca-Tripura region by the successors of **Śrīchandra**. Two copper-plate grants of Laḍahachandra and one of Gōvindachandra have been recently discovered at Mainamati in the Tippera District of East Pakistan. These charters, issued from Vikramapura, show that **Śrīchandra** was followed on the Chandra throne by his son Kalyāṇachandra, grandson Laḍahachandra and great-grandson Gōvindachandra. Another charter, discovered along with the above, was issued by Viradharādēva in his 15th regnal year. He appears to have belonged to the Dēva dynasty and flourished about the 13th century. For a note on these inscriptions, see F.A. Khan's report on 'Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla' in *Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati*, pp. 22-26.

Bhattasali) in the **Khēdiravillī** *vishaya* within **Paṇḍra-bhukti** and measured 4 *halas*. The second plot, apparently in the same area, measured 3 *halas* and was situated in a locality the name of which appears to us to be **Nōṇḍiyājō-Jayastara**, although it was read by Bhattasali as **Lōṇiyājōḍāprastara**. The third plot of land also measured 3 *halas* and was situated in the village of **Tivaravillī** no doubt in the same region. The fourth plot measured 2 *halas* and 6 *drōṇas* and was situated in a village (called **Parkaḍīmuṇḍā** and situated in **Ikkaḍāsī-vishaya** according to Bhattasali) in the **Yōlā maṇḍala**. The fifth plot measured 7 *halas* and was situated in a village (the name of which is read by Bhattasali doubtfully as **Mūlapatrā**) apparently in the same neighbourhood. As stated in line 23, the five plots together measured 19 *halas* and 6 *drōṇas*. The exact areas of the land measures called *hala* and *drōṇa* (*drōṇavāpa* of earlier records) are unknown.

The list of officers and others to whom the royal order in respect of the grant was issued is found in lines 23 ff. It is similar to the lists found in other charters of Śrīchandra, although its resemblance is closer to the one in the Rāmpāl plate than that in the Madanpur plate. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee as enumerated in lines 30 ff. are also similar to those in the list found in the other records of the king.

The description of the donee is found in lines 33 ff. He was the Brāhmaṇa **Vyāsagaṅgaśarman** who belonged to the **Vārdhakauśika gōtra**, the *pravara* 2f the three *rishis* and the **Kaṇva śākhā** and was the son of **Vibhugaṅga**, grandson of **Nannagaṅga** (or **Nandagaṅga**) and great-grandson of **Jayagaṅga**. He is described as the **Śāntavārika**, or performer of propitiatory rites, exactly as **Pitavāsaguptaśarman**, the donee of Śrīchandra's Rāmpāl plate. But, while **Pitavāsa** received a grant for performing a ceremony called **Kōṭihōma**, **Vyāsagaṅga** received the lands mentioned in the present record for performing four *kōmas* in connection with a rite called *adbhuta-śānti*. In the expression *adbhuta-śānti* which is well-known to the student of the Purāṇa and Smṛiti literature,¹ *adbhuta* is a synonym of *utpāta* and means any portentous or unusual phenomenon foreboding calamity to a king or a private individual or the population of a land, and *śānti* is a propitiatory rite performed with a view to averting such an evil.

The grant was made by the king in the name of Lord Buddha for the merit of his parents and himself. The charter is stated to have been authenticated by the *Dharmachakra* seal as in the case of the king's other grants. The gift lands were made a rent-free holding according to the well-known principle of *bhūme-chhōḍha-nyāya* (i.e. the free enjoyment of land by one who first brought it under cultivation).

Lines 40 ff. contain some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas also known from the king's other records. The date, which has already been referred to above, is quoted in lines 46-47. This is followed by the contractions *mahāsā-m* . . . *mahāksha-ni*, two damaged letters between the two groups of letters probably reading *am*. The contraction *ni* has been regarded as standing for *mbaddha* or *nirīkshita*, i.e. registered or examined.² The contractions *mahāsā* and *mahāksha* apparently stand respectively for the official designations **Mahāsāndhivigrahika** and **Mahākshapaṭalika**. It appears that the record was first examined by the **Mahāsāndhivigrahika** and then by the **Mahākshapaṭalika**.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the location of **Harikōla**, **Chandra-dvīpa** and **Vikramapura** has been discussed above. The **Paṇḍra-bhukti** was the territorial division, the headquarters of which were originally at the city of **Puṇḍravardhana** identified with modern **Mahāsthān** in the Bogra District of North Bengal. During the age of the Pālas, this *bhukti* or province included considerable parts of South-Eastern Bengal. Although the

¹ See the *Adbhuta-śānti* section of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 228-38; cf. also the quotations from a number of authorities in the *Śabdakulpadruma* (Parīśiṣṭa), s. v. *adbhuta*.

² Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 216-17.

Chandra empire does not appear to have included any portion of North Bengal, the name of the old administrative unit was continued in use during the rule of the Chandras.¹ The villages mentioned in connection with the gift lands cannot be satisfactorily identified. But the district called Yōlā-maṇḍala is also known from the Madanpur plate and has been located in the Manikganj subdivision of the Dacca District. The different plots of land were probably situated in two districts, the two groups being not far from each other.

TEXT²

[Metres : verses 1, 3 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2, 5, 9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7-8 *Upajāti* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verses 10-13, 15 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 14 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham³ svasti | Vandyō Jinas=sa bhagavān karuṇ-aika-pāt[r]am [Dharmm]ō=py=asau
- 2 [vija]yatē jagad-ēka-dī[pa]ḥ | ya[t-sēva]yā sakala ēva-[ma]h-ā[nubhāva]ḥ sa[m̐sāra-pā]ra-[m=u]paga-
- 3 chchhati Bhi[kshu]-saṅghaḥ || [1*] [Chandrā]nām=i[ha] Rō[hi]tāgiri-rbhu(bhu)jā-[mvaṇśē⁴ vi]śāla-[śriyām] vi[khyātō]
- 4 [bhuvī pūrṇa]-chandra-saḍṛiśaḥ śrī-Pūrṇachandrō=bhavat | ar̥chchānā[m]=pada-pīṭhi-[kāsu] pa[ṭhitaḥ] santā-
- 5 ninām=agratash=ṭaṅk-ōtkīrṇa-nava-prasastishu jaya-stambhēshu tāmrēshu cha || [2*] Vu-(Bu)d[dha]sya [yaḥ] śasaka-j[ā]-
- 6 takam=a[nka-sa]m̐s[tha]m=bhaktyā vi(bi)bha[r*]tti bhagavān=amṛit-ā[kar-āṇśuh]⁵ | Chandra-sya tasya kula-jāta it=īva Vau(Bau)ddhaḥ pu-
- 7 [tra]ḥ śrutō jagati tasya **Suvarṇachandraḥ** || [3*] Darśē=[sya] mātā kila dōhadēna di[dri-ksha]-māṇ=ōda[yi]
- 8 chandra-vimvam⁶ | suvarṇa-chandrēṇa hi tōshit=ēti [Suvarṇachandram samu]dāharanti || [4*] Putras=tasya pavitrit-[ō]-
- 9 bhaya-kulaḥ kaulīna-bhīt-āsaya's=t[r]ailōkyē veditō [di]śām=ati[thi]bhi[s=Tr]ailōkyacha-ndrō guṇai[ḥ]
- 10 ādhārō **Harikēla**-rāja-kakuda-ch[chha]ttra-smitānām [śriyām] ya[ś=Chandr-ōpa]padē va(ba)-[bhūva] n[ri]pati[r=dvi]-
- 11 pē Dilip-ōpamaḥ || [5*] [Jyōtsn=ēva Chandra]sya Śach=īva [Jishṇōr=Gau]rī [Harasy=ēva] Harēr=i[va Śrīḥ] | ta[sya pri]-
- 12 yā [kā]ñchana-kāntir=āsīt Śrī⁷kāñchan=ēty=añchita-[śā]sanasya || [6*] Sa rā[ja-yō]gēna śubhē muhū[rttē mau]-

¹ This may be the reason why the name Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti (or Puṇḍravardhana^o) was changed to Puṇḍra-bhukti.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read *bhujām vaṇśē*.

⁵ Read *amśuh*.

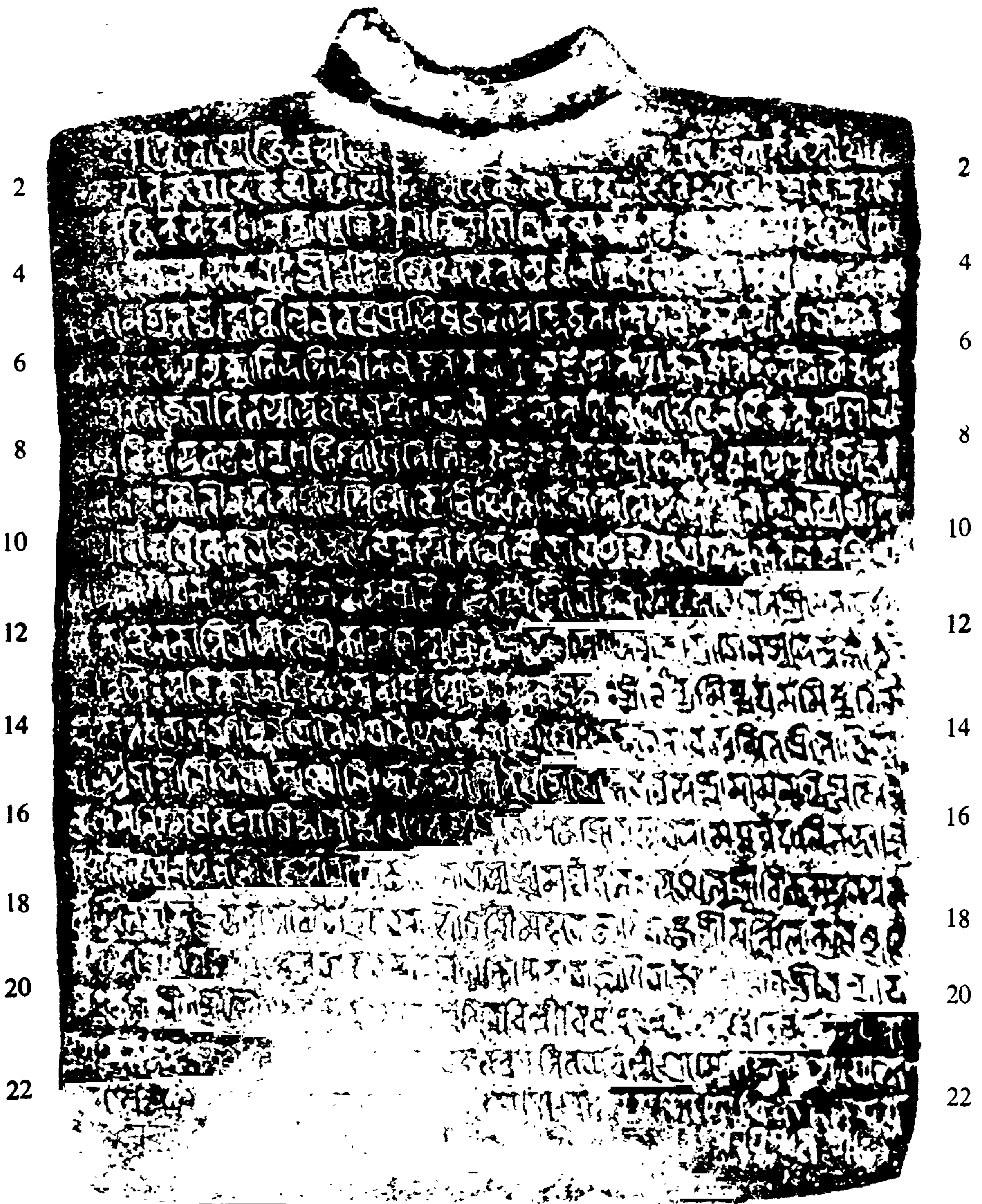
⁶ Read *vimbam* or *bimbam*.

⁷ The Rāmpāl plate has *śayai*.

⁸ Read *śach=chārī*. The queen's name was either Kāñchanā or Śrīkāñchanā.

DHULLA PLATE OF SRICHANDRA

Obverse



Scale : Seven-ninth

24
26
28
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- 13 [hūrtti]kaiḥ sūchita-raja-chihna[m*] | [a]vāna ta[syām tanayam naya]jñāḥ Śrīchandram-
ind-ūpamam=Indra-[tējāḥ ||] [7*]
- 14 Ek-ātapatr-ābharaṇām=bhuvam yō vidhaya vai[dhēya-ja]n-āvidhēyaḥ | [cha]k[ā]ra kārāsu
nivēsit-āri[r]=yya-
- 15 [śa]ḥ-sugandhīm | diśm=mukhāni || [8*] Sprisṭaḥ pā[r]thiva-pāṁsu-dōhāda-rasa-slāghā-
ghanan¹=dig-gaja[r nē]-
- 16 [trāṇā]m=animēshataḥ parihṛitō dūrēṇa vṇadārakaiḥ | kōsē[shv=apsa]rasām=apūrvva-palita-
bhrāntim
- 17 [samār]ōpayan santānō rajasām raṇēshu jal[ī]nō yasya dvu-mārggaṇ-gataḥ || [9*] sa khalu
śrī-Vik[r]amapura-sam[ā]-
- 18 vāsita-śr[ī]maj-jayas[kandh]āvā āt paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāj-śrīmat-Trailōkya-
chandra[d]ē-
- 19 va-pād-ānudhyātaḥ para[mēśva]raḥ para[ma]bha[ttā]rakō | ma[hārājādirāj]aḥ śrīmān Śrī-
chandrādē-
- 20 vaḥ kuśalī || śrī-[Pau]ṇdra-bhukty-antaḥpīti-Kh[ē]diravillī²-viśa[yē Valli]. [ṇḍa]ḥ
...ttā⁴
- 21 grām[ē] hala-chatusṭayam Nōṇḍiyājō-Ja[ya]sta[rē⁵] | hala-trayam Tivaravillī⁶-grāmē
[cha] hala-[tra]yam⁷ Yō[īā]-
- 22 [ma]ṇḍa[l]ē...⁸ [viśaya-sam]-Pa.⁹ dīmunḍā-grāmē śaḍ-drōṇ-ādḥika-hala-dvayam
- 23¹⁰[grā]mē cha [hala-sa]pta[kam *] | [a]tra śaḍ-drōṇ-ādḥika-ūnavi[śati¹¹]-hala-bhū[mau
samupagatēśabhi¹²

Reverse

- 24 [ja]-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-mahāvvyūhapati-maṇḍalapati-mahāsāndhivīgra-
25 hika-mahāsēnāpati-mahākshapaṭalika-mahāsa[rvvā]dhikṛita-mahāprat[īhā]ra-kōṭṭapā-
26 la-dau[ḥsādhāsādhānika-chaurōldha]raṇika-nauva(ba)lahastyaśvagōmahisājāvīkādivyāpri-
taka-
27 gaulmika-śaulkika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-dāṇḍanāyaka-viśayē(ya)paty-ādīn=anyāms=cha sakala-
28 rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō-¹³dhya[ksha]-prachār-ōktān-ih-ākī[r]ttitān | chāḷa-bhaṭa-yā(jā)tiyān ja-

¹ The Kēdārpur plate has *ghana* which has been corrected to *ghanar*°.

² Bhattasali reads °*vallī*.

³ There are five damaged letters here. Bhattasali reads *Vallīmanḍā-mā*. I have doubts about this reading.

⁴ There are four damaged letters before *ttā* which Bhattasali reads as *ttā*. He reads the last three of the damaged letters as *Durvrāpa*° and the first probably as *am* (i.e. *sambaddha*). I have doubts about this reading.

⁵ Bhattasali reads *Lōṇiyājōdāprastā ē*.

⁶ Bhattasali reads °*vallī*.

⁷ Bhattasali apparently reads *dvayam*.

⁸ The name of the *viśaya* is read by Bhattasali as *Ikkadāsī* which seems to us extremely doubtful.

⁹ The damaged *akshara* here is read by Bhattasali as *rka* and the following letter as *dī*.

¹⁰ Bhattasali doubtfully reads the name of the village as *Mūlapatrā*.

¹¹ Read *adhik-ōnavīmśati*.

¹² The intended reading of these letters is *samupānt-āsēśa-rā*°.

¹³ The mark of punctuation here and in the lines below (cf. lines 31 &) is unnecessary. The expression *prachāra* means 'notification about the heads of departments'.

- 29 *napadān kshētrakarāṁś=cha* [Vrā(Brā)hma]ṇ-ōttarān [yath-ārham=mā]nayatī vō(bō)ḍhayati samādiśati
- 30 *cha* || *mata[m=astu bha]va[tāni(tām)]* | *yath=ōpari-likhita-bhūmir=iyam sva-sīm-āvachchinnā tri(tri)ṇa-[pūti-gō]-*
- 31 *chara-paryantā* | *sa-talā* [s-ō]ddēsā s-ā[mra]-panasā sa-guvāka-nāli[k]ērā sa-lavaṇā | *sa-jala-*
- 32 *sthalā* sa-ga[r]tt-ōsharā | *sa-laś-āparādhā* | *sa-chaurōddharāṇā* | *parihri[ta]-sarvva-pīdā* | *a-chāṭa-bha[ta]-*
- 33 *pravēśā* | *a-kiñchit-[pra]grā[hyā]* | [a]masīa-rāja-bhōga-[ka]ra-hiranya-pratyāya-sahitā | *Jayaga-*
- 34 *ṅga-p[r]apautrāya* | *Nan[n]agaṅga'-pautrāya* | *Vibhū(bhu)gaṅga-putrāya* | *Vārddhakausika-sagotrāya* | *try-ā-*
- 35 *rsha-pravarāya* | *Kaṇva-śākh-ādhyāyinē* [śāntivārika]-śrī-[Vyāsa]gaṅga-śarmmaṇi(nē) [sva?]-kṛita-[h]ō-
- 36 *ma-[chatu]shṭayē* | *ad[bhu]ṭa-śānti-nimitē(ttē)* .. *ta[va]ti²* [puṇyē]=hani | *vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakam* [kṛi*][tvā]
- 37 *bhagavantam=Vuddha³-bhaṭṭarakam=uddiśya* mātā-pitrōr=ātmanah [cha*] puṇya-yaśō-'bhi-vṛiddhayē ā-chandr-ārkkā-kshi[ti]-
- 38 [sa][ma*]-kālam yāvat bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna śrīmad-Dharmma-chakra-[mudra]yā | *tā-[mra]-śāsanikṛitya pradattā [asmā]-*
- 39 [bhih |] *atō bhavadbhih* [sarvvair=anu]mantavya[ni*][] *bhāvibhir=api [bhūpatibhih] bhūmēr=ddāna-phala-gauiavēd=apaha[ra]-*
- 40 [nē ma]hā-naraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha | *dānam=idam=anumōdy=ānupālaniyam* [] *nivāsibhih kshētrakaraiś=cha ājñā-*
- 41 śavaṇa-vidhēyibhūya | *ya[th-ō]chi[ta-pratyā]y-ōpanayah kāryya* iti [] *bhavanti ch=ātra dharim-ānuśamsinah ślōkāh [] Bhūmir*
- 42 *yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim=prayachchhati* | *ubhau tau puṇya-karmmaṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau* || [10*] *Shasṭi-mva(va)rsha-sahasrā-*
- 43 *ni svarggē mōdati bhūmidah* | *ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam (kē) vasēt* || [11*] *Sva-dattām=para-dattāmvā⁴ yō harēta vasundha-*
- 44 *rām(rām)* | *sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhih saha pachyatē* || [12*] *Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhih Sagar-ādibhih [] yasya yasya ya-*
- 45 *dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam* || [13*] *Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitāñ=cha* | *sakala-*
- 46 *m=idam=udāhṛitāñ=cha vuddhā⁵ na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttavō vilōpyāḥ* || o || [14*] *[Samva-(Sarhva)t S A(Ā)śvina]-dinē 18 [] mahāsā-*
- 47 *ni [anu |] mahāksha-ni —*

¹ The subscript of the conjunct is not clear. Bhattasali reads *Nanda*°.

² The reading may be *tad=gatavati*.

³ Read °vantam=Buddha°.

⁴ Read °dattām vā.

⁵ Read *buddhā*.

No 26—CHIKKALAVALASA PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.9.1957)

The copper-plate inscription under study was dug up more than three decades ago by a farmer of the village of **Chikkāvalasa** while tilling a field. The village lies between Urlām and Kambakāya in the Taluk and District of Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh. It is stated that the plates were found in a field near the border of the village of Kuddāmu in the same neighbourhood. The inscription was secured from the farmer by Bhairi Appalaswami Naidu of Chikkāvalasa, who sent them to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma for study and publication. Pandit Sarma published the inscription in the *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vol. II, 1925, Part I, pp. 138 ff., with illustrations. The text of the epigraph was also quoted by R. Subba Rao in the *Kaṭiṅgadēśacharitramu* (Telugu), Appendix, pp. 50 ff. The record was noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, C.P. No. 5. I edit the inscription in the following pages from a set of excellent estampages preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

The set consists of **five** plates, the first of which is inscribed only on the inner side while the next three have writing on both the sides. The fifth plate bears no writing and was apparently used for the protection of the writing on the reverse of the fourth plate. The plates were strung on a ring bearing the Gaṅga seal with the bull and other emblems on its counter-sunk surface. The charter together with its seal resembles other such records of the early Imperial Gaṅgas, especially those of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.) to whom it belongs. The plates are rectangular in shape; but their length is less in the sides (8·4 inches) than in the middle (8·7 inches) while their breadth is more in the sides (3·7 inches) than in the middle (3·3 inches).

The **characters** belong to the Gaudīya or East Indian alphabet and the **language** of the record is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, **orthography** and style, the inscription closely resembles other copper-plate grants of Vajrahasta III, several of which have been published in this journal, some of them very recently.¹ The introductory part of the charter in lines 1-41 is a copy of other such grants issued by the king. The major part of this section (i.e. lines 1-38) is also copied in the copper-plate records of Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman (1070-78 A.D.), son and successor of Vajrahasta III, and we had occasion to discuss the section in our paper on the Galavalli plates (cf. lines 1-35) of the said monarch, which have been recently published in the pages of this journal.² Remarks on the palaeography and orthography of the Galavalli plates also apply to the present record.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 44-45 as the **Śaka year** counted by the words *kara* (i.e. 2), *rasu* (i.e. 8) and *nidhi* (i.e. 9), i.e. **982**. The *tithi* is stated to have been the **third of the first fortnight of the month of Kārttika**. The week-day is given apparently as **Monday**. The date reminds us of that of another charter of the same king, which was issued on Monday, the 7th of the first fortnight of Āshāḍha in Śaka 991.³ This date was equated with the 9th of

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXII, pp. 308 ff. and Plates. Cf. Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff. and Plates; Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff. and Plates; Vol. XI, pp. 149 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff. and Plates.

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 69.

June 1068 A.D. taking the year to be current and the month Amānta. If, in the case of the date of the inscription under study, the year is similarly regarded as current and the month as Amānta, Śaka 982, Kārttika-prathama-paksha 3, Monday would correspond to the 11th October, 1059 A.D. On that date, the *trītiyā tithi* began at .55 of the day.¹

Lines 38-41 state that *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Anantavarman Vajraha-stadēva* (i.e. Vajrahasta III), who was the lord of **Trikaliṅga** and a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), issued his order relating to the grant in question to the people of the countryside together with his officers. The gift village was **Kuddam** (line 42 ; called **Kudda** in line 55) which was situated in the *viśaya* or district of **Kōluvartani**. It was given for the perpetual enjoyment of the donee, without any trouble, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents. But it is interesting to note that the village is not stated to have been a rent-free gift. The expression *sarva-pīḍā-vivarjṇitam* in line 43 shows that the donee enjoyed certain privileges which, however, did not include freedom from the payment of rent. We know that, in charters recording the creation of a rent-free holding in favour of the donee, the exemption from the payment of rent is specified in clear terms. As will be clear from our discussion of the details of the grant below, the nature of the document under study is that of a *kara-śāsana* or rent-paying grant.²

Lines 45-49 describe the donee who obtained the village of **Kuddam** or **Kudda** from the king probably by purchase. It is stated that there was a family belonging to the Vaiśya community and the Datta (wrong for *Danta* according to Pandit Somasekhara Sarma) *gōtra*, in which a person named Mādhava was born. Mādhava's son was Sōmana-śrēṣṭhin, whose wife was Ērayapā. Sōmana's son from Ērayapā was Mallaya-śrēṣṭhin to whom the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III gave the village in question with libation of water by means of the copper-plate charter under study. The king requests the future rulers of the area to be so good as to approve of this gift and protect it. But the Vaiśya Mallaya-śrēṣṭhin obtained the village from the king for the purpose of giving away the major part of it as an *agrahāra* in favour of a large number of Brāhmaṇas. This is made clear by the concluding part of the record in lines 49-56.³ Another instance of this kind is offered by the Kailan (Kailain) plate⁴ of Śrīdhāraṇarāta, according to which an officer of the king obtained a big plot of land from his master probably by purchase and retained a small part of it for himself after having allotted the rest in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas and a Buddhist religious establishment.⁵

It is stated in lines 49 ff. that, after having obtained the charter from the king, the donee Mallaya-śrēṣṭhin kept a part of the village for himself and made over the rest to three hundred Brāhmaṇas. His share consisted of a house-site, a garden-site and an area of cultivable land

¹ In the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, p. 64, the date of the inscription under review has been equated with the 30th October 1060 A.D. taking the year as expired. But that day falls in Amānta Mārgaśīrṣa and not in Kārttika, either Amānta or Pūrṇimānta.

² For a number of such records, see *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

³ In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25, p. 78, it is stated, "The donee reserved a portion of the village for himself and granted the rest to the Brahman Māpa-nāyaka and fixed the rate of taxes to be paid annually to the king from the village. The granting of villages as *agrahāras* to people of communities other than Brahman is peculiar. But in the copper-charters of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty cases in which villages were granted as *agrahāras* to Vaiśyas have been noticed already (Copper Plate No. 5 of 1918-19)." The name of the Brāhmaṇa was, however, Māpaya-nāyaka and not Māpa-nāyaka and he was one of the many Brāhmaṇas in whose favour the *agrahāra* was granted. The language of the epigraph does not suggest the creation of a *Vaiśya-āgrahāra*. Mallaya-śrēṣṭhin reserved for himself only a small part of the village and agreed to pay annual rent in both cash and grains. The *Vaiśya-āgrahāra* mentioned in C. P. No. 5 of 1918-19 seems to have been created on the condition that rent should be paid at the rate of 150 silver coins per year.

⁴ *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234-36.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 51.

producing one hundred *Murās* of paddy (or grain) [per year]. The meritorious act of creating an *agrahāra* of the rest of the village in favour of Brāhmaṇas was performed by Mallaya-śrēśṭhin on the auspicious occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti. The *saṅkrānti*, however, took place sometime later in the month of December, though the charter was issued in October. The three hundred Brāhmaṇas who received the major part of the village as an *agrahāra* were headed by Māpaya-nāyaka who was the son of Karaṇṭama-nāyaka from his wife Rēkapā and the grandson of Pillīsarman. This Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Bahvṛicha *śākhā* and Aupamanyava *gōtra* and hailed from the village of Jalambūr. The names of the other recipients of the grant are not mentioned in the charter.

The last sentence of the record in lines 55-56 state that the rent for the village payable to the king had to be paid at the rate of one hundred *Murās* of paddy (or grain) and eight *Māḍas* (coins of gold or silver) apparently per annum. It was no doubt Mallaya-śrēśṭhin who was responsible for the payment of the rent to the king. But whether he realised a part or the whole of the rent in cash and grains from the Brāhmaṇas is not clear from the language of the inscription. We have shown elsewhere¹ that the old custom in many parts of Andhra and Orissa was generally to pay to the king for an *agrahāra*, even when it was declared as rent-free, an amount of money annually.² The amounts mentioned in some records in this connection are 200 *Paṇas* [probably of cowries], 10 *Māshakas* [probably of silver], between 2 and 9 *Palas* of silver, etc. This was apparently much less than the usual annual rent for a village. The determination of the concessional rates must have depended on such factors as the size and revenue-income of a village, the degree of the king's willingness to suffer loss of revenue in lieu of religious merit, the amount of purchase money received by the king for the creation of an *agrahāra* from the donees or a third party eager to perform a meritorious deed, etc. In the present case, a pious member of the mercantile community seems to have purchased the village for the Brāhmaṇas and the king appears to have fixed the annual rent at the concessional rate of 8 coins and 100 *Murās* of grain. The exact quantity of a *Murā* of grain cannot be determined. *Māḍa* is generally spelt *Māḍha* in Orissan records. It was regarded as a coin weighing 40 *Ratis* or half of a *Tolā*.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Kudda or Kuddam has been identified by Pandit Somasekhara Sarma with modern Kuddāmu near Chikkāvalasa where the inscription was discovered. The Kōluvertani *vishaya*, mentioned also in some other records of the area, was therefore the district round the said village Jalambūr, where the donee's family lived, has been identified with modern Jalamūru about six miles from Kuddāmu.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verses 3, 7, 13 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 5 *Vamśastha* ; verses 6, 10 *Mālinī* ; verses 8-9 *Gīti* ; verse 11 *Vasantatilaka*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁴ svasti [*] śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākṣiṇya-sa-
- 2 tya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā[d]i-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām=Ātrēya-gōtrāṇām vi-
- 3 mala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-śa(sa)lila-prakṣhyā(kṣhā)lita-Kali-kāla-kalmasha-ma-
- 4 shiṇām Mahā-Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurō-

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15.

² *JRAS*, op. cit., pp. 6 ff. ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 298 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 5 ḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇa-ika-sūtradhārasya śaśāṅka-chṛi(chū)ḍā-maṇē-
 6 rbhbha(r=bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminah prasādāt=samāsādit-ika-śaṅka-bhē-
 7 rī-pañcha-mahāśavda(bda)-dhavala-chchhatra-hēma-chāmara-vara-vṛishabha-lañchhana-samu-
 8 jva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samu-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 palavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmī-samāliṅgit-ō[t*]tūṅga-bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām
 10 **Trikaliṅga**-mahābhujām **Gaṅgānām**=anvayam=alaṅkarishṇōr=Viṣṇōr=iva
 11 vikram-ākṛānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya **Guṇamahārṇṇava**-mahārājasya putraḥ || o || Pū-
 12 rvvam bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya va¹sudhā yā pañchabhiḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parā-
 13 kramō bhuja-va(ba)lāt=tām=ēka ēva svayam(yam |) ēkikṛitya vijitya sa(śa)tru-nivah[ā]-
 14 na(n) śrī-**Vajrahastaś**=chatus-chatvāriṁśatam=atyudāra-charitaḥ sarvvām=arakshīt=sam[ā]-
 15 ḥ || [1*] tasya tanayō **Guṇḍamarājā**(jō) varsha-trayam=apālayata mahīm(hīm) | tad-anujah
K[ā]-
 16 **mārṇṇavadēvaḥ** pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān || [2*] Tasy=ānujō **Vinayāditya**[ḥ*] samā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 s=tisra[ḥ*] || Tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj=jātō ja²gatī-kalpabhūruhaḥ | yō=rājad=rājitaḥ(ta)-chchhā-
 18 yō **Vajrahastō**=vanīpatiḥ || [3*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-
 vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān=ga-
 19 jānna(n=a)rthi[bhy]aḥ samadāt=sahasram=atulō yas=tyāginvā(nā)m=agraṇī[ḥ*] saḥ(sa) śrī-
 mān=**Aniyaṅka**-
 20 **bhīma**-nṛpatir=Ggaṅg-ānva¹y-ō[t*]taiśa(sa)kaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān=sa-
 21 mabhunakya(k=pri)thvīm stutaḥ pāṛthivaiḥ || [4*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ Surarāja-sṛi(sū)nunā
 22 [sa*]mas=samastām sa(śa)mit-āri-mam(ma)ṇḍa³laḥ || [*] sma pāti **Kāmārṇṇava**-bhūpati
 bbbhu(r=bbhu)vaḥ samṛiddhi-
 23 māma(n-a)rddha-samām samu[j*]jvalaḥ || [5*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō(nmā) Chittajanm-ōpa-
 [mā]nō guṇa-
 24 nidhir=anavadyō **Guṇḍam**-ākhyō mahīsaḥ(śaḥ |) sakalam=idam=arakshi(kshīt) trīṇi
 varshā-

Third Plate, First Side

- 25 ṇi dhātri-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nirjjit-ārāti-chakraḥ || [6*] Tatō dv[ai]māturas=tasya **Ma**-
 26 **dhukāmā**[r]ṇṇavō nṛpaḥ || (|) avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdā(bdā)n=ēkārṇṇa(n-na)-viṁśatiṁ-
 (tim) || o || [7*]
 27 **Atha Vajrahasta**-nṛpatēr=agra-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jan-āgranya[ḥ*] Kāmārṇṇavāt=kav-īndra-

¹ An unnecessary ā-mātrā was incised after this letter and cancelled by the engraver.

² An unnecessary i-mātrā with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.

³ The letter ṇya was originally written for ṇḍa.

iv, b

[illegible]

10, 2

[illegible]

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रोत्तमांशुः
 पौत्रस्य धर्मतस्तदा ॥
 आचार्यमुपसंगम्य
 राजा पश्यतस्तदा ॥
 तदा श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 समवेता युयुतसः ॥
 मामकाः पाण्डवश्चैव
 तदा कुरुक्षेत्रे भवेत् ॥
 तदा विभीषण उवाच ॥
 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्रोत्तमांशुः
 पौत्रस्य धर्मतस्तदा ॥
 आचार्यमुपसंगम्य
 राजा पश्यतस्तदा ॥
 तदा श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे
 समवेता युयुतसः ॥
 मामकाः पाण्डवश्चैव
 तदा कुरुक्षेत्रे भवेत् ॥

Scale: One-fourth

- 28 pragiyaṁān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrttiḥ [|| 8*] Śriya iva Vaidumvā(mb-ā)nvaya-payah-pa-¹
 29 yōnidhi-samudbhavāyās=cha [*] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta
 30 itī tanayaḥ || [9*] Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-samkhyāṁ yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-saṅghē di-
 31 nakṛiti Vṛishabha-sthē Rōhiṇī-bhē su-lagnē [*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē Śrī(Sū)rya-
 vārē tṛi-
 32 tīyām yuji sakala-dharitṛīm rakshitum yō=bhishiktaḥ ||[10*] Nyāyē(yyē)na yatra
 samam=ā-
 33 charitum tri-varggē(rggam) mārggēṇa rakshati mahīm mahita-pratāpē [*] nirvyādha-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 34 yaś=cha niraghās=cha nirāpadaś=cha śāśvat=prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhūtimattyaḥ || [11*]
 Vyāptē Gaṅga-
 35 kul-ōttamasya yaśasa(sā) dik-chakravālē śāśi-pradyōt-āmalinēna yasya bhuvana-
 prahlāda-²
 36 sampādinā [*] saindūrain=ati-sāndra-paṅka-pāṭalai[h*] kumbha-sthali-pāṭṭakēśvā(ḥhv=ā)-
 limpanti puna[h]
 37 punaś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān || [12*] Anurāgēṇa guṇinō yasya va-
 38 kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōḥ | āśī(sī)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=anukūlē virājata[h*] ||0|| [13*] Ka-
 39 lūṅgana[ga*]rāt=paramamāhē³śvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Tri-
 40 kaling-ādhipati-śrīmad-Anantavarṁmā Vajrahastadēvaḥ kuśalī samast-āmātya-
 41 pramukha-janapadān=samāhūya samājñāpayati [*] viditam=astu bhavatām(tām) ||
 42 Kōluvarttani-vishayō ||⁴ Kuddam-ākhyā-grāmaḥ chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchinnah sa-ja-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 43 la-sthalaḥ sarvva-pīdā-vivarjjita[m=ā]-chandrarṅka-kshiti-sama-kālān yāvan- mātā-pitrō-
 44 r=ātmanah [cha*] puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē |⁴ kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvde(bde) |⁴
 Kārttika-māsa-pratha-
 45 ma-paksha-tṛiti[yā*]yām Sō[ma*]va(vā)rē |⁴ Datta-gōtra-ya Vaisya(śya)-kul-
 ōdbhavaḥ |⁴ Mādhav-ākhyah
 46 tasya putraḥ Sōmana-srēshṭhah⁵ | tasya bhāryyā Ērayapā tayōr-jjātāya
 47 Mallaya-srēshṭhāya⁶ udaka-pūrvvam tāmvrā(mra)-śāsanam kṛtvā pradattama(ttaḥ a)-
 smābhi-

¹ Originally y was written in the place of p.

² An unnecessary ā-mātrā with this letter has been cancelled by the engraver.

³ Originally medial i was incised in the place of medial ē.

⁴ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁵ Read śrēshṭhī.

⁶ Read śrēshṭhinē.

- 48 rbhbbhā(r=bbhā)vibhirbhbbhū(r=bhū)mipālairmma(r=a)numō[dya*] dharmmā(rmma)-
 gauravāt=paripāla¹nīyam=i-
- 49 ti || rājataḥ śāsanam lavdhvā(bdhvā) punar=ayam grāmaḥ |² griha-sthānam=udyāna-
 50 sthānam cha |³ sa(śa)ta-murā-dhāny-ōtpanna-bhūmiścha(ñ=cha) sva-sva[m*] śēshayitvā |⁴
 Jala-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 51 mvū(mbū)r-akhya-grāma-nivāsī |² Vabhya-sākha-Upamanya-gōtrasya³ |⁴ dvij-ōttamaḥ |⁵
 Pi-
- 52 llisammaḥ⁴ | tasya putraḥ Karanīṭama-nāyakaḥ | tasya bhāryyā Rēkapā | tayō-
 53 r=jjāttēna Māpaya-nāyakēna saha tri-sa(śa)tēbhyah |² Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyah agrahā-
 54 ram kṛitvā **Uttarāyanna**-nimittō(ttē) |³ Mallaya-srē(śrē)shṭhina(nā) dhārā-purvva-
 55 kam |² Kudd-ākhyā-grāman pradatam=iti⁵ || asya grāmasya utpanna-
 56 karaiḥ rājñām dēyam sa(śa)ta-mura(rā)-dhānyair=ashta-māḍaiś=cha ||

¹ An unnecessary ā-mātrā with this letter was cancelled by the engraver.

² The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³ Read *Bahvricha-sākha-Upamanyava-gōtrasya*.

⁴ Read *dharmā*.

⁵ Read *grāmaḥ pradatta iti*.

No. 27—NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 5.6 1958)

The subjoined stone inscription¹ was copied and examined by me in July 1957 at **Nāgārjunakoṇḍa** in the course of my epigraphical tour. It is peculiar in several respects : it is one of the comparatively few Sanskrit inscriptions that have been discovered at this site, most of them being in Prakrit ; it is Brahmanistic in nature, the Prakrit ones being all Buddhistic ; it is found in six or seven versions, all broken fragments, not a single version having been found in its entirety. It took me some hours to dovetail the fragments till then discovered and kept in the site museum at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Many of the fragments are still missing. I was, however, able to restore the complete text by deciphering the extant parts on the various fragments. The facsimile on Plate A shows the greater part of one of the versions, while those on Plate B represent parts of two more versions. The fragments, of the other versions, so far discovered, are too few and are hence not illustrated here.

The ancient site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is situated on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā river in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh, and is famous for the Buddhist relics it has yielded in abundance. Of late, the site has been rendered more famous by the Nandikonda Dam Project ; for this hydro-electric scheme, when complete, will have submerged the entire site, as the water so dammed will rise 60 to 70 feet over the vast area now dotted with the excavated antiquarian remains. The Union Department of Archaeology is thus discharging a very special and emergent responsibility of disembowelling, as fast as can be, the buried ruins and salvaging as many of them as it can possibly do before the threatened deluge takes place.

It may be remarked that the recent digging operations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have laid bare many Brahmanistic antiquities, whereas those formerly unearthed there almost all belong to the Buddhist faith.

The size of the inscribed bits of stone under study is indicated by the scale given in the photographs reproduced here. The inscription consists of six lines in each version. Though the duct of writing is markedly different in each version, the script in all of them is the same Brāhmī of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It resembles that of the Prakrit inscriptions discovered at the same place,² and shares with it the characteristic feature of long and curved top and bottom strokes of the letters. The engraving is neatly and elegantly done.

As noticed above, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is remarkably free from errors. Except for the auspicious formula *siddham* at the beginning, the record is in verse, comprising two stanzas, the first in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and the second in *Sragdharā*. These are logically arranged ; the first, being a small one, is divided into halves, each half occupying one line; and the second, being a lengthy one, is divided into quarters, each quarter occupying one line.

There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. The mute consonants are shown by the smaller size of the letter concerned : cf. *m* in lines 1 and 6, and *t* in line 5. Besides, they occur

¹ This is No. 5 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

² Cf. above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.

a little below the line. Further, the mute *t* is bereft of its top. There is very little difference between the forms of the letters *t* and *n*, both being unlooped. The form of the *upadhmāniya* (line 1) consists of a circle with a cross in the centre, or a four-spoked wheel, so to say, while that of the *jihvāmūliya* (lines 4 and 5) is identical with that of the letter *m*. In point of orthography, the consonant before or after *r* is in most cases reduplicated. The reduplication of the one before *r*, in *pprasādāt* in line 5, is noteworthy. The change of *visarga* into *s* or *ś* before these letters (lines 4, 5 and 6) is another peculiarity worth noticing.

As for the object of the inscription, it records the erection of a temple (*prāsāda*), described as the dwelling place for Śiva (*Sarvadēv-ādhipāsa*),¹ by one Ēlīśrī, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha during the 11th regnal year of king Ēhavalāśrī. Ēlīśrī, the builder of the temple, is described as a *Talavara-vara* (apparently the same as *Mahātala-vara* found in many other inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa)² obviously in the service of king Ēhavalāśrī. He is further described to be a grandson of the *Sēnāpati* Anikki and a son of Gāṇḍi. It is significant that our donor's father does not bear any title, while his grandfather is mentioned to be a *Sēnāpati* or commander of armies, who had won victories in battle fields and acquired great fame. His own title shows that he too was a high dignitary.

The most prominent thing in the description of Ēlīśrī is that he was a devout worshipper of the god Kārttikēya or Kumāra, the wielder of the terrible spear, so much so that he ascribes the erection of the Śiva temple in question to the grace and favour of Kārttikēya.

The names of the donor, his father and his grandfather as well as that of the king are all non-Sanskritic. They are presumably of Dravidian origin. It has been suggested to me that the word *ēli* or *eli* in the name Ēlīśrī may be connected with the Tamil word *vēl*, equivalent to Sanskrit *śakti*, 'spear' (weapon of the god Kārttikēya).³ Anyway, this name as well as the others in this inscription require further elucidation.

The king Ēhavalāśrī is known from some other inscriptions from the same place, the name being sometimes spelt as Ēhuvala.⁴ King Ēhuvala Chātāmūla is mentioned as the son of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurisadata and Mahādēvī Bhaṭṭidēvā. One of this king's records, it is interesting to know, is dated in the very 11th year of his reign as in the case with our inscription.⁵ His father and he himself bear the metronymics Māḍhariputa and Vāsethiputa respectively, indicating thereby that the mother of the former belonged to the Māḍhara *gōtra* while the mother of the latter belonged to the Vāsishṭha *gōtra*. Ēhavalā or Ēhuvala had a sister whose name was Kodabalisiri, queen of Vānavāsaka-mahārāja.

A much longer and well-preserved Sanskrit inscription engraved on a stone pillar of the time of the same king Ēhavalāśrī has likewise been recently discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁶

It is not possible to equate the regnal year given in the inscription with the corresponding Christian year. Yet, as indicated above, the inscription can palaeographically be placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

The text of the present inscription given below is based on my reading of the original fragments of the inscription.

¹ I take *Sarva* here as a well-known synonym of *Śiva* : *Sarvaḥ Sarvaḥ Śivaḥ Śthānuḥ*.

² For *Talavara* and *Mahātala-vara*, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 6 and 7, note 1.

³ [The Telugu word *ēlika* (from the verb *ēlu*, 'to govern') means 'a ruler, king, master'.—Ed.]

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text line 10.

⁵ Loc. cit., Inscription H.

⁶ This is No. 4 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B.

NAGARJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALASRI'S TIME, YEAR 11

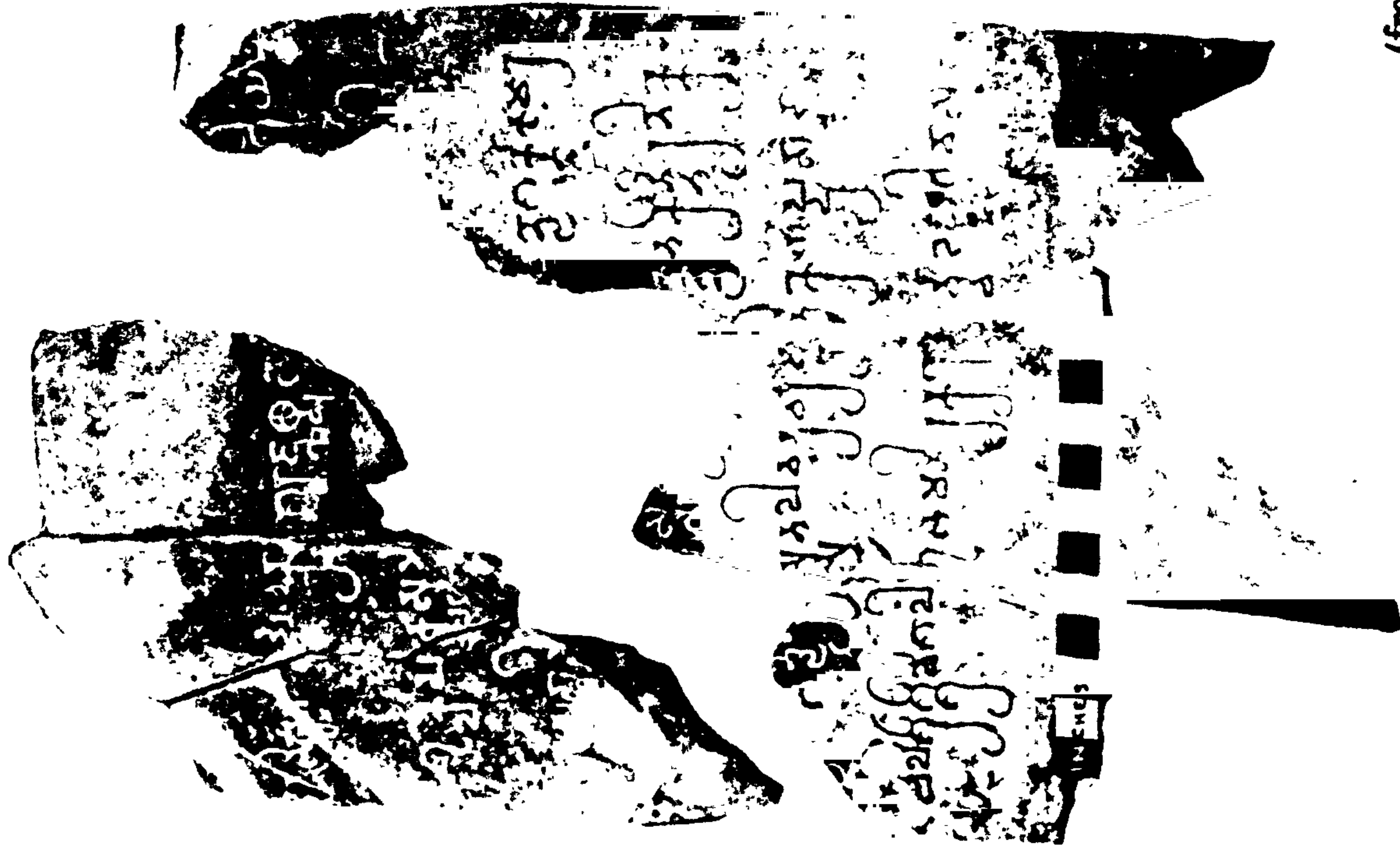
A .



(from a Photograph)



B



(from Photographs)

TEXT

[Metres : verse 1 *Anu-ṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā*.]

- 1 Siddham | **Varsha** **ēkādaśē** rājñah=prabhōr- **Ēhavalasriyah** [|*]
- 2 **śukla-pakshasya** **Māghasya** puṇya **ēkādaśē**-hani [| 1*]
- 3 Dēvē yasy=ātibhaktir=Hutavaha-tanayē chaṇḍa-śaktau Kumārē
- 4 pautras=sēnāpatēr=yyas=samara-vijayinaḥ-kkhyāta-kīrttēr=Aṇikkēḥ [|*]
- 5 prāsādaṇ=Gāṇḍī-puttras=sa talavara-varaḥ-Kārttikēya-pprasādāt¹
- 6 **Ēlīsrīś**=śrī-**viśālam** śubha-matir=akarōt-Sarvadēv-ādhipāsam [| 2*]

TRANSLATION

Luck !

(Verse 1) On the auspicious eleventh day of the bright fortnight of (*the month of*) Māgha, during the eleventh year of the king, the Lord Ēhavalasrī.

(Verse 2) **Ēlīsrī** of pure intellect, the chief Talavara, who is intensely devoted to (*the god*) Kumāra, son of Fire,² wielder of the terrible spear, - **Ēlīsrī**, grandson of the army-chief Aṇikki who had won victories in battlefields and acquired wide renown,--**Ēlīsrī**, son of Gāṇḍī, with the grace of (*the god*) Kārttikēya (*same as Kumāra*), built (*this*) supremely glorious temple, an abode of Sarva-dēva (i.e., the god Śiva).

¹ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

² For the representation of Kumāra or Kārttikēya as the son of Agni, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 98.

No. 28—BHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.5.1958)

The stone slab bearing the inscription under study was recovered from the mosque at **Bhāturiyā**, about 20 miles from Rajshahi, headquarters of the District of that name in **East Pakistan**, by Mirza Mokhtaruddin Ahmad, Superintendent of Police, Rajshahi. It was presented to the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in August 1954. The inscription was published by Mr. Siva Prasanna Lahiry in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (September 1955), pp. 215-31, without any illustration. Recently I received a photograph of the epigraph from the authorities of the Varendra Research Society. On an examination of the record, it was found that there are many errors in Mr. Lahiry's transcript and translation of the document while his conclusions in regard to its historical importance are in several cases mere unwarranted speculations.

The inscribed slab is stated to measure between 19 and 19½ inches in length and between 11½ and 11¾ inches in height. The space occupied by the writing is about 18½ inches long and 10½ inches high. Individual *aksharas* are about ¾ inch in height. There are altogether 20 lines in the record. The last line, which is nearly 13 inches long and is thus shorter than the other lines, has been incised in a central position leaving a space of a little above 2½ inches at the beginning of the line and about 3½ inches at its end. The letters are carefully and beautifully engraved and the preservation of the writing is satisfactory, though some letters are slightly rubbed off in the central area of the left half of the inscribed surface.

The **characters** belong to the Gaudīya or East Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the contemporary records of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. Of initial vowels, *a* (lines 2, 14, 16, 18), *ā* (line 13), *i* (lines 6, 20) and *ē* (line 19) occur in the inscription. The sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b*. The letter *t* has three forms, viz. endowed with the *ā-mātrā*-like sign (cf. *mukūṭa* in line 2), with a short stroke in the place of the said sign (cf. *Aṭṭa°* and *°ddhaṭṭa* in line 2, *Karṇṇāṭa* in line 11) and without the sign in question (*kapaṭaiḥ* in line 10, *Lāṭaiḥ* in line 11, *paṭṭē* in line 20). There is no appreciable difference between *p* and *y* and between the subscript forms of *dh* and *v*. The sign for half nasal called *chandrabindu* or *anunāsika* is used in line 11. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the word *svasti* preceded by the *Siddham* symbol at the beginning in line 1. It is a *prāśasti* or eulogy in 15 stanzas composed in various metres. The author's style is simple. As regards **orthographical peculiarities**, there are some cases of the use of class nasals in the place of *anuvāra* and a few cases of *visarga-sandhi* as in *ājñāś=śrōbhīḥ* (lines 11-12) and *ārōpitaś=Śaṅkaraḥ* (line 16). *Anuvāra* instead of final *m* has been used at the end of the halves of stanzas while final *m* has not been changed to *anuvāra* before *v*. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with the preceding *r*. In line 18, the word *jātu* has been wrongly written as *yātu*.

The inscription bears **no date**. But it records a grant of king **Rājyapāla** no doubt belonging to the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Eastern India. The Pāla king Rājyapāla ruled in the first half of the tenth century and his reign period may be roughly assigned to **c. 911-35 A.D.**

✓ The inscription begins with a stanza (verse 1) in lines 1-2, which is in adoration of the god Sambhu (Śiva). Verse 2 (lines 2-3) introduces a locality called **Aṭṭamūla** which was the home of

the Dāsa family or clan. The said place is described as *Bṛihaddhaṭṭa-vinirgata* probably meaning that Aṭṭamūla originally formed a part of Bṛihaddhaṭṭa. Lahiry reads the two geographical names wrongly as Aṭṭāmūla and Bṛihaddhaṭṭā. Verse 3 in lines 3-4 states that a person named Malhadāsa was born in the said family of the Dāsas of Aṭṭamūla and that Śūradāsa was the son of Malhadāsa, and Saṅghadāsa the son of Śūradāsa. Saṅghadāsa has been described as munificent to the supplicants just as Mount Rōhaṇa which is the same as the 'modern Adam's Peak in Ceylon. Verse 4 in line 5 states that the said Saṅghadāsa married Sarasvatī, the daughter of Sūryakuṇḍa and Durvāyī. Lahiry reads the stanza wrongly and fails to notice the name of Sarasvatī, wife of Saṅghadāsa, mentioned in it. Verse 5 (lines 5-7) introduces Yaśōdāsa, the son of Saṅghadāsa and Sarasvatī and the hero of the *praśasti* under study. It is stated that Yaśōdāsa was made a *Mantrin* or minister by king Rājyapāla. Yaśōdāsa has been compared here to 'the lord of speech', i.e. Bṛhaspati, the priest and counsellor of the lord of the gods. This of course does not suggest that Yaśōdāsa was a Brāhmaṇa by caste. As will be seen below, Lahiry regards him as a member of the Chāshī Kaivarta community of Bengal on inconclusive grounds. The Kaivartas are fishermen and those amongst them who gave up their ancestral profession and adopted agriculture are the Chāshī Kaivarta or Māhishya. Yaśōdāsa may or may not have been a Kaivarta.

The following five stanzas (verses 6-10) describe the achievements of Yaśōdāsa. Verse 6 in lines 7-8 states that Yaśōdāsa received the designation of *Sachiva* (i.e. a minister or counsellor) from the king while the next stanza (verse 7 in lines 8-10) says that the king made Yaśōdāsa his *Tantrādhikārin*. The official designation *Tantrādhikārin*, which literally means 'an officer in charge of administration', appears to be the same as *Tantrapāla*, *Tantrapati* and *Tantrādhyaṅksha* of epigraphic and literary records and an early commentator is known to explain the designation *Bṛihattantrapati* as *Dharmādhikārin* or a judge.¹ The language of our inscription seems to make a distinction among *Mantrin*, *Sachiva* and *Tantrādhikārin* and to show how Yaśōdāsa was raised by Rājyapāla from a lower post to a higher one on two occasions. Both these stanzas (verses 6-7) mention the king as *Rāmaparākrama*. The repetition of the expression in two consecutive stanzas seems to suggest that it was a sort of secondary name of the Pāla king Rājyapāla and not merely an epithet meaning 'one who is equal to Rāma in prowess'.

Lahiry understands the passage *aśvōrasaiḥ=bhūmijaiḥ* occurring in verse 7 to mean 'on the score of the broad-chested Bhūmijas' and the *Bhūmijas* have been understood by him in the sense of the Chāshī Kaivartas. In his view, the verse mentions the Pāla king as having aspired for the status of Indra on the score of his elephants, Bhūmijas, land and gold and the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas. This has led him to a good deal of speculation regarding Yaśōdāsa having been the chief of the Chāshī Kaivarta community, the great help Rājyapāla may have received from this community, Yaśōdāsa having been appointed his Prime Minister as a reward for such help, the well-known Kaivarta chief Divya (who snatched away North Bengal from the hands of Mahipāla II about the end of the eleventh century) having been a distant descendant of Yaśōdāsa, etc. But there is nothing of all these in the stanza which may be translated as follows: "who (Yaśōdāsa) was made the *Tantrādhikārin* by the victorious [and] illustrious *Rāmaparākrama* who was aspiring, as it were, for the status of the lord of the gods by honouring gods and Brāhmaṇas with [the presents of] haughty elephants in rut, principal horses (*aśvōrasaiḥ*) [and] men (*bhūmijaiḥ*) that had surrendered [to him] (*upanataiḥ*) [as well as] land covered with crops [and] many heaps of gold which were acquired [by him]." The verse merely refers to the fact that Rājyapāla obtained the possession of a large number of elephants, horses and infantry men (i.e. prisoners to be made slaves) as well as land and gold, all belonging to his enemies, as a result of his victories over the latter, and that he made presents of them all to the gods and Brāhmaṇas. There is no reference here to the Chāshī Kaivartas.

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 339.

Lahiry's contention that *Dāsa* (which is Yaśōdāsa's name-ending or family designation) should have to be taken to indicate the Chāshī Kaivarta community and that *Kuṇḍa* (the name-ending or family designation of his maternal grandfather Sūryakuṇḍa) should have to be taken to be the same as *Kuṇḍu* which is now a family name among the Chāshī Kaivartas of Bengal is equally unsatisfactory. Both *Dāsa* and *Kuṇḍa* are at present known to be the cognomens among various non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal including the Kāyastha and Vaidya and there is evidence to show that even the Brāhmaṇas of Eastern India bore the said name-endings or cognomens in early times.¹

Verse 8 in lines 10-12 states that, when Yaśōdāsa was occupying the post of the *Tantrādhikārin* of Rājyapāla, his master's (i.e. the Pāla king's) command was obeyed by the **Mlēchchhas, Aṅgas, Kāliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Ōḍras, Pāṇḍyas, Karpātas, Lāṭas, Suhmas, Gurjaras, Krītas and Chīnas**. Besides some errors in Lahiry's readings of the stanza, his acceptance of Rājyapāla's claim to have been obeyed by all the above peoples as a historical fact is unsound. There is little doubt that it is a conventional claim which is not quite reliable from the historian's point of view in regard to most of the peoples mentioned, even if a few of them may have been actually subdued by the Pāla king.

The Mlēchchhas mentioned in the list appear to have been the Arab Muslims who were in occupation of the lower Indus valley since the first quarter of the eighth century, although the Pāla king had little chance of having come into conflict with them. The Aṅgas lived in the Monghyr-Bhagalpur region forming a part of the Pāla dominions in Rājyapāla's time. The Kāliṅgas may be identified with the Eastern Gaṅgas then ruling from the city of Kāliṅganagara in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. The Vaṅgas lived in South-Eastern Bengal and the Ōḍras of Orissa were then under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas of Guhēsvarapāṭaka (modern Jāipur in the Cuttack District). The Pāṇḍyas ruled from Madurai over the southernmost Districts of India while the Karpātas may be identified with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa (modern Mālkheḍ in the former Hyderabad State). The Lāṭas lived in the Nausāri-Broach region of Gujarat and the Suhmas in South-West Bengal. The Gurjaras were of course the Gurjara-Pratīhārs of Kanauj.

The most interesting in the above list of peoples is the mention of the Krītas and Chīnas since neither of them generally finds a place in the conventional list of adversaries or subdued peoples found in the records of Indian monarchs. It may be suggested that the Sino-Tibetans are indicated by the name Chīna. But the identification of the Krīta people is difficult, since they are not mentioned in the list of peoples found in the Indian epic, Puranic and geographical literature. It is of course tempting to suggest that *Krīta* is a modification of *Kirīta* which is the name of a well-known Himalayan people. But there is no evidence in Indian literary works in favour of such a modification. Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises the word *Krīta* as the name of the people of a despised caste on the authority of Wilson, while a tradition recorded by Hiuen-tsang suggests that certain foreign rulers of the Kashmir region were known as *Krīta* or 'the Bought'.² This reminds us of the name *Krita* (*Krīta*) or *Krita* applied in India originally to the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iranian origin, which later came to be known as the Vikrama Samvat.³

Verse 9-10 (lines 12-14) state how Yaśōdāsa was famous for his munificence in the cause of public welfare. Verse 11 (lines 14-16), which along with the next verse (verse 12 in lines 16-17) records the main purpose of the *praśasti*, says that Yaśōdāsa built a huge temple surrounded by eight other shrines and established the god Śaṅkara (Śiva) in his Liṅga form (i.e. a Śivaliṅga) in it. Verse 12 records that the king (i.e. Rājyapāla) dedicated the village of **Madhusrava** in favour of the god Vṛishabhadhvaja (Śiva) installed by Yaśōdāsa after having fixed the *nikara* at one hundred

¹ Cf. e.g., the list of the Brāhmaṇa donees in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, which contain seven names ending in *kuṇḍa* and two names ending in *dāsa* (Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 33 ff.). The cognomen *Dāsa* is popular among the Brāhmaṇas of Orissa.

² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 265.

³ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 288 note; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 125, note.

Purāṇas apparently per annum. The coin called *Purāṇa* is well known while the word *nikara* is recognised in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a suitable gift' and in Bengali, by an extension of that meaning, in that of 'an amount which is legitimately payable'. As we have shown elsewhere,¹ when a small amount of rent was fixed for gift lands, it was often designated by some other name than *kara*, such as *triṇōdaka*, *agrahūrapradēyāmśa*, etc. The word *nikara* has been used in the present record in a similar sense. The inscription thus records a *kara-śāsana*. Many documents of this kind have been discovered in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. But the Bhāturiyā inscription seems to be the only one of the type so far found in Bengal. It may be pointed out here that Lahiry fails to understand this interesting nature of the record since he suggests that the word *nikara* should be corrected to *nishkara*, 'rent-free'. But the emendation is unwarranted in view of the fact that *nishkara* does not suit the metre of the stanza.

✓ In this connection, it may also be pointed out that there is nothing unusual in the Buddhist king Rājyapāla making a grant in favour of the Brahmanical god Śiva. Most of the grants of the Buddhist kings of the Pāla and other dynasties of Eastern India are known to have been made in favour of Brāhmaṇas or Brahmanical deities or religious establishments.² It appears, however, that Yaśōdāsa had to pay an amount of money to the royal treasury in order to get the partially rent-free holding created in favour of the deity installed by him.³

Verses 13-14 in lines 17-19 are of a benedictory nature, while verse 15 (line 20), which is the last stanza in the *praśasti*, states that the eulogy was engraved on the stone slab by the artisan Śrīndhāna. The name of the engraver has been taken by Lahiry to be Nidhāna. The author of the *praśasti* is not mentioned in it. It might have been composed by Yaśōdāsa himself.

The inscription does not state where exactly Yaśōdāsa built the temple of Śiva. But probably it was built at Aṭṭamūla in or near Brihaddhaṭṭa. These places cannot be identified. It is, however, possible to think that the site of Yaśōdāsa's temple lies within Bhāturiyā where the inscribed slab has been found. The gift village of Madhusrava was also probably in the same region.

TEXT⁴

[Metres : verses 1, 8, 13 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2, 4, 15 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3, 7, 11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5, 9 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 6 *Harīṇī* ; verses 10, 14 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 12 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 Siddham⁵ svasti | Vēllad-dōr-ddaṇḍa-vēg-ānīla-vihata-mahā-kshmādhār-ōttuṅga-śiṅga-grāva-bhramś-ōpajāta-dhvani-chakita-chalad-dig-gaj-ōnmukta-nādam(dam) | pāda-nyāsā-
- 2 n=nimajjad-dharaṇi-tala-bhar-ābhugna-Bhōgīndra-bhōgan=nṛittam=vaḥ⁶ pātu Śambhōr=mmu-kuṭa-śaśi-kal-āliṅgita-vyōma-chandram(ndram) || [1*] Aṭṭamūlam⁷=iti sthānam=Vṛi(m=Bṛi)haddhaṭṭa-⁸
- 3 vinirggatam(tam) | śuchīnān=dharmma-śīlānān⁹=Dāsānām=asti janma-bhūḥ || [2*] Varṇ-śē=smin=payasān=nidhāv=iva śaśi śrī-Mahadāsō=bhavat=khyātas¹⁰=tat-tanayō=pi śaurya-
4. nilayaḥ śrī-Śūradāsaḥ kriti | tat-sūnuś=cha¹¹ samasta-nandita-subṛit=sammānit-ābhyāgataḥ sēvyō Rōhaṇa-bhūdhara-pratisamaḥ śrī-Saṅghadāsō=rthinām(nām) || [3*]

¹ See *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff. ; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 114-15.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 2 and note 2 ; Vol. XXX, p. 162, note 4.

³ See above, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ From a photograph.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ Read *nṛittam vaḥ*.

⁷ Lahiry reads *Aṭṭamūlam*.

⁸ Lahiry reads *°dāhaṭṭa*.

⁹ Lahiry reads *°śīlānām*.

¹⁰ Lahiry reads *°dāsō bhava-khyāta*.

¹¹ Lahiry reads *°sūnuś=cha*.

- 5 Upayēmē sūtām sō=pi Dūrvāyī¹-Sūryakunḍayōḥ | Sarasvatīm=Umām² Sambhur=Mēnā-
Himavatōr=iva || [4*] Jātas=tābhyām jagati mahitō janma-bhūḥ sad-guṇānām
6 khyātaḥ kīrttyā diśi diśi Yaśōdāsa ity=uddhata-srīḥ | dēvaḥ pṛithvī-valaya-tilakō jitvaraḥ
pārthivānān=chakrē vāchām=adhipam=iva yaṁ
7 mantriṇām Rājyapālāḥ || [5*] Lavaṇa-jaladhi-śyām-ōpāntān=diḡ-antara-gōchara-tvarita-
chakīta-kṣhōṇīpāla-pratīṣṭha³-nidēśanaḥ | sachiva-padavīm
8 yasmin=śāsaty⁴=akhaṇḍita-sāsanō vyadhita vasudhām⁵=ēka-chchhatrām sa Rāmaparā-
kramāḥ || [6*] Mātāṅgair=mmada-garvvitair=upanatair=aśvōrasair=bhūmijai-
9 i=urvvyā sasya-samṛiddhayā va(ba)hutithair=hēmnān=chayair=ārjjitair | sampa[j]ya⁶ dvija-
dēvatāḥ Surapatēr=āditsun=ēv=āspadam yaḥ śrī-Rāmaparākramēṇa
10 jayinā tantr-ādhikārī kṛitah || [7*] Mlēcchhair=uchchhanna-kalpaiḥ parijana-ni(vi)kalair⁷=
Aṅga-Kāliṅga-Vaṅgaḥ=Ōḍḍair=uddīna-jivair=apagata-kapataiḥ
11 Pāṇḍya-Karppāta-Lāṭaiḥ | Suhmaiḥ s-ōpapradānair=asi-bhaya-chakitair=Ggurjjara-
Kṛita-Chīpāir⁸=yasmīs=tantr-ādhikāram=vidadhati⁹ dadhirē bharttur=ājñā-
12 ś=śirōbhiḥ || [8*] Tōy-ādhāir=amṛita-śīsīrair=ājya-dhārē-vinidrair=agny-āgāir=upahita-
sudhair=yajvanām=mandiraiś=cha¹⁰ | vidyā-sattrair=ghana-śi[t]i-silair=dēva-
13 gēhair=mmaṭhair=vvā n-aika-dvārā diśi diśi guṇair=yasya jāgartti kīrttiḥ || [9*] Ārāma-
s[ē]tu¹¹-maṭha-maṇḍapa-sattra-dāna-prāsāda-saṅkrama-jalāsaya-
14 sannivēsaiḥ | tair=ēbhir=ātma-charit-ōkti-padaiḥ praśastair=yaḥ svam¹² praśasti-pṛithu-
pīṭham=iv=ākṛit=ōrvvīm(rvvīm) || [10*] Ashtābhiḥ sura-mandiraiḥ parivṛitam
15 prāsādam=abhram-liham sampādy=ēndu-marīchi-jāla-dhavalair=līpta[m] sudhā-karddamaiḥ |
tēn=āyam naya-śālinā śuchi-śilā-vinyasta-liṅg-ākṛitir=bhaktyā
16 dharmma-parāyaṇēna bhagavān=ārōpitaś=Śaṅkaraḥ || [11*] Asmai Yaśōdāsa-nivēsitāya śrī-
Rājyapālō Vṛīṣhabhadhvajāya | śatām purāṇān=nikaram¹³ niyamya
17 Madhusraṇam grāmam=adāt=kṣhitīśah || [12*] Pāṇḍu-Prāchīnava(ba)rhīr-Bharata-Daśarath-
Ēkshvāku-Rām-Āgnimitraiḥ kīrttinām=pālanāya kṣhitipati-tilakaiḥ prārthi-
18 tam yatra bhūyaḥ | tatra vrū(brū)mō na tāvad=vayam=ati-laghavō yā(jā)tu¹⁴ kim prārthanā-
bhīr=yasmād=viśv-ōpakāra-praṇihita-manasaḥ pālayanty=ēva santaḥ || [13*] Asy=ēdam=ā-
19 yatanām=āhṛita-hāri-śōbham saṅkalpa-siddham=iva nirṁmitam=Indumaulēḥ | ētat=tu tā-
vad=iha tiṣṭhatu śaila-sindhu-saṁsthāna-sustham=avanīṭalam=asti yāvat || [14*]
20¹⁵ Indrānīla-maṇi-snigdhe śilā-pattē=tinirmalē | praśastir=iyam=utkirṇā Śrīnidhānēna¹⁶
śilpinā || [15*]

¹ Lahiry reads *Dūrvāyī*. The comma after *°kunḍayōḥ* in the place of *daṇḍa* in Lahiry's transcript seems to be a misprint.

² Lahiry reads *Sarasvatī-pramāṇi*.

³ Lahiry reads *pratīṣṭha*.

⁴ Lahiry reads *yasmin=bhāsaty°*. The idea in the second half of the stanza is that Yaśōdāsa was made a *Sachiva* as he was running the administration of the whole earth on behalf of his master.

⁵ Lahiry reads *vyadhita-vasudhā°*.

⁶ Read *sampūjya*. Lahiry reads *samprakṣhā* or *sampūjya*.

⁷ Lahiry reads *vikalai°*.

⁸ Lahiry reads *°chāpāir°* or *vīryair°*.

⁹ Read *°kāram vidadhati*.

¹⁰ Lahiry wrongly suggests, "Read either *yajvanair=mmandiraiś=cha* or *yajvanān=mandiraiś°*. The former reading is preferable."

¹¹ Lahiry reads *sata* and observes, "Reading *sata* is doubtful. The metre also does not permit it. Read *pūrttu* for *sata*."

¹² Lahiry reads *sva°*.

¹³ Lahiry suggests the correction *nishkaram* without noticing that the emendation does not suit the metre. He understands the previous word as *purāṇām* and fails to grasp the real import of the stanza.

¹⁴ Lahiry retains *yātu*.

¹⁵ The line is smaller than the other lines and has been engraved in a central position and not from the beginning of the space.

¹⁶ Lahiry prefers *śrī-Nidhānēna*.

BHATURIYA INSCRIPTION OF RAJYAPALA

[The text in this block is extremely faint and illegible due to extreme blurring and low contrast. It appears to be a dense Sanskrit manuscript page.]

(from a Photograph)

No. 29—MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 5

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.5.1958)

A set of **three** copper plates was recently discovered at the village of **Mallār** in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was secured by Mr. Amarnath Sao of Bilāspur, who showed it to Pandit L. P. Pandeya Sarma of Raigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Pandit Pandeya advised Mr. Sao to send the plates for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. Sao was kind enough to agree with the request and the plates were received in my office about the end of April 1958.

The three plates, which have rounded corners, measure each about 5.4 inches in length and 2.95 inches in height. The thickness of the central plate is about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch, the other two plates being thinner (about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick). The plates are strung on a ring $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. But the **seal**, originally affixed to the ring, is now lost. There are in all 23 lines of writing, six lines each on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse and reverse of the second plate and only five lines on the inner side of the third plate. The weight of the three plates together is $32\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas* and that of the ring only $3\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas*.

The charter is written in 'box-headed' **characters** and its **language** is Sanskrit. As regards palaeography, language, **orthography** and style, the inscription resembles very closely the **Āraṅg plates**¹ of the donor of the present grant, which is the only other record of the king so far discovered. The sign for medial *i* is made by inserting a dot in the circular sign indicating medial *i*. The *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūliya* have been used respectively in lines 3 and 13 and lines 8 and 18. The numerical symbol 5 occurs twice in line 23. A horizontal stroke with a dot both above and below has often been used as a mark of punctuation (cf. lines 12, 16, 22). In some cases, a pair of horizontal strokes, one above the other, has been employed to indicate either the mark of punctuation (cf. lines 10, 16 and 17) or the sign for *visarga* (cf. lines 3 and 11). The normal sign of *visarga* made of two dots placed one above the other, which is also used in the inscription (cf. *bhūmidah* in line 19), has been once used to indicate a mark of punctuation in line 5. The **orthography** of the record is characterised by the use of double nasal and the reduplication of *t* after a nasal. Some consonants have often been reduplicated before and after *r*. The word *siṃha* has been written *siṅgha* as in the **Āraṅg plates** of Jayarāja and some other records of the kings of Śarabhapura.

The record is not dated in any era. It registers a charter of king **Jayarāja** (Mahā-Jayarāja) issued from **Śarabhapura** which seems to have been situated near modern Sirpur in the Raipur District. The charter was issued on the **fifth day of the month of Kārttika in the fifth year** of the reign of Jayarāja who very probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A. D., although his exact reign period cannot be determined.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and a sentence in lines 1-5 referring to the order of **Mahā-Jayarāja**, described as a *paramabhāgavata*, issued from **Śarabhapura** to the agriculturist house-holders of **Kadambapadrullaka** in **Antaranālaka**. The name of the gift village Kadambapadrullaka seems to be a combination of the names of two contiguous localities called Kadambapadra and Ullaka. The next sentence in lines 5-10 quotes the text of the order which is to the effect that the said village was granted by the king in favour of the Brāhmaṇa **Kapardisvāmin** of the Kautsa *gōtra*. The village was granted as a permanent rent-free holding on the

¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

occasion of a lunar eclipse, for the merit of the king himself and of his parents, by means of a copper-plate charter. The following sentence in lines 10-12 advises the house-holders of Kadam-bapadiullaka to be obedient to the donee and to pay him the usual *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *bhāga* (the king's share in the produces of the fields).

Lines 12 ff. contain the donor's request to the future rulers of the land for the protection of his grant. This is followed in lines 16 ff. by some of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses represented as the sayings of Vyāsa. The concluding part of the document in lines 22-23 states that the executor of the grant was the king himself (cf. *svamukh-ājñayā*) and that the charter was engraved by Achalasimha who was also the engraver of Jayarāja's Āraṅ plates. The last passage contains the date of the grant, which, as already indicated above, was the fifth day of Kārttika in the king's fifth regnal year.

The Āraṅ plates of Jayarāja were issued on the 25th day of the month of Mārgaśīra in the 5th year of his reign. It will thus be seen that the present grant was issued a few weeks earlier than the Āraṅ plates. The seal of Jayarāja attached to the Āraṅ plates, like the seals of other copper-plate grants of the family to whom he belonged, bears the representation of Gajalakshmi above the legend which is a stanza in *Anuṣṭubh* arranged in two lines. The legend on the seal of the Āraṅ plates was read by Fleet as follows:

Prasanna-h[rida]yasy=aiva vikkram-ākkra[m]tta-vidvishaḥ [I]*

śrīmatō Jayarājasya śāsana[m] ripu-śāsanaṁ [II]*

On the seal of the Raipur plates of Sudēvarāja (Mahā-Sudēvarāja), son of Jayarāja's brother. Māna-mātra Durgarāja, the first and third feet of the stanza were read by the same scholar as *Prasanna-hridayasy=aiva* and *śrīmat-Sudēvarājasya*,¹ though Pandit L. P. Pandeya read them respectively as *Prasanna-tanasy=ēdaṁ* and *Śrī-Mahā-Jayarājasya* suggesting that Jayarāja's seal was attached to the charter of Sudēvarāja.² The reading of the first foot of the stanza on both these seals is apparently *Prasanna-tanasy=ēdaṁ*, but that of the third foot appears to be *śrīmatō Jayarājasya* in both the cases. Jayarāja's seal attached to the recently published Sirpur plates of Sudēvarāja, which seems to offer the same reading as the seals of the Āraṅ plates of Jayarāja and the Raipur plates of Sudēvarāja, reads:

Prasanna-tanasy=ēdaṁ vikkram-ōtkhāta-vidvisha[h] [I]*

śrīmatō Jayarājasya śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsanaṁ(nam [II])³

Jayarāja was the son of Praśanna or Prasannamātra who ruled sometime after Śarabha, founder of the city of Śarabhapura, and the latter's son Narēndra, known from his Pipardula and Kurud plates.⁴ Since Śarabha's daughter's son Gōparāja is known from the Eran inscription⁵ to have died in 510 A.D., Śarabha and Narēndra appear to have flourished respectively about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. Prasannamātra and his son Jayarāja, who issued the charter under study, may therefore be tentatively assigned approximately to about the first and second quarters of the sixth century respectively.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Śarabhapura, the earlier capital of the family to which Jayarāja belonged, has already been indicated above. The other two geographical names are: (1) the gift village of Kadam-bapadrullaka, and (2) the district of Antaranālaka in which the village was situated. I am not sure about their exact location.

¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 197.

² *Mahākōśala Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II, p. 41.

³ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 103, note 4.

⁴ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139 ff.; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 263 ff.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1290.

MALLAR PLATES OF JAYARAJA, YEAR 5

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 6

2
 4
 6

ii, a

8
 10
 12

8
 10
 12

Scale : Actual Size

14

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TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [|*] Śarabhapurāt dvi(vi)kkram-ōpanata-sāmanṭta(ta)-chūdā-maṇi-prabhā-pra-
sēk-āmbu-
- 2 bhir=dh[au]ta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsini-sīmatō(nt-ō)ddharana-hētur=vvasu-vasudhā-
- 3 gō-pradaḥ=paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri(tri)-pād-ānuddhyātah² śrī-Mahā-Jayarājah
- 4 A[rh]tta(ta)ranālakīya-Kadam(da)mbapadrullakē prativāsi-k[u]ṭumbīnas=samā-
- 5 jñāpayati |³ vīditam=astu vō yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ grāmas=Tridaśapati-
- 6 sadana-sukha-pratishṭhā-karō yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tār[ā]-kīraṇa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 ghōr-āddha(ndha)kāra[m*] jagad=avatishṭhatē tāvad=upabhōjya(gyāḥ) sa-nidhis=s-ōpa-
nidhi-⁴
- 8 r=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvai(vē)śya[h*] sarvva-kara-visarjijitah=K[au]tsa-sagōtra-Brāhmaṇa-
Kapa-
- 9 rd[d]isvāminas⁵=sōm-ōparāgē mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivra(vri)ddha-
- 10 yē udaka-pūrvva[m] tāmbra(mra)-śāsanēn=āti[s]ṛisṭas⁶=tē⁷ yūyam=ēvam=upala-
- 11 bhy=ā[s]y=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchita-bhōga-bhāgam=upanayamṭtaḥ(tah)⁸
sukham
- 12 prativa[t*]syatha |⁹ bhavishyataś=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati |¹⁰ Dānā[d=vi]śisṭa-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 m=anupālanaJam purāṇāt¹⁰ dharmmēshu niśchita-dhiyāḥ=pravadam(da)nti dharmma¹¹
[|*]
- 14 tasmā[d*]=dvijāya suvīśuddha-kula-śrutāya dattām bhuvanī bhavatu vō mati-
- 15 r=ēva gōptum(ptum ||)¹² bhavadvi(dbhi)r=apy-ēshā dattir=anupāla-

¹ From the original plates and their impressions.

² The *visarga* is indicated by two horizontal strokes instead of the usual dots.

³ The punctuation mark is indicated by a *visarga* sign.

⁴ Originally *dhī* was engraved.

⁵ Correctly *°svāminē*. But the sixth case-ending may have been used for the Brāhmaṇa having paid some money for the purchase of the village.

⁶ There is here an unnecessary sign made of two horizontal strokes placed one above the other. This may be regarded as a redundant *visarga* rather than a mark of punctuation.

⁷ We should better have *tad* instead of *tē* in such contexts.

⁸ *Visarga* is written here with two horizontal strokes.

⁹ The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.

¹⁰ Read *purāṇā*.

¹¹ Read *dharmmam*. There appear to be an *anuvāra* sign above *mma* and the faint trace of a final *m* to its right.

¹² The letters *matir=ēva gōptum* | had been engraved here originally for a second time and were afterwards rubbed off.

- 16 yitavyā |¹ Vyāsa-gītāmś=ch=ātra ślōkān=udāharamtti(ti) |² Agnēr=apa¹yañ
 17 prathamam suvarṇam³ bhūr=vvaishṇavi sūryya-sutās=cha gāvah⁴ [|*] dattās=traya-
 18 s=tēna bhavamtti(ti) lōkā yah=kāñchanam gām(gā)ñ=cha mahīñ=cha dadyā[t]⁵ [|*]

Third Plate

- 19 Sham(Sha)shṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumam-
 20 ttā(tā) cha tām(tā)ny=ēva narakē vasēt [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājābhbbhi(jabhi)s=
 Sa-
 21 gar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
 22 phalam(la)m=iti [|*] sva-mukh-ājñayā |¹ uktī(tkī)ṛṇam Achalasīnghēna * [|*]
 23 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-samvatsara⁷ pam(pa)ñcha 5 Kārttika-disō⁸ 5 [|*]

¹ The mark of punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and another below.

² The mark of punctuation has been written here with two horizontal strokes.

³ There is here an unnecessary mark of punctuation written with two horizontal strokes.

⁴ Visarga is written here with two horizontal strokes.

⁵ There is a faint trace of t in the original.

⁶ Read *sīnghēna.

⁷ Read *vatsarāḥ.

⁸ Read divasāḥ.

No. 30—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA II, YEAR 11

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4.3.1958)

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved to the right of the *Svargavāśal* on the south wall of the fourth *prākāra* in the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at **Śrīraṅgam**, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. The **language** as well as the script of the inscription is Tamil and it is engraved in **characters** of the 12th century A.D.

The record registers the gift of a golden lamp-stand with a ruby set in it to the god Raṅganātha and a sum of 68½ *achchu* for lighting the lamp on all the days of the year. The gift was made by Kōdai Ravipaṇmaṇ, 'one of the *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ*' of Malaināḍu in the **11th year** of the reign of **Kō-Parakēsarivarman alias Tribhuvanachakravarttiḡaḷ Rājarājadēva**. The record begins with the *Meykkīrtti*: *Pū-maruviya tirumādum*, etc., and hence the ruler is to be identified with the second king of the said name in the Chōḷa dynasty. The details of the date, viz., **11th year, Mirichchika (Vṛiśchika) śu. 5, Monday, Tiruvōṇam**, regularly correspond to **November 19, 1156 A.D.** The text of the inscription is drafted in the form of an undertaking given by the representatives of the administrative bodies of the temple such as *Śrīvaishṇava-vāriyam*, *Śrībhaṇḍāra-vāriyam*, *Por-paṇḍāriḡaḷ*, *Kaṅgāṇiśeyvār* (supervisors) and the temple accountant. It is stated that, having taken charge of the lamp and having deposited the money in the temple treasury (*Śrībhaṇḍāram*), they would arrange for lighting the lamp on all the 365 days of the year with the interest accruing to the money deposited.

The inscription is important because it gives an earlier date for the donor, **Kōdai Ravivarman**, who was a king of **Vēṇāḍu** and is known from some inscriptions from the Travancore region.* The date of our inscription would be equivalent to year 332 of the Kollam era, in which the Travancore records are usually dated. There is, however, no dated record from Travancore mentioning the reigning king between Kollam 325³ and 336⁴ thus leaving a gap of about 12 years in the history of Vēṇāḍu. On the former date the reigning king was Kōdai Kēraḷavarman and it seems to be the latest date available for him. On the latter date, Vīra Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is stated to have been ruling Vēṇāḍu. Of the name Vīra Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, Vīra Ravivarman is the name and Tiruvaḍi a well-known designation adopted by the kings of Vēṇāḍu. The expression *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ* used in our record enables us to identify the donor Kōdai Ravivarman with Vīra Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Vēṇāḍu due to the proximity of the dates. The locative suffix *il* in the expression *Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷil* can only indicate that there was at least one other member of the family with a title to the throne. On the date of this record, Kōdai Ravivarman was perhaps the crown-prince while Kōdai Kēraḷavarman or another person not known to us was the ruling king. The institution of the office of the crown-prince is indicated in the inscriptions of Travancore as *iḷaṅgūru vāḷunnaruḷuḡiṇṇa*.⁵ The name Kōdai Ravivarman suggests that he may have been related to Kōdai Kēraḷavarman. It is likely that Vīra-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi identified with Kōdai Ravi-

¹ *A. R. Ep.* No. 68 of 1936-37.

² See note 3 below.

³ *TAS*, Vol. IV, p. 21, No. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 7, No. 4. The opposite year to Kollam 336 is a mistake and hence the correct date would be Kollam 336. The corresponding date as pointed out by Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar would be Saturday, April 29, 1161 A.D.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 78, text line 1. Could it be that the titles Vīra and Tiruvaḍi were not applied to Kōdai Ravivarman because he was only a crown-prince and that the record under publication pertains to a grant made to a temple lying in the territories of the Chōḷas?

varman of our record came to the throne sometime after Kollam 332, the date of the present record, and continued to rule till at least Kollam 340, the latest date assigned to him.¹

In connection with the question of the relationship between the king of Vēṇāḍu and the Chōḷa monarch, reference may be made to an inscription of this period from Puravaśēri² near Nāgarkōil in Vēṇāḍu. It states that, in Kollam 340, some members of the Chōḷa military establishment stationed at Kōṭṭāru, which is also near Nāgarkōil in the same territory,³ in association with some members of two other Chōḷa regiments made certain endowments to the god at Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the approximate date of the foundation of the colony being Kollam 336.⁴ It is evident that the military cantonments at many places including Kōṭṭāru established by Kulōttuṅga I continued to have their presence felt for all practical purposes.⁵

During the period of Chōḷa suzerainty from the time of Kulōttuṅga I, the kings of Vēṇāḍu appear to have been in close alliance with the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings. A Tirunelvēli inscription⁶ of Māṇavarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, whose date of accession is 1238 A.D., refers to the newly formed village of Iravivarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam stated to have been named after the [king's]⁷ *appāṭṭar* (i.e., father's grandfather). It is not unlikely that the reference here is to Ravivarman of the present record, though the relationship cannot be exactly worked out at present. The contemporaneity of a Ravivarman of Vēṇāḍu with Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha is, however, established on the basis of a few records from Puravaśēri in the Kanyakumari District of Madras State.⁸ The identity of Ravivarman of Vēṇāḍu mentioned in the inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II with his namesake who is considered to be the contemporary of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha, a predecessor of Māṇavarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II, implies a matrimonial connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvaḍis of Vēṇāḍu.⁹

The word *varakkāṭṭiṇa* (line 8) in this inscription seems to indicate that the king of Vēṇāḍu was not himself present at Śrīraṅgam but was represented by *Uḷḷiruppu Kaṇḍaṇ Iravi*¹⁰ who was entrusted with the lamp and the money. *Uḷḷiruppu*¹¹ seems to mean here the secretary for the internal affairs of the king. Kōḍai Ravivarman like most of the kings of Travancore seems to have had a strong leaning towards Vaishṇavism since he had also made a gift of lands to Puravari-Viṇṇagar-ālvār at Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.

¹ *TAS*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Though Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar's suggestion assigning this record to Vira Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi is not directly borne out by the record as pointed out by Mr. Velu Pillai (*Travancore State Museum*, Vol. II, p. 78, n. 3), it may be accepted till we get some definite date for Ravivarman's successor.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 7. Mr. Velu Pillai (loc. cit.) has ignored the second of the two documents which is closely connected with the first.

³ Nāgarkōil, Puravaśēri and Kōṭṭāru are situated within a territory called Nāḍji-nāḍu in contemporary Vēṇāḍu inscriptions. This proves that Kōṭṭāru, the military centre, formed part of the territory directly ruled by the king of Vēṇāḍu.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1; cf. also No. 4. It may be noted that Siṅgaṇ Araṅgaṇ, the founder of the Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam colony figures in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, No. 2) which is dated in the reign of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha.

⁵ The general position of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu and the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings in relation to the Chōḷas, the main suzerain power, has been correctly indicated by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 7).

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 446, lines 6 and 13.

⁷ cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 72, where a different construction has been adopted.

⁸ *A.R. Ep.*, 1896, p. 5, para. 15. See also above, Vol. XXV, p. 84; *supra*, n. 4.

⁹ Māṇavarman Sundara-pāṇḍya II was possibly the grandson of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara stated to be a son of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha, whose inscriptions commence with the introduction of the *Pāṭalamaḍandai*, and the great-grandson of Ravivarman of Vēṇāḍu.

¹⁰ One Kaṇḍaṇ Iravi of Mēlachchēri is mentioned in the Kilimaṇṭir record of Kollam 343 (*TAS*, Vol. V, p. 84).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar has interpreted the term as the name of an office connected with the tax department, while Mr. Sundaram Pillai takes it as the name of a place (*ibid.*, page 17 and note 4).

The endowment at Śrīraṅgam providing for the lighting of the lamp with ghee and camphor was made in *achchu*, the coinage of the Travancore territory. The corresponding coinage of the Chōla country being the *kāśu*, the rate of exchange is enumerated to be $9\frac{1}{2}$ *kāśu* for one *achchu*. But, while the capital invested, i.e., $68\frac{3}{4}$ *achchu*, would yield at this rate only less than $632\frac{1}{2}$ *kāśu*, the amount required as capital is stated to be 633 *kāśu*. The total money required in a year for both ghee and camphor comes to 118 *kāśu* and hence the rate of interest works out to slightly more than $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. The money was deposited into the treasury since it was felt that, if it was invested on lands, the endowment might suffer in case the lands fail [to yield].

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||] Pū²-maruvi[ya Ti]ru-mādum Puvi-mādu[m*] Jeya-mādum [² nā-maruviya Kalai-mādum Puḡal-mādu=ṇayandu pulga | aru-marai-vidi-ṇeri[y=a]ṇaittun³=talaippa | varu-murāi-urimai-maṇi-muḡi-sūḡi=t | tiṅgaḷ-veṇ[kudai=ttiṣai-kkaḷu(li)ṇ=ettun= | taṅgu-tani-kkūḡan=
- 2 tāṇ=ēṇa viḷaṅga=p | poru-Kali-ppaṭṭigai⁵=chcheṅḡōl turappa | poru-kadir-āḷi⁶ puvi vaḷa[r*]nd⁷=uḡaṇvara | Villavar yiraṭṭar⁸ Mī[ṇa]var Śiṅgaḷar[Pallavar Nudaliyar⁹ pā[r]ttivar paṇiya | eṇṇ-arun-karpil¹⁰ maṇṇaga[m*] puṇa[r*]ndadu¹¹ | ṣempon-
- 3 vira-śiṇṇāsa[ṇat]tu-ppuvana-[muḷu]dudaiyāḷḷoḡum¹²vīṇṇirund=aruḷiya Kō-Pparakēsaripa-rmar=āṇa Tribu[va]ṇa-chchak[kara]va[r*]ttigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvarkru yāṇḡu paḡiṇonṇāvadu Mī(Vi)richchika-nāyaṇṇu Pūrva-
- 4 pakshattu=Ppaṇcha[miyu]m Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum [pe]ṇṇa Tiru[vō]ṇatti[ḷ]nāḷ¹³ Tiru-varaṅgam Periya-kōyilil Tiru[va]ḡi-vaḷavaṇ=cheygiṇa Tiruvaraṅgadāsarum Tiruppadiyil Śrī-vaiyishṇavargaḷil Paṣalai-Pperi-
- 5 ya-kōyil-dāsarum [m Ka]ndāḡai-Ttiruvaraṅga-Nā[rāya]ṇa-nam[bi]yum Kuravaiṣeri-Ttiruvaraṅga-vaḷḷaḷ[ā]rum śrī-vaiyishṇava-¹⁴vāriyaṇ=cheygiṇa Nālū[ri]ṇ=Śiṅgappirā-nambiyum Vaṅgippuṇattu Tiruvā[y*]kkulattu Āḷvāṇum Vīranārāya-
- 6 . . [vaṇḡu]varāpati Ta [Va]ḡamadurai-ppiṇandā Śrī-baṇ¹⁵ . . . riyam Tiru-varaṅgattu sabaiyāril Kavunṇiyaṇ Tiruvaraṅgadēvaṇ Āḷkkoṇḡavilli-baṭṭaṇum Pāradāyaṇ Kēśavaṇ Purushōttama-baṭṭaṇum P[or]-paṇḡārigaḷ Pāra-

¹ From impression.

² Several texts of this *prasasti* have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* Series. Important variations from this text are indicated in the foot-notes.

³ A *danda* has been introduced in lines 1-3 at the end of each metrical line.

⁴ Cf., *SII*, Vol. III, No. 35, where we have *aṇaittum arun-tamiḷun=taṇi talaippa* in a different metre.

⁵ Loc. cit: *karuṅgaḷi-ppaṭṭiyai*; *SII*, Vol. IV. No. 822: *Karuṅgaḷi paḡimiṣaich=chēṅḡōl turappa*. The use of the word *kōḷ* in the next phrase supports the former and *paṭṭi* has accordingly to be translated as 'a stray bull' and not 'a prostitute' (ibid., Vol. III, p. 81).

⁶ *SII*, Vol. III, No. 35: *valiy-āḷi*.

⁷ Cf. *puli* in *Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State*, No. 136, and *vaḷartt=u* in *SII*, loc. cit.

⁸ *SII*, loc. cit. *Telungar*.

⁹ Loc. cit: *mudaliyar* which yields a better sense.

¹⁰ Loc. cit: *karpa* which is better.

¹¹ Read *puṇarndu* · cf. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 136: *purandu* which is better.

¹² Read *udaiyāḷḷoḡum*.

¹³ Read *Tiruvōṇattu nāḷil*.

¹⁴ Read *vaiṣṇava*.

¹⁵ This gap may be restored as *ḡāra-vā*.

- 7 [dāya]n Tiruvēṅgaḍavan A[na]ntanārāyaṇanum Pāradā ṅgal Śī-Rāmānum śrī-bāgavata . . . ḍārigaḷ . . . ravūr [Śī] . . . ḷḷar-kiramavittanum . . . Kaṅgāṇi śey-vārgalil Āri[ya]n śrī-Parāṅkuśanambiyum Ālvānum Kōyir-kaṇakku Tiruvaraṅgappi-riyanum . .
- 8 . v-aṇaivōm Malai-nāṭṭu Vēḷ-nāṭṭu Aḍigaḷil śrī ri¹ Kō[dai] . . .² nman vara=kkāṭṭiṇa kalaiyil oru mā[ṇi]kkam-aḷuttina ponṇi[n] tirukkuttiviḷakku 1³ onṇu idu [!]⁴ idu Emberumānār⁵ aruḷ⁶ ḷichcheyalpaḍiyē kaikkonḍu i-ttiruk-
- 9 .⁷ [ḷa]giyamaṇavāḷa-Pperumāḷ tirumunbēy tirunund[ā] . . .⁸ ku eriya=kkāḍavad=āga i-ttiruviḷakku . . .⁹ yum¹⁰m=iḍattu Tiruvaraṅgadēvanāl nāl onṇukku naṇu-ney nāliy-āga nāl mun-nūṇru=aṇu-pattu aṇjukku ney mun-nūṇru aṇu-patt-aṇ-nāliyum nāl onṇukku kaṇpūram iraṇ[ḍu]
- 10 ḍi¹⁰ āga nāl mun-nūṇru=aṇupattu aṇjukku=kkarpūram mu-ppattu aṇu-kalaṇj=araiyum ippaḍi chandr-[ā]dit[ta*]vaṇ=chella=kkāḍavad=āgavum [!]¹¹ idu śellum=iḍattu nāṭṭilē nilaṇ-gonḍu vidum=iḍattu nilaṅgaḷukku aḷivu vandapōdu idu śellādē oḷiyum=enṇum śrī ri¹² baṇḍārat-
- 11 tē ponṇ=āga oḍukkiṇāl viruttiyālē śelvad=āgavum pā[r*]ttu Tiruvaraṅgadēva[nā]ḷ naṇu-ney nālikkum kaṇpūram iraṇḍu maṇjāḍikkum kāśu onṇukku-Ttiruvaraṅgadēvanāl ney e-ṇṇāḷi āgavum kāśu onṇukku=kkarpūram arai=kkalaṇj=āgavum ōr-aṇḍu nāl muṇ-nūṇru=aṇupa-
- 12 ttu aṇjukku vēṇḍuṇ=kāśu 633³ aṇu-nūṇ[ru mu]-ppattu mūṇṇum kā[śu] onṇadē-kālukku achchu onṇ=āga achchu 68³ aṇu-patt-eṭṭē-kālē-arai-kkālum Śrī-baṇḍāratte i-Kkōḍai Iravipaṇmanukk=āga i-pponṇin tirukkuttiviḷakkum ivv-achchum koḍuvan-
- 13 da Paduvāy-amarnda Nārāyaṇanum Śolama . . . vivā =Ttiruvaraṅgadāsanum Iraṇaśiṅga-Maṇavāḷanum Uḷḷiruppu-Kkaṇḍaṇ Iraviyum Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-pperumāḷ Tiru-ppaḷḷi-ttoṅgal-uḍaiyārgalil Śī-Kulaśekhara-Ppiramamārāyanum Aṇi-araṅga-Ppiram-mārāyaṇum iv[v*]-aṇaivaraiym ko-
- 14 ṇḍu i-ttiru-ppadiyil munbu . . . [ivv-aṇaivōm¹⁴mum] [Em]b[e]rumānār aruḷichcheyal-ppaḍiyē¹² i-ppon Śrī-baṇḍāratte oḍukki(ku)vittu=kkonḍu viruttiyālē chandr-āḍittavar i-ttiruviḷakkuch=chella-kkāḍavad=āga naḍuviṇ=tirumadiḷ Nāḍaṇi-pugaḷan-Tiruvāśalilē¹³
- 15 Mēṇk=aḍaiya kal-vetṭi(tu)vittōm iv[v*]-anaivōm [!]¹¹ Idu Śrīvashṇṇava¹⁴ rakshai [!]¹¹

¹ This letter is superfluous.

² This may be restored as *Iravipa*^o. Cf. line 12.

³ This numeral is given in its Tamil form.

⁴ There is a gap of about five feet of space unengraved here.

⁵ The mention of Emberumānār is obviously in reference to the image of Rāmānuja since he is known to have passed away in Śaka 1059=1137 A.D. according to the chronogram *dharmō nashṭah*.

⁶ This letter is superfluous.

⁷ This may be restored as *°kōyil-A*^o.

⁸ The missing letters are *°vīlak*^o.

⁹ The missing letters are *eri*^o.

¹⁰ This has to be restored as *maṇjāḍi*.

¹¹ This letter is superfluous.

¹² Cf. line 8 above.

¹³ The *naḍuviṇ-tiru-madiḷ* is evidently so called because, of the seven *prākāras* (*sapt-āvaraṇa*) of this temple, the fourth (where this inscription is engraved) is the central one. Nāḍaṇi-pugaḷan Tiruvāśal is the original name of what is now popularly called Svargavāśal.

¹⁴ Read *°vāishṇava*^o.

No. 31—BUDHERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1351, SAKA 1216

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 19.2.1958)

About the beginning of 1955, I visited the small village of **Budhera**, about four miles to the south-east of Gudar in the Pichhore Pargana formerly belonging to the Narwar District of the Gwalior State but now to the Shivapuri District of Madhya Pradesh, in order to copy an inscription. Within the limits of the village there stands a hillock close to the north-eastern end of the Jhaloni tank and a roughly dressed pillar of stone, about eighteen feet high above the ground and 15 inches in breadth and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, stands on the hillock. The inscription in seven lines of indifferently engraved and badly preserved writing was found on the said pillar.

The inscription was previously noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, Samvat 1986 (1929-30 A. D.), pp. 22 and 59-60 (No. 23), and in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyākē Abhilēkh*, p. 26, No. 170. The *Report* gives the name of the village both as Budera and Budhera and says at p. 22, "It (i.e. the pillar) bears a crudely engraved inscription dated V. S. 1351, which refers to Chanderi and its Bundela rulers. As the inscription is not fully legible, the exact purpose of the erection of the pillar is not clear." Elsewhere at pp. 59-60 it speaks of the inscription as written in the Hindi language and dated in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 during the reign of king Padmarāja and further says, "Refers to Kīrti-durga and mentions Padmarāja who is endowed with the royal title *samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalanākṛita-paramabhatīāraka*. Other names which can be read are Udaisirṇha and his son [Hari]rāja, etc. Being badly written and partially damaged, its object is not clear." Dvivedi's work quotes the same views; but he spells the name of the village both as *Budhērā* and as *Budhērū*.

It is not quite clear from the published notices of the inscription, referred to above, whether Kīrti-durga has been regarded as identical with the Chanderi fort and king Padmarāja has been taken to be a Bundela ruler. The authors of the notices have also not made it clear whether there is any possibility of Bundela rule at Chanderi so early as the end of the thirteenth century when the inscription was incised. Another important point they should not have ignored to discuss is that how an imperial ruler named Padmarāja was ruling at Budhera near Narwar and Chanderi at lat. $24^{\circ} 42'$ and long. $79^{\circ} 11'$ in V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 when the Yajvapāla monarch Gaṇapati (known dates between V. S. 1348 and 1357, i.e. 1292-1300 A. D.) is known to have been ruling over the same region in the same period from his capital at Nalapura or Narwar at lat. $25^{\circ} 39' 2''$ and long. $77^{\circ} 56' 57''$. As a matter of fact, we have found on a careful examination of the impressions of the record that there is no mention in it of a king named Padmarāja or of Chanderi and the Bundelas, while it clearly speaks of an officer of **Gaṇapati** (line 3) apparently as stationed at **Kīrti-durga**. This Gaṇapati is undoubtedly the **Yajvapāla** king of that name. There are also a few other errors of omission and commission in the published notices of the inscription.

Owing to careless engraving and unsatisfactory preservation, it is no doubt difficult to read the whole record. A number of letters are damaged here and there, though the damage is greater in the second half of the epigraph than in the first. But the purport of the record is quite clear. The pillar is a hero stone raised in the memory of two persons who are described in the inscription as *hata* or killed apparently in a contest with certain unspecified enemies.

The inscription is written in the Dēvanāgarī characters of the medieval period. Its language is not Hindi but corrupt Sanskrit. The date is quoted as V. S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 without any other detail. The year corresponds to 1294-95 A. D. The inscription seems to have been incised towards the close of 1294 A. D. or about the beginning of the following year.

The record begins with the date : *Sa[m]vatu 1351 Sāke 1[21]6 ||*. This is followed in lines 1-4 by the auspicious word *svasti* and the passage *śrī-Kīrti-durgē(rgē) samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalanīkṛita-paramabhaṭṭārka(paramabhaṭṭāraka) . . . maraja-[śrī-Ga]ṇapati-mahāpradhāna-Dēuva vyāpāra-[m] [ka]rōti*. The two damaged *aksharas* before *maraja* may be *padī*, so that the reading of this expression, which is clearly an epithet of *śrī-Gaṇapati*, may be *padimara(rā)ja*. The authors of the notices of the inscription, discussed above, apparently failed to read the name *śrī-Gaṇapati* and regarded *padmarāja* (corrected from *padimaraja*) as the personal name of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. This cannot be the case, since, of the name *śrī-Gaṇapati* immediately following, the three *aksharas* *ṇapati* are quite clear while traces of the two *aksharas* *śrī-Ga* can also be easily recognised. What is then the meaning of the epithet that looks like *padimaraja*? In our opinion, it is a mistake for *paramarāja* which is found in a Bangla inscription among the epithets of king Gōpāla (known dates between V. S. 1336 and 1345, i.e. 1279-89 A. D.) of the Yajvapāla family, who was the father and predecessor of Gaṇapati. This epithet occurs in the following passage ; *paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramaguruḥ paramarājaḥ*.¹ In the present case, we have only the first and last of the five epithets.

The name of Gaṇapati's *Mahāpradhāna* is difficult to determine. It may be *Dēu* or *Dēuva*. This officer was apparently stationed at *Kīrti-durga*. A *Mahāpradhāna* named *Dējai*, *Dējē* or *Dējā* is known from the Bangla inscriptions to have served Gaṇapati's father Gōpāla.² He was probably stationed at *Nalapura-durga* or the *Narwar* fort which was the capital of the *Yajvapālas*. The Bangla inscriptions appear to state that *Mahāpradhāna* *Dējai*, *Dējē* or *Dējā* was conducting the *gadani* (or *madani*)-*vyāpāra*.³ Unfortunately the meaning of the expression is not clear to us. Another difficulty is that the two *aksharas* before the word *vyāpāra* in the inscription under study are damaged and the word does not look like *gadani* or *madani*. Apparently, however, *Mahā-pradhāna* *Dēu* or *Dēuva* was the governor of the district round *Kīrti-durga* and the modern village of *Budhera* formed a part of that district. Some medieval documents use the expression *mudrā-vyāpāraṁ paripanthayati* in connection with a high administrative officer like the viceroy⁴ and the intended reading in both the present record and the Bangla inscriptions may be *mudrā-vyāpāra*.

This raises the problem of the identification of the fort called *Kīrti-durga*. The *Chanderi* inscription of a *Pratihāra* ruler named *Jaitravarman*, who flourished in the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., states that his grandfather's great-grandfather *Kīrtipāla* built a fort named after himself as *Kīrti-durga*; but *Chanderi* itself is mentioned in the inscription as *Chandrapura*.⁵ It is therefore uncertain whether the *Chanderi* fort is referred to as *Kīrtidurga* in the inscription in question. Another inscription of V. S. 1154 (1098 A. D.), from *Deogarh* in the *Lalitpur* Sub-division of the *Jhansi District*, U. P., states that *Mahādhara*, chief minister of the *Chandēlla* king *Kīrtivarman*, built the fort of *Kūti-giri* or *Deogarh*, apparently named after his master

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 3, text lines 1-3.

² Ibid., pp. 331 (Nos. 2-4), 332 (No. 5), 334 (No. 9), 335 (No. 10), 336 (No. 15).

³ Ibid., pp. 331 (No. 4, line 6), 332 (No. 5, line 6), 334 (No. 9, lines 3-4), 335 (No. 10, lines 4-5), 336 (No. 15, line 5).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 152, note 2; 169, text line 6.

⁵ *Dvivedi's List*, No. 633; *Patil, The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 94.

BUDHERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1351, SAKA 1216



Scale : One-half

Kīrtivarman.¹ But in any case, Budhera near Narwar seems to be far away from both Chanderi and Deogarh. It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription of the Yajvapāla king Gaṇapati represents him as having captured Kīrti-durga.²

The second half of the inscription in lines 4-7 seems to read : *Jaūhaṭṭi-pradhāna-Raviya-patnī-Di . . . na-suta-Mudhaisiḥa-putra-[Harī]rāja-Jairā[ju] [dau] hatau []** *laghu-putra-Tridhau . . . ndi-su[pu]trē[ṇa] [Ja]marāyaṇa nī[rē]hēd=ē[yaṇi] ||* Although there are several lacunae in this section, the purport of the record is clear. In correct Sanskrit the passage would stand as follows : *Jatuhattīya-pradhāna-Raviya-patnī-Di . . . nā-suta-Mudhaisiṃha-putra-Harirāja-Jayarājau dvau hatau | Laghu-putra-Tridhau . . . ndi-suputrēṇa Yamarājēna nirvāhit=ēyam ||* It states that Harirāja and Jayarāja, sons of Mudhaisiṃha and grandsons of the Pradhāna Raviya of Jatuhattā, were both killed [in the hands of certain enemies] and that Yamarāja son of the younger son [of Mudhaisiṃha] performed the work of raising the pillar in honour apparently of the two persons who had lost their lives. This part should better have been preceded by a passage like *ity-ētasmin kālē*.³ The name of Raviya's wife who was the mother of Mudhaisiṃha cannot be fully deciphered. The same is the case with the names of the parents of Yamarāja. The word used to indicate the erection of the pillar seems to be *nirvāhitā* (to go with a word like *kriyā* understood) without specifically indicating the nature of the work done. The same word appears to be employed in a similar sense in an early inscription.⁴

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kīrti-durga, as already indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Jaūhaṭṭa or Jatuhattā was probably a locality near Budhera where the pillar stands.

TEXT*

1 Sa[m]vatu 1351 Sākē 1[21]6 || svasti śrī-Ki-

2 rtti-durgre⁵ samasta-rāja(j-ā)vali-samalanākṛita-par[ma]⁷-

3 [bha]ṭārka⁸-[padi]marāja⁹-[śrī-Ga]ṇapati-mahāpradhāna-

4 Dēva¹⁰ vyāpāra[m] karōti []¹¹ Jaūhaṭṭi¹²-pradhāna-

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 163.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 340.

³ Cf. the Bangla inscriptions, Nos. 1, 3-5 (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 330-332).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 85.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Read *durgē*.

⁷ Read *parama*.

⁸ Read *bhaṭṭāraka*.

⁹ Read *paramarāja*.

¹⁰ The two *aksharas* lost here are difficult to restore. The intended reading may be *mudrā-vyāpāraṃ*.

¹¹ A passage like *ity-ētasmin=kālē* is required here. Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, p. 330 (No. 1, line 3), p. 331 (No. 3, line 5; No. 4, line 4), p. 332 (No. 5, line 4).

¹² Sanskrit *Jatuhattīya*.

5 Ravija-[pa]tnī-Di . . . na¹-suta-Mudhaisiḥa²-pu-

6 [tra]-Ha[ri]rāja-Jairā[ju]³ [dau]⁴ hatau [i*] laghu-putra-Tri⁵[dhau]-

7ndi⁶-[supu]trē[ṇa] [Ja]marāyaṇa⁷ ni[vē]hēd=ē[yam]⁸ ||

¹ This name of Ravija's wife should have a feminine ending.

² Sanskrit °*siṃha*.

³ Read *Jayarāja*.

⁴ Read *dvau*.

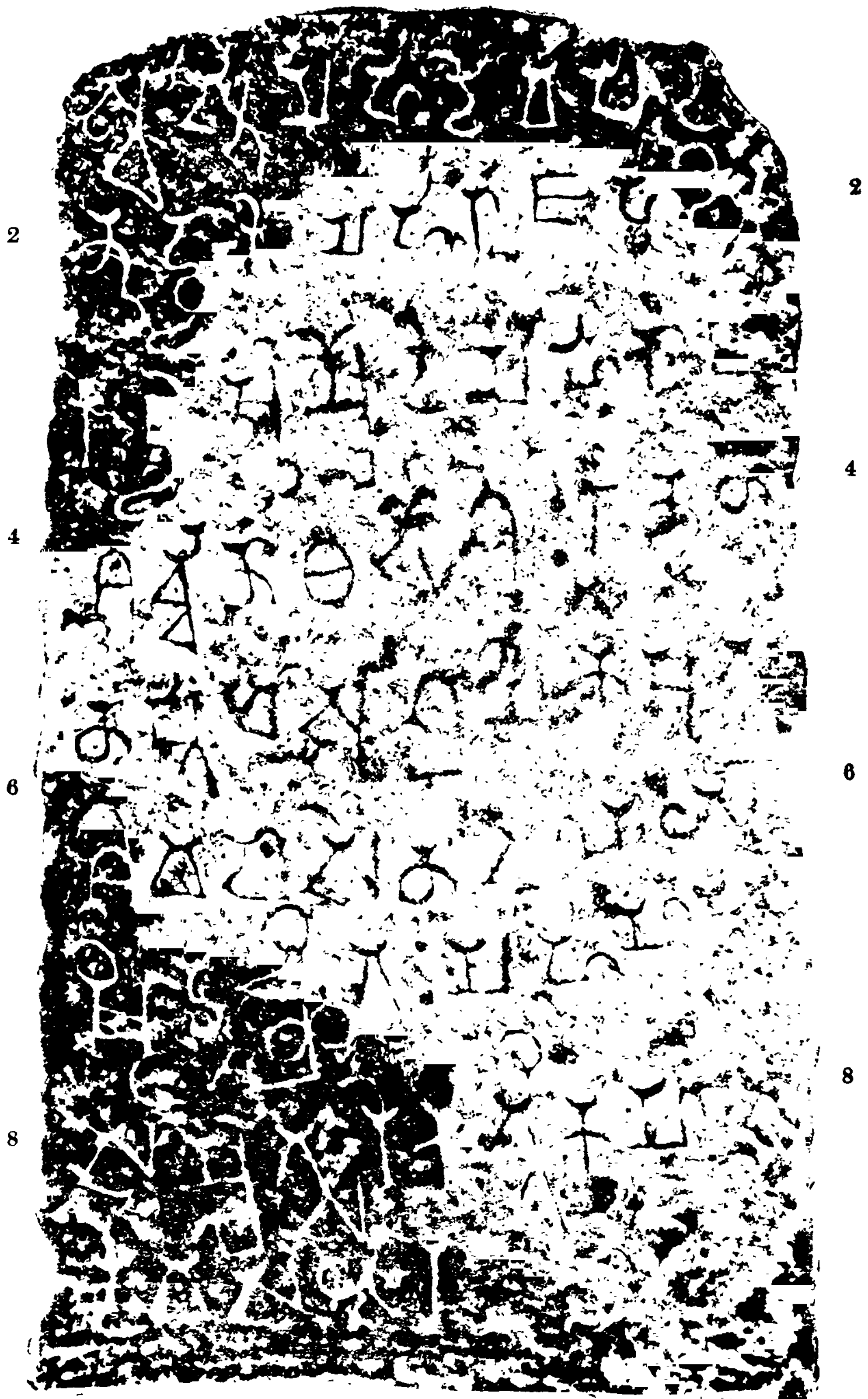
⁵ It is not clear as to whose *laghu-putra* (i.e. younger or youngest son) the person in question was. But he seems to have been the youngest son of Mudhaisiṃha and a younger brother of Harirāja and Jayarāja.

⁶ This seems to be the last *akṣara* of the name of the wife of the person who was the youngest son of Mudhaisiṃha and whose name was either Tridhau or began with those two *akṣaras*. The female name intended may have been something like Ānandī.

⁷ I. e. *Jamarājēna* (Sanskrit *Yamarājēna*).

⁸ Read *śivāhit=tyam*.

BHUMARA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HASTIN



scale : One-half

No. 32—NOTE ON BHUMARA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF HASTIN

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 6. 1958)

The stone pillar bearing this inscription was discovered at **Bhumarā** in the former Nagaudh State in Central India by Cunningham who noticed the epigraph in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.*, Vol. IX, 1879, p. 16, No. 9, with a translation and an illustration (Plate IV, No. 9). The text of the inscription as read by Fleet in the *Crop. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 111, runs as follows :

- 1 Svasti [*] Mahādēva-pād-[ā]-
- 2 nuddhyātō(ta)-mahārāja-Hasti-
- 3 rājyē Āmblōdē mahārāja-
- 4 Śarvvanātha-bhōgē Indana-
- 5 naptrā Vāsu-grāmika-puttra-
- 6 Śivadāsēna vala-ya-
- 7 śtī[r*]=uchchhritāḥ [*] Mahā-Māghē
- 8 sambha(sarhva)tsarē Kārttika-māsa-
- 9 divasa 10 9 [*]

As regards the reading of the text, it may be pointed out that the name at the end of line 4 is clearly *Indanā* and not *Indana*, while the numerical figure at the end of line 9 is 8 and not 9. The name *Śarvvanātha* is spelt generally as *Sarvvanātha* in the records of the king in question.

The date of the record is quoted in lines 7-9 as the 18th day of the month of Kārttika in the Mahā-Māgha year of Jupiter's twelve-year cycle. This year has been variously taken as corresponding to the Gupta years 165 (484 A. D.), 189 (508 A. D.) and 201 (520 A. D.).¹ The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of what is called a *valayashṭi* (no doubt the stone pillar bearing the inscription) on the date referred to above in Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga in Āmblōda in Mahārāja-Hasti-rājya by Śivadāsa who was the son of the grāmika Vāsu and the grandson of Indanā. The word *grāmika* seems to have been used here in the sense of 'the headman of a village.'

Cunningham read the word *yashṭi* in lines 6-7 of the inscription, which he took to mean 'a sacrificial pillar'. But at the same time he observed, "I suppose the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rājās (i.e. Hastin and Sarvanātha)." Fleet believed that the expression *vala-yashṭi* is a mistake for *valaya-yashṭi* which he understood in the sense of 'a boundary-staff or pillar'. His translation of the principal sentence of the record in lines 1-7 runs as follows : "In [the boundary of] the kingdom of the Mahārāja Hastin who meditates on the feet of [the god] Mahādēva ; at [the village of] Āmblōda ; [and] in [the boundary of] the bhōga of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha ;—[this] boundary-pillar has been set up." Like Cunningham, Fleet also suggests that the object of the inscription is to 'record the erection, at Āmblōda, of a boundary-pillar between the territories of the two Mahārājas'.

The two kings mentioned in the inscription are Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa. Besides the present record, the Parivrājaka king Hastin is known from his charters issued in the Gupta years 156 (475 A.D.), 163 (482 A.D.), 170 (489 A.D.) and 191

¹ See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1661.

(510 A.D.) while the known dates of his son and successor Saṁkshōbha are the Gupta years 199 (518 A.D.) and 209 (528 A.D.).¹ Similarly, the known dates of the Uchchakalpa king Sarvanātha are the Gupta years 191 (510 A.D.), 193 (512 A.D.), 197 (516 A.D.) and 214 (533 A.D.) and those of his father and predecessor Jayanātha are the Gupta years 174 (493 A.D.) and 177 (496 A.D.).² Roughly speaking therefore Hastin was the contemporary of the father of Sarvanātha who was the contemporary of Hastin's son. Some scholars wrongly refer the dates in the Uchchakalpa records to the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. instead of the Gupta era of 319 A.D.³ This is improbable in view of the fact that there is hardly any possibility of the spread of the Kalachuri era in the Uchchakalpa area in the age in question. On the other hand, the prevalence of the Gupta era in the same area during the age of the Uchchakalpa kings is indicated by the Parivrājaka inscriptions.⁴

The suggestion that the Bhumarā pillar bearing the inscription under study was set up for demarcating the boundary between the kingdoms of the two kings Hastin and Sarvanātha is highly improbable in view of the following facts. In the first place, as will be seen below, the expression *bala-yashṭi* is found in a similar context in another inscription of the same age and area and this clearly shows that there is no justification for correcting *vala-yashṭi* to *valaya-yashṭi*. It is clear from the record referred to that the intended reading for *vala-yashṭi* in the Bhumarā inscription is *bala-yashṭi*. We know that the records of the Parivrājaka king Hastin as well as others of the age and area in question often use *v* for *b* even though they employ *b* correctly or wrongly in some cases.⁵ Secondly, even if the emendation is regarded as justifiable, *valaya-yashṭi* would scarcely mean 'a boundary-pillar' since the word *valaya* does not really mean 'a boundary'. Thirdly, it is difficult to believe that an ordinary villager without any authority would think of taking upon himself the responsibility of fixing the boundary between the dominions of two neighbouring kings. Fourthly, the language of the record shows that the locality where the pillar was set up lay in both Hastin's dominions and Sarvanātha's *bhōga* and this hardly suits a line of demarcation between the kingdoms of the two rulers. Fifthly, Fleet's interpretations of the passages *Mahārāja-Hasti-rājyē* and *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōgē* respectively as 'in the boundary of the kingdom of *Mahārāja* Hastin' and 'in the boundary of the *bhōga* of *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha' are no doubt arbitrary, while the suggestion that they refer to the boundary between two kingdoms is quite unconvincing since it is unintelligible why Hastin's kingdom should be called a *rājya* and Sarvanātha's dominions a *bhōga*. Sixthly, the word *bhōga* does not really mean 'a kingdom'. Seventhly, the language of the epigraph suggests that *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lay within the dominions of Hastin.

The expression *Mahārāja-Hasti-rājyē* in such a context would normally mean 'during the reign of *Mahārāja* Hastin', even though the meaning 'in the kingdom of *Mahārāja* Hastin' may not be altogether impossible in a particular case. But whether the word *rājya* in our record is taken to mean 'sovereignty' or 'kingdom', the sentence in question makes it clear, as already suggested above, that what has been called *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lay within the dominions of Hastin whose reign (less probably, kingdom) is specifically mentioned in relation to the setting up of the pillar bearing the inscription. What can be the meaning of the word *bhōga* in such a context?

¹ Bhandarkar's List, p. 399; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 264 ff.

² Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 404.

³ Ibid., loc. cit.; also Nos. 1194-98, 1200, 1702.

⁴ For an inscription of the Imperial Guptas in the same area, cf. p. 172, note 1, below.

⁵ See, e.g., *Vrahmana* in line 5 and *Brāhmaṇabhyaḥ* in line 9 of the Majhgawam plates of Hastin (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.). Cf. also *sambatsara* (for *sambatsara*) in line 2 of this epigraph as well as in line 8 of the Bhumarā pillar inscription.

Fleet says, "*Bhōga*, lit. 'enjoyment, possession, government', is a technical territorial term, probably of much the same purport as the *bhukti* of other inscriptions." It is true that, like *bhukti*, 'a province', the word *bhōga* is often used to indicate a district of a kingdom. In many copper-plate grants, the gift village is stated to have been situated in a particular territorial unit styled *bhōga*. Mention may be made, e.g., of Kumārivaḍa near Bīhannārikā in Gōrajjā-bhōga within Bharukachchha-vishaya in the Sarsavani plates (lines 19-20)¹ of Kalachuri Buddharāja; Kōṇiyānām near Bhaṭaūrikā in Vaṭanagara-bhōga in the Vadner plates (line 19)² of the same king; Vira-grāma in Sāṭimāla-bhōga in Paḷayaṭṭhāna-vishaya in the Jejuri plates (lines 25-27)³ of the Chālukya king Vinayāditya; Jijjika-grāma attached to Vōṅkhāra-bhōga in the Jirjingi plates (line 11)⁴ of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman; Vanikā-grāma in Āvaraka-bhōga within Hūṇa-maṇḍala in the Gaonri plates (B, lines 7-8)⁵ of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṇja; Kailāsa-pura-grāma belonging to Taraḍamśaka-bhōga in the Mallar plates (lines 5-6)⁶ of the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna, etc. It will be seen from some of these instances from inscriptions found in different parts of the country that *bhōga* was a smaller territorial unit than a district called *vishaya* or *maṇḍala*. It is also interesting to note that the same territorial unit is called Eḍevolal-bhōga in the Sorab plates of Chālukya Vinayāditya and Eḍevolal-vishaya in the Harihar plates of the same king.⁷ But, if the word *bhōga* in the Bhumārā inscription is supposed to be used in the sense of a territorial unit like a district or its subdivision, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga was a small district of the kingdom of Hastin, even though its name was associated with that of Mahārāja Sarvanātha, apparently the contemporary Uchchakalpa king of that name. This does not appear to support the suggestion that the pillar in question was set up in order to demarcate the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and Sarvanātha.

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises the word *bhōga* in the senses of 'possession, property, wealth, revenue,' besides others. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* mentions two kinds of *bhōga* or possession, viz. *sa-vādhā* (with obstruction) and *nir-vādhā* (unobstructed, undisputed). He also recognises the following expressions containing the same word: (1) *bhōga-lābha*, usufruct in lieu of interest; (2) *bhōgōttara*, a grant of revenue for the enjoyment of a person or deity; and (3) *bhōga-bandhaka*, a kind of mortgage in which the articles mortgaged may be converted to use and the profits are to be appropriated by the mortgagee in lieu of interest. We have also inscriptions speaking of a *vīthī* (i.e. a shop or stall in a market) as *bhōg-ādihīnā tishṭhati* and *bhōg-ādihīnā grīhītā* with reference to its lying in the possession or being brought under the possession of an individual.⁸ From the sense of 'possession' the word *bhōga* came to be used in the sense of 'the property under one's possession.' The word is used in this sense, e.g., in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate⁹ of Viśvarūpasēna. The use of *bhōga* (and also of *bhukti*) in the sense of a territorial unit seems to be due to a further expansion of this meaning of the word.

Inscriptions often mention the expressions *bhōgika* and *bhōga-pati*. Since *bhōga-pati* is sometimes mentioned in association with *nri-pati* (i.e. king) and *vishaya-pati* (i.e. governor of a district)¹⁰,

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 298.

² Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 34.

³ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 64.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 64, note 9.

⁵ Ibid., p. 108.

⁶ Ibid., p. 120.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 16.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 212-13.

⁹ N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 146, text line 42; *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, p. 203.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, p. 249, text line 44; Vol. VI, 141 note, p. 300; Vol. XII, p. 34; Vol. XXIII, p. 159, text line 4; Vol. XXVII, p. 40.

it may be understood in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a territorial unit called *bhōga*', although the meaning 'one in the possession of a *bhōga*, i.e. landed property or *jāgīr*' is also not impossible in such cases. But the word *bhōgika* seems to be often used in the sense of a *jāgīrdār*.¹ Thus the donee of the Srungavarapukota plates (lines 9-10)² of Anantavarman is called *Achaṇṭapura-bhōgika* Mātrīśarman. It appears that Mātrīśarman was the *jāgīrdār* of the village of Achaṇṭapura and not the governor or resident of Achaṇṭapura-bhōga.

We have also other instances of the word *bhōga* being affixed to a personal name in a compound exactly as in *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* in the Bhumarā inscription. A stone inscription³, from Kosam (?) now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, reads as follows :

1 Siddham⁴ [*] svasti [*] Mahāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Śrīdhara-bhōgē duṣṭasā-

2 hānī⁵-Bha(Bhī)mēna kīrttan=⁶ēyam kārāpitā⁷ || bhāṭṭāraka-Lāha-

3 dēna⁸ || Sarhvat

4 [11]33 [||*]

Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrīdhara's *bhōga* mentioned in this record, which is no doubt similar to *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha's *bhōga* known from the Bhumarā pillar inscription, appears to indicate the *jāgīr* or fief in the possession of Śrīdhara and not the district governed by him. Since it is impossible to believe that *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha was the governor of a territorial unit in the kingdom of Hastin, the sense of 'a *jāgīr*' is certainly more suitable to the word *bhōga* in the context of the Bhumarā inscription. It may be argued that a district originally named after Sarvanātha was later included in Hastin's kingdom. This is improbable in view of the fact that Sarvanātha was a later contemporary of Hastin.

As regards *Mahārāja-Sarvanātha-bhōga* lying in or comprising Āmblōda within Hastin's dominions, there is nothing improbable, in our opinion, in *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha enjoying a *jāgīr* within his neighbour's kingdom. This possibility is suggested by the well-known story of the locality called Kāśī-grāma or Kāśī-nigama which lay within the dominions of the king of Kōśala but was for a considerable period of time in the possession of the king of Magadha.⁹ The said locality yielding a revenue of one lakh coins was given by Mahākōśala, king of Kōśala, to his daughter Kōśalādēvī for her bath and perfume money when she married king Bimbisāra of Magadha and, as a result, became a part of the Magadha kingdom. After Bimbisāra's death, Prasēnajit, son and successor of Mahākōśala, withdrew the gift from Ajātaśatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra. This led to a protracted war between Magadha and Kōśala. Ultimately Prasēnajit gave his daughter Vajrā in marriage to Ajātaśatru and the locality was given back as part of her dowry. It is not impossible that the village or territorial unit called Āmblōda lay in or comprised a *bhōga* under the enjoyment or possession of *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha even though the area formed a part

¹ The word *bhōjaka* is often used in the same sense. Cf. *Suc. Sūt.*, pp. 64 f., etc.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 60.

³ This is No. 519 of 1957-58, Appendix B. See *ASIR*, 1935-36, p. 95.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ For *Sāhānī*, cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 141-42. The designation *Duṣṭasāhānī* seems to be the same as *Dauṣṭādhānika*, *Duṣṭādhyasādhānika* or *Dauṣṭādhyasādhānika* mentioned in many records (cf. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185).

⁶ The word *kīrttanā* is the same as *kīrtana* or *kīrti* often used to indicate an image, a temple, a grant, etc., calculated to render famous the name of the person responsible for it. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.

⁷ Read *Kāritā*.

⁸ The intended reading may be *Lāhaḍasya* since the object of the inscription seems to be to record the construction of a shrine for a deity named Lāhaḍa.

⁹ See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v., *Kāśīgrāma-Kāśīnigama*, *Kōśalādēvī*, *Ajātaśatru* and *Prasēnadi*.

INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

A



Scale : One-third

AD

Scale: One-third

of the dominions of *Mahārāja* Hastin, just as *Kāśī-grāma* or *Kāśī-nigama* in the kingdom of *Kōśala* was in the possession of the king of Magadha when *Mahākōśala* and *Prasēnajit* were on the throne of the *Kōśala* country, although it is difficult to say whether matrimonial relations existed between Hastin and *Sarvanātha*.

We have now to determine the purpose behind the setting up of the stone pillar at *Bhumarā* since it does not appear to be the demarcation of the boundary between the kingdoms of Hastin and *Sarvanātha*. Inscribed and uninscribed pillars of stone, found in different parts of India, are innumerable. They were raised for various purposes in all the ages of Indian history. Amongst the inscribed pillars, the earliest belong to the days of the Maurya emperor *Asōka* (c. 269-232 B.C.).¹ These are called *stambha* (Prakrit *ṭhabha*, *ṭhambha*, *ṭhabha*, *ṭhambha*) or *śilā-stambha* in the epigraphs they bear. There are some pillars which may be classified as *dhrvaja-stambha*² (often standing before a temple and bearing inscriptions in some cases), *jaya-stambha*³ (often bearing the eulogy of a conqueror) and *kīrti-stambha*⁴ (often bearing the eulogy of a person who performed a pious deed calculated to make him famous). Certain memorial pillars known as hero stones⁵ (often with inscriptions recording the deaths of warriors while fighting against enemies) and *satī* stones⁶ (often bearing inscriptions which record the deaths of widows burning themselves in fire) are found in large numbers in the southern and western regions of India, though they are as well known from other parts of the country. Besides these, we have also other kinds of inscribed pillars bearing small inscriptions as the one on the *Bhumarā* pillar. Some of these are votive pillars set up in religious establishments by pious men, especially pilgrims, for acquiring religious merit. They are generally referred to as *stambha* in Sanskrit and *ṭhabha*, *ṭhabha*, *ṭhambha* or *ṭhambha* in Prakrit in the records incised on them. Instances of such votive pillars are numerous in the inscriptions discovered in the ruins of old Buddhist *Stūpas* like those at Barhut, Sanchi, and Nagarjunikonda.⁷ There is another class of memorial pillars similar to the hero and *satī* stones. The erection of such pillars in honour of one's dead relatives is referred to in early records like the *Suvihar* inscription⁸ dated in the 11th regnal year of the Kushāṇa emperor *Kanishka* I and the *Andhau* inscriptions⁹ of the year 52 apparently referable to the Śāka era and corresponding to 130 A.D. Such pillars are generally mentioned in the inscriptions incised on them as *yashṭi* (Prakrit *yāṭhi*, *lašṭi*). The use of the word *yashṭi* in the expression *bala-yashṭi* occurring in our inscription may suggest that the *Bhumarā* pillar was a memorial raised in honour of a dead relative of *Śivadāsa*. This relative was possibly his grandfather or grandmother *Indanā*, although it is not clearly stated in the inscription.¹⁰

¹ See *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xv ff.

² Cf., e.g., the *Eran* pillar inscription of the Gupta year 165 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 88 ff.).

³ The *Eran* and *Mandasor* pillars bearing the inscriptions respectively of *Samudragupta* and *Yaśodharman* fall in this category. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 260 ff., 393 ff. A *jaya-stambha* could sometimes be also regarded as a *kīrti-stambha*.

⁴ The *Talagunda* pillar bearing a *prasasti* of the Kadamba king *Kakusthavarman* who excavated a tank near a *Śiva* temple belongs to this class. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 450 ff.

⁵ See, e.g., above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff.

⁶ See, e.g., *Hiralal's List*, p. 46 (No. 78), p. 53 (No. 95), etc. In many cases, the inscriptions on the pillar record both the death of a hero and the self-immolation of his widow. Cf. e.g., the *Eran* inscription of the Gupta year 191 (510 A.D.) in the same work, p. 49 (No. 83).

⁷ See *Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions*; above, Vol. II, pp. 87 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff.; etc. Cf. *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 6-8.

⁸ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 35-36. For sacrificial pillars called *gūpta*, see *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68. A memorial pillar bearing the representation of a dead person is called a *chhāyā-stambha* in a *Nagarjunikonda* inscription (cf. *J. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 26).

¹⁰ We have other pillar inscriptions without indication as regards the object of setting up the pillars in question, especially when they were raised in a religious establishment. See *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. XV, pp. 5 ff.

It is interesting in this connection to note that another stone pillar inscription of the middle of the fifth century A.D., discovered in the Bhumara region of Central India, refers to the setting up of a *bala-yashṭi* in the following words : *sva-puny-āpyāyan-ārtham yaśaḥ-kīrtti-pravardhamāna-gōṭtra-śailikā bala-yashṭi[h*] pratishṭhāpitā Varga-grāmikēṇa*.¹ This was a memorial pillar apparently raised in honour of several dead relations of a *grāmika* (headman of a village) named Varga and that is why the *bala-yashṭi* appears to be described as a *gōṭtra-śailikā*, 'a family stone'. There is absolutely no indication in the inscription that it could have been a boundary-pillar of any kind.

The meaning of the expression *bala-yashṭi* is not clear. The *Mēdinikōsha* recognises the word *bala* in the adjectival sense of *bala-yukta*, 'strong, stout', and this is suitable in the present context. *Bala-yashṭi* may thus indicate a strong or stout (i.e. everlasting) pillar. Even if *bala* is taken in its ordinary sense of strength, *bala-yashṭi* would offer the same meaning in a compound expression. It is difficult to say whether such memorial pillars were popularly and conventionally known to have been 'Balarāma's *yashṭi* or pillar' just as Aśoka's Delhi-Swalik pillar is called 'Bhīmasēna's *lāṭ* or *lāṭh* (from *yashṭi* or *lashṭi* meaning 'a pillar')'.

In this connection, reference may be made to a late pillar inscription² from the former Rewa State, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It reads as follows :

- 1 Siddham³ [I*] Saṁvat 1[4]17 samayē | Jyēṣṭha⁴-vadi 13 Vuddhē⁵ Mahā-
- 2 rājādhirāja-śrī-Vallāladēva-rājyē | atō⁶
- 3 Nāyakapāla[h] tasya vamsē(śē) su-putra-Mah[ā]rāja-nāmā
- 4 pratyutpannaḥ | tad-abhāgyāt=paramēśvara-vaikūlyāt=sa-
- 5 tibhyā[m] saha para-lōk-āntaritaḥ | tad-artham gātra-
- 6 m=akārshīt | ā-chaṁdra-bhānū yāvat=tāvat=tishṭhatv=idam(dam) |
- 7 Bhamīṇa Sōmaka | tathā Chōl[ō] Sahadēva |⁷ kṛitam gātram(tram) |

This inscription refers to a memorial pillar raised by some persons in the memory of a dead man named Mahārāja whose two wives appear to have committed *Sati*, on Wednesday, Jyēṣṭha-vadi 13, V.S. 1417 (May 13, 1360 A.D.) during the *rājya* or reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vallāladēva, as a *gātra*. The word *gātra* (occurring twice in the record in lines 5 and 7) in the sense of 'a pillar' is unintelligible. It, however, appears to be a mistake or modification of the word *gōṭtra* which may be a contraction of what is called *gōṭtra-śailikā* in the Rewa inscription of the Gupta period, to which reference has been made above. The pillar in question may be regarded as 'a family stone' since it was raised in memory of three persons (i.e. the husband and his two wives) of a particular family. It is interesting to note that the use of *gōṭtra-śailikā* and *gātra* in the sense of a memorial pillar has so far been found only in the said records of the Rewa region.

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 6. This is the Supia (former Rewa State) pillar inscription of the reign of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.), dated in the Gupta year 141 (460 A.D.). Cf. *CII.*, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note 7, to which my attention was drawn when the present note was going through the press.

² This is No. 528 of 1957-58, Appendix B. See *ASIAR*, 1935-36, p. 96.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read *Jyēṣṭha*.

⁵ Read *Buddhē*.

⁶ A word like *asī* would suit the context.

⁷ Better read *Bhamīṇa-Sōmaka-Chōlō-Sahadēvaḥ*.

No. 33—STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS

(Received on 6.2.1958)

This is a single plate bearing inscription on both sides, which was purchased by the Government Museum, Madras, in 1955, from a person who is stated to have got it from **Tirupparan** **kupram**, a suburb of Madurai. Obviously it belonged to a set of which the other plates are missing. I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

The plate measures $10'' \times 3.4'' \times .075''$. There are ten lines of writing on each side. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory excepting some letters at the beginning of a few lines on both the obverse and reverse of the plate. Though the inscription is fragmentary it is interesting in more respects than one.

The characters of the inscription are Tamil and the record may be assigned to *circa* 10th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. If the information about the provenance of the plate is correct, it may suggest that the charter was issued from the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This is to some extent borne out by the use of certain expressions in the record. Cf. *āṇāṭṭu* (lines 1-2), *Poduraṇ* (line 6), *Ḥavaṇ* (line 18), etc. The introduction of the Chōḷa variety of the Tamil script in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, where *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* was formerly in general use, was largely due to the Chōḷa kings who began to establish their sway over the Pāṇḍya region in the tenth century.

The expressions *rottar* (each member), *orōttar* (each member) and *orōkuḍi* (each family) are interesting. They are characteristic of the region where the record is stated to have been found. The use of *paḍu* in *ponpaḍunilam* is interesting because it refers to a period earlier than the stage of its use solely as a passive participle. The epigraph uses the marks of *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, though not uniformly.

The passage that is preserved in this stray plate seems to record the settlement of one family each of the classes of shepherds, oilmongers, potters, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, Ḥavas, Paṇambas and Paṇaiyas in a village. Some of them were assigned lands belonging to a god with whom they were required to share the produce. Unfortunately other details are lost.

The term *āṇāṭṭukkāṇam* and *nilakkāṇam* mentioned in the record require a word of explanation. The former stands for some kind of a tax levied from the people of the particular colony referred to in the inscription for the specific purpose of the festival of bathing the images of gods and goddesses in river water. The second term means 'the remittance both in kind and cash according to the land holdings that are leased out to them and enjoyed (*uṇbadu*) by the various classes of people settled in a colony'. The word *kombu* occurs twice in the inscription in two different contexts. In the first instance it is associated with *nel* or paddy (line 4) and this paddy is said to be divided [into shares] and received as wage individually [by the labourers]. Here the term *kombu* indicates the quality of the paddy. In the villages, especially in the District of Ramanathapuram, the *meṇkkāṭṭu-āḷ*, i.e. the man or woman employed on daily wages basis, is usually paid in kind and gets a quantity of paddy of the first quality. In the second instance, it finds a place in the passage *kombil kālē-māgāṇiyum* (line 8) as well as in the passage *ponpaḍunilattu orōttarkku kāl cheyyum kombil rottarkku [māgāṇi]yum* in lines 9-10. The word *kombu* is associated with *kālē-māgāṇiyum* in the first expression and with *māgāṇiyum* in the next. It,

therefore, seems to indicate a variety of land. The *Maṇṇāḍis* were thus granted two varieties of land. *Ponpaḍunilam* is one variety and the other variety is qualified by the term *kombu*. While the former refers to the most fertile class of land usually situated near the residential site or central belt of fields in a village, the latter may refer to land situated in the outlying parts of the village.¹ This meaning seems to be quite in accord with the context.

The term *ponpaḍu-nilam* means 'golden land', i.e. the most fertile land. It may be mentioned here that in every village, the lands are classified into several categories according to their fertility. By specifying the land as *ponpaḍu-nilam* it is presumable that the place referred to in this inscription should also have other categories of less fertile lands and that the practice of classifying the land is an ancient one. Such expressions as *ūḷṭṭapayan*, *meṃkkāṭṭu* and *meḷḷuttan* are equally interesting. Of these, the term *meṃkkāṭṭu*, as indicated above, is in vogue even today. The adjectives preceding the names of individual *Maṇṇāḍis* such as *pañjirriyan* seem to stand for the names of various classes among them. Of these adjectives *maḷḷan* continues to be in vogue to this day.

The locality called *Paṇṇiyūr* was probably situated in the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom, though it is not possible to identify it.

TEXT*

First Side

- 1 l peru[va²]du [*] āṛāṭṭu-[k³]kāṇam samūha⁴ttil panniraṇḍu ūḷṭṭa-payan kūṛ-i-
- 2 ṭṭu koḷḷum mudalum ūṭṭa-kkuṛaivum āṛāṭṭu-p[p⁵]aṇaiyam=āga koḷvadu [*] A-
- 3 ṭṭil-paḷḷiyār paṇikk=uriyār āṛāḍu-nāḷ roṭṭar⁶ kala nel peruvaḍu [*] Pa-
- 4 nṛi ūṛāruṇ=kālāruṇ⁶ pāṭṭam ālavum taḷiy-ālavum perār [*] kombiṇ nel
- 5 uḷḷūr meṃ-kkāṭṭiṇāḷ kūṛai vilaiy=āga kaḷattilē kūṛ-iṭṭu koḷvadu [*] i-chchēri-
- 6 [kku] Maṇṇāḍigaḷ Pañjirriyan Vaṭṭam Poduvaṇum Pūṣal Kāvaṇ-chellaṇu-
- 7 m [chēr?]ppaṇ Nilaṇ-kāvaṇum Maḷḷaṇ Kāvama[rai]⁷yan Kūṛraṇ Kōḍai Araiyaṇu-
- 8 m Maḷḷaṇ Śāttam Vaṭṭaṇum [*] Śāttam Vaṭṭaṇukku kombil kālē-māgāṇiyum ma-
- 9 r[rai] Maṇṇāḍigaḷukku pon-paḍu-nilattu orōṭṭarkku kāl chey⁸yum kombil ro-
- 10 tta[rkku] mā[gāṇi]yum uḷudu Dēvarroḍum⁹ pādi iṭṭ=unpaḍu [*] nilakkāṇam kāṛ-chey-

¹ [This explanation is not convincing. The meanings given by the author for the word *kombu* in the two contexts are contradictory. In the first instance also it may mean 'paddy grown in the *kombu* variety of land'. The *Tamil Lexicon* explains the word as 'the farthest end of a tank bund'.—Ed.]

² From the original plate.

³ Its head has been effaced due to corrosion of the plate; so it looks like *pa*.

⁴ The word *samūha* is in Grantha.

⁵ This expression which has its variant *orōṭṭar* in line 9, is in vogue in the Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli Districts as well as in Kerala.

⁶ This *n* is a mistake for *m*.

⁷ There is a dot over this letter.

⁸ In the Ramanathapuram District, a *chey* is a measure of land, also called *mā*, comprising sixteen *mandiris* which is approximately equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *veli* or 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ acres. [*Mā* was one-twentieth of a *veli* in those days.—Ed.]

⁹ Read *Dēvarroḍu*. The letter *m* is incised below the letter *pā*.

STRAY PLATE IN MADRAS MUSEUM

First Side

10
 9
 8
 7
 6
 5
 4
 3
 2
 1

10
 9
 8
 7
 6
 5
 4
 3
 2
 1

Scale : Nine-tenths

Second Side

12
14
16
18
20

12
14
16
18
20

Second Side

- 11 yā[ll=a]rai=¹kkalañju poṇ iruppadu [|*] Melleḷutaṇum Tā[pa]rriyum rotta
 12 r poṇ-paḍu-nilattu kālē-araikkāl nilam² Dēvarroḍu³ pādi iṭṭu uṇbadu [|*]
 13 [nila]-kkāṇam rottar paḍiṇ-ār-arai-kkāṇam poṇṇ-iru[p*]padu [|*] Melleḷuttaṇ-
 14 [ṇum Tā[pa]r]riyum āṭṭ-oruvar paṇi śeyvadu [|*] kālārum⁴ [Ma*]ṇṇāḍigaḷum kuḍiyi-
 15 [l]=mūttāṇ paṇi śeyvadu [|*] i-chchēri kuḍigaḷ kāl cheyyāl arai=kkalañju poṇ
 16 [nila]-kkāṇamum kalav-ariśiyum nāḷi neyyum iṇuttu Dēvar nilam uludu
 17 pādi iṭṭ=uṇbadu [|*] Vāṇigaṇum Kuśavaṇum Kāvidiyum Taṭṭāṇu[m*] Tachchaṇum Kol-
 18 laṇum Vaṇṇāṇum Ilavaṇum Paṇambaṇum Paṇaiyaṇum orōkuḍi irup-
 19 padu [|*] Dēvar-vaṇṇāṇukku kāl cheyyāl oru paḍugaiyum kala=ppērum āṇ-
 20 ḍuvarai paṇṇ-iru kala nellu peruvadu [|*] i-chchēri kuḍigaḷ [vā]gdēśham⁵

¹ Read °yal=ari°.

² Nilam preceded by kālē-araikkāl (i.e. ḷ) seems to suggest that here it is a synonym of chey. [The language seems to suggest that chey was different from kālē-araikkāl.—Ed.]

³ Read Dēvarroḍu.

⁴ Read kālārum.

⁵ The letters °gdēśham are in Grantha.

No. 34—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, V. S. 1171

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.2.1958)

When I visited the Municipal Museum at Allahabad in December 1957, Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, kindly allowed me to examine and copy two copper-plate grants in his custody. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Banaras. Both the inscriptions are engraved on single plates. The first of the two charters, written on both sides of the plate, was issued by the Gāhaḍavāla king Madanapāla (circa 1100-14 A.D.) and the second, written only on one side, by his son Gōvindachandra (circa 1114-55 A.D.).

Madanapāla's document was issued on the occasion of the *Akshaya-tritīyā*¹ on Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1164, corresponding to the 16th April 1108 A.D. The seal attached to the ring passing through a hole in the plate has the figure of flying Garuḍa above, the legend *śrī-Madanapāladēvaḥ* in the middle and the representation of a conch-shell below. The charter records the grant of the village of Sājā in the *Chaturāsikā* (i.e., Chaurāsī or a Pargana consisting roughly of 84 villages)² of Mānighapura in the A[ru]rēsa pattaḷā (district) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādharasārman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra. The name of apparently the same pattaḷā is also found in the Fyzabad plate³ of Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra (circa 1170-93 A.D.), dated V. S. 1233 (1187 A. D.), and it may be the same as the region around Arror, the older name of Partabgarh. The inscription was discovered at Bādērā in the Kunda Tahsil of the Partabgarh District, U. P. The gift village of Sājā lies at a distance of seven miles from Bādērā which is only two miles from Mānikpur (Mānighapura of the inscription) near the Ghutni railway station on the branch line between Allahabad and Raibareilly. This inscription was published by K. C. Sinha and K. Chattopadhyaya in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, Part I, pp. 70 ff. The other charter issued by the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra is edited below.

As indicated above, this is a single plate inscribed on one side only. The ring bearing the seal passes through a hole measuring .8" in diameter about the middle of the first line of writing. The plate measures 17 inches in length, 13.5 inches in height and .15 inch in thickness. But the corners of the plate are rounded off and its length and breadth are slightly less at the sides. The seal bears, besides the usual Garuḍa and conch-shell emblems, the legend *śrīmad-Gōvindachandra-(nāra)dēvaḥ* |. There are altogether 23 lines of writing on the plate. The findspot of the record is not known to me.

The inscription resembles the numerous other charters of Gāhaḍavāla Gōvindachandra in palaeography, orthography and style. The vowel mark of ē is written both as *śrīḍ-mātrā* and *prishṭha-mātrā*. Ē is written like *p* and *ṛṇṇ* like *rll* and *dh* sometimes like *v*. There is no difference between *th* and *dhv*. The use of *v* for *b* (except in °āmbu in line 9), *s* for *ś* and the class nasal for the *anusvāra* is noticed in many cases. The date of the grant is quoted as Monday, the full-moon tithi of the month of Kārttika in V. S. 1171. We have another charter issued by the

¹ This tithi was the occasion for the grant of several Gāhaḍavāla charters. Cf. the Kamauli plate of V. S. 1172 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 103-04), Pali plate of V. S. 1189 (ibid., Vol. V, pp. 113-15), Lar plate of V. S. 1202 (ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 98-100), etc.

² See *JBRs*, Vol. XL, p. 10. Cf. the name of Vāḍā-chaturāsīti-pattaḷā in the Set-Mahet plate of Gōvindachandra, dated 1186 (above, Vol. XI, pp. 20 ff.). For the Prakritism in the expression *chaturāsikā*, cf. *bayālisī* (Sanskrit *drachaturāśīkāt*) in the name of Rudamaṇa-bayālisī-pattaḷā in the Kamauli plate of V. S. 1190 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 111-12).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 10 ff. No facsimile of the inscription was published. The name has been read as Asurāsī.

same monarch exactly on the same day. It is the Kamauli plate published above.¹ But in spite of the occurrence of the same date in two different documents, it has to be admitted that it is irregular since Kārttika-śu. 15 was not a Monday in V. S. 1171 (1114-15 A.D.).

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the word *svasti*. These are followed in lines 1-10 by nine stanzas which are already well known from the published Gāhaḍavāla charters.² The first of these verses contains an adoration of the goddess Śrī (Lakshmī) while the next (verse 2) introduces Yaśōvigraha who is stated to have flourished after the rulers of the solar race (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj) had passed away. Verse 3 introduces Yaśōvigraha's son Mahīchandra and the next two stanzas (verses 4-5) Mahīchandra's son Chandra who is stated to have obtained by his valour the empire (*ādhirājya*, i.e. *sāmrājya*) of Gādhipura (Kānyakubja or Kanauj, i.e. the erstwhile Gurjara-Pratihāra empire), and protected the holy places in the Kāśī, Kuśika (Kuśikapura or Gādhipura, i.e. Kānyakubja), Uttarakōśala (land around the city of Ayōdhyā and Śrāvastī) and Indrasthāna (Indraprastha or Delhi) regions. It is also stated that king Chandra eradicated all afflictions of the subjects of the Gādhipura empire (or, less probably, suppressed their rebellion). Chandra's son Madanapāla is described in the next two stanzas (verses 6-7) and Gōvindachandra, who was the son and successor of Madanapāla and issued the charter under review, in verses 8-9. A passage in prose in lines 10-13, also known from the king's other charters, then re-introduces Gōvindachandra, described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and *Paramamāhēśvara* and as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Madanapāla who himself meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Chandra. Here also king Chandra is described as having obtained the possession of Kānyakubja (i.e. Kānyakubja or Kanauj). The claim seems to refer to the fact that the Gāhaḍavālas considered themselves successors of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors. It is often supposed that the reference is to the occupation of the city of Kanauj which is again believed to have been another capital of the Gāhaḍavāla monarchs besides Vārāṇasī or Banaras. But the language of verse 4 does not appear to support this interpretation and there is also no evidence to show that Kanauj was a secondary capital of the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras. The representation of the rulers of this dynasty as 'the Gāhaḍavālas of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja' thus appears to be inaccurate.³ Yaśōvigraha, founder of the Gāhaḍavāla house, seems to have been ruling in the Banaras region as a subordinate of the latest rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, although there is no doubt that, before his grandson Chandra established his imperial status in the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Kalachuris of Tripurī had succeeded in extending their power over the said area. Baihaqi speaks of a Muslim invasion of Banaras about 1034 A. D. when the city belonged to the territory of Gang (i.e., Kalachuri Gāṅgēya, circa 1015-41 A. D.) while the rule of Karṇa (circa 1041-71 A. D.), son of Gāṅgēya, in that region is proved by epigraphic evidence.⁴ The Basahi plate, referred to above, also assigns Chandra's rise to the period after the death of the kings named Bhōja and Karṇa (i.e., the Kalachuri king of that name).

Lines 13 ff. record the details of the grant made by the king on the date discussed above after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī and having paid respects to the Sun-god and worshipped the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee of the grant and the officers and others addressed by the king are the same as in the other Gāhaḍavāla charters.

¹ Vol. IV, pp. 102 f.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 100, etc.

³ Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, 507. The Basahi plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103, text line 5) describes Chandra as having 'established his capital at Kānyakubja'. But the statement seems to indicate that, after having established his suzerainty over the former Kanauj empire, Chandra stayed at the city of Kanauj for sometime. A subordinate ruling family of the Rāshtrakūṭas had its headquarters at that city under the Gāhaḍavālas. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 204, 1670.

⁴ See Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 773, 782, 785.

The epigraph under study records the grant of the village of **Vaḍhavalī** in the *pattalā* or district of **Kasnabbhavaṇa** in favour of *Paṇḍita* Gōvardhanaśārman who was a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa claiming the Sārkaṣya or Sārkaṇa *gōtra* and the Āṅgīrasa, Āmahīcha and Aruksha *pravaras* and was the son of *Agnihōtrin* Kēśava and the grandson of *Paṇḍita* Mālhaṇa. It may be pointed out that the Sārkaṣya or Sārkaṇa *gōtra* is not mentioned in any early work, and it has no doubt been wrongly spelt in the inscription. But the mention of Āṅgīrasa among the three *pravaras* helps us in determining the correct reading of the names of the other two *pravaras* which have also been wrongly spelt. There is no doubt that the three *pravaras* are Āṅgīrasa, Āmahayya (or, Āmahiyava, etc.) and Aurukshaya which are assigned in early works to the *gōtras* of the Kapi group.¹ Unfortunately none of the *gōtras* of this group sounds like Sārkaṣya or Sārkaṇa. Some authorities include a *gōtra* called Śārṅgarava in this group² and Sārkaṣya or Sārkaṇa may be a wrong reading for Śārṅgarava.

The document was written by *Karaṇika-Thakkura* Sahadēva who is already known from the *Kamauli*³ and *Don Buzurg*⁴ plates both issued by king Gōvindachandra in V. S. 1176 (1120 A.D.). The record ends with the passage *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ* and the *akshara chha* written twice between double *daṇḍas*. The said *akshara* is an indication of the end of the writing.⁵ It is interesting to note that the *akshara* occurs singly at the end of the grant proper in line 21. Its duplication thus indicates the end of the whole document while its single occurrence earlier means the end of a section only.

Besides the *Tirthas* in certain areas in the modern U. P. as well as Gādhipura or Kanyakubja (i.e., Kanauj) mentioned in the description of king Chandra, only two other geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. They are the district of Kasnabbhavaṇa and the village of Vaḍhavalī. I am not sure about their location. If Vaḍhavalī may be identified with one of the villages named Badhauri in the Districts of U. P., we may possibly suggest the one at lat. 28° and long. 78° 15', since there is at lat. 28° 25' and long. 77° 30' a village called Kasna which is the first part of the name of the *pattalā* mentioned in the inscription. The second part of this name may possibly refer to Bhawan Bahadurnagar at lat. 28° 35' and long. 77° 55'. In that case it has to be suggested that the name of the district was coined by joining the names of two prominent localities in it.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 10-11 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verses 4, 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5-6, 8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 9 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 Siddham⁷ svasti || Akunṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikunṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ
surat-ārambhē sa Sriyaḥ śrēyasē=stū vaḥ || [1*] Āsīd=Asī(śī)tadyuti-vansa(vamśa)-jāta-
- 2 [kshṁ]āpāla-mālāsu divaṇ=gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yasō(śō)-
vighraha ity=udāraḥ || [2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=Mahīchandraś=chandra-dhāma-nibham ni-
- 3 jam(jam) | yēn=āpāram=akū⁸pāra-pāiē vyāpāritam yasaḥ(śaḥ) || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō
nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-marḍalō vidhva[st-ō]ddhata-dhī[ra]⁹-yōva(dha)-timiraḥ
śrī-Chandra-

¹ See *Gōtrapravarānibandhakadamba*, pp. 43, 48, 55, etc.

² Ibid., p. 41.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 106 f.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

⁵ Cf. ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 218.

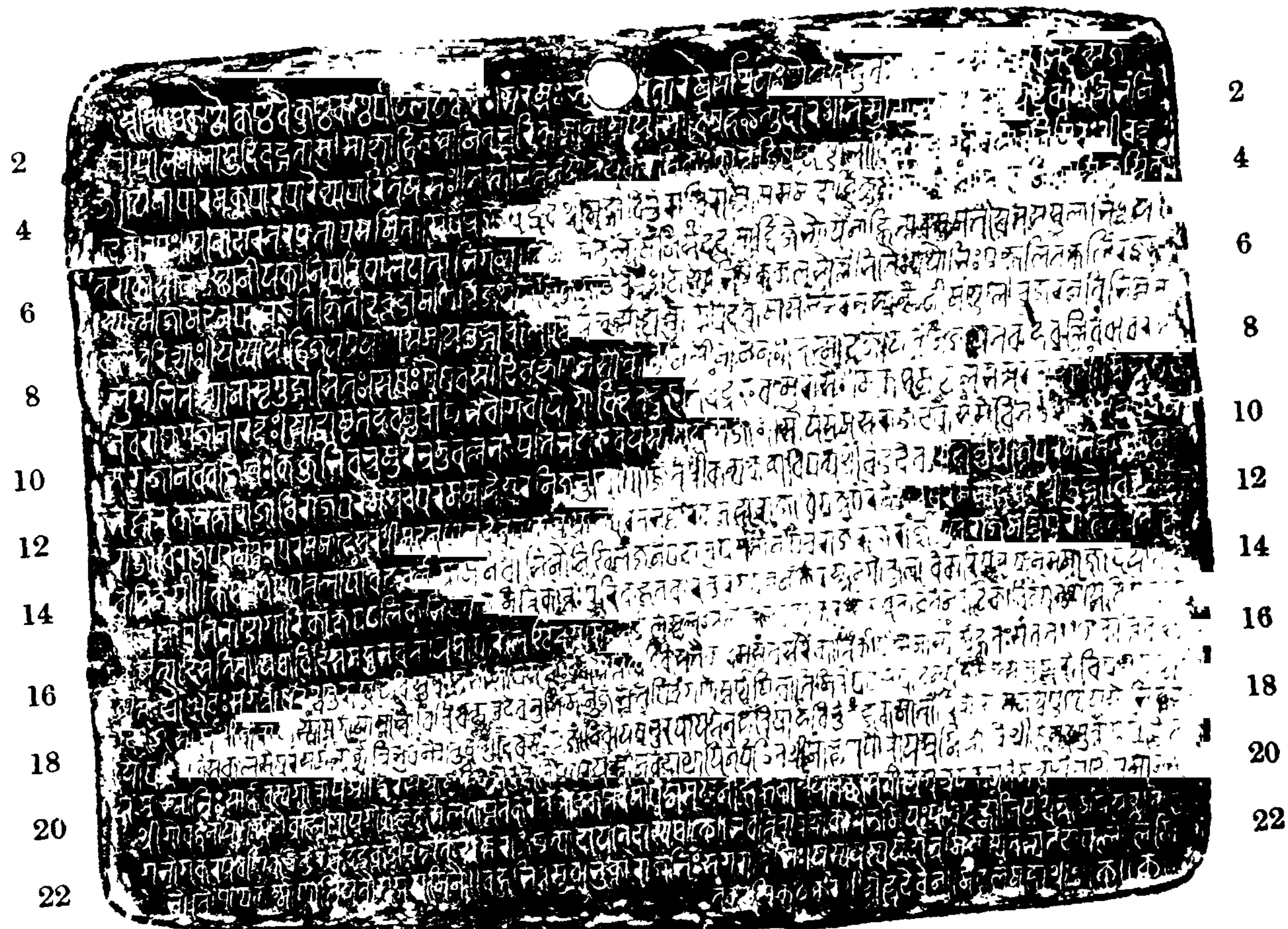
⁶ From impressions.

⁷ Expressed by symbol.

⁸ *Ks* was originally incised.

⁹ Some records read *śra*.

ALLAHABAD MUSEUM PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, V. S. 1171



Scale : One-third
SEAL



Scale : Actual

- 4 dēvō nṛipaḥ | yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-sa(śa)mit-āsē(śē)sha-praj-ōpadravam śrīmad-**Gādhipur-**
āchirājvam=asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēṇ=ārjjitaṁ(tam) || [4*] Tīrthāni **Kāsi(śi)-Kusi(śi)k-Ō-**
- 5 **ttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni** | aripālayat=ābhigamya¹ | hēn=ātma-tulyam=anīsaṁ-
(śam) dadatā dvijēbhyō yēn-ānkitā vasumatī sa(śa)tasa(śa)s=tulāl,hiḥ || [5*] Ya(Ta)-
- 6 sy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kṣhītī,cha-chūdā-maṇir=vijayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy=
ābhishēka-kalas-ōllasitaiḥ payōbbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ Kali-raja[h*] sa-
- 7 kalam² dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-
mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-[bhira]sya(śya)n-mahī³-maṇḍalē | chūdā-ratna-
vibhinna-tā-
- 8 lu-galita-styān-āṣṭig-udgā(ūbhā)sitah Sē(Śē)shah pēsha⁴-vasā(śā)d=iva kṣhaṇam=asau krōḍē
nilīn-ānanaḥ || [7*] Tasnād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-vam(bam)dh-āvarudhva(ddha)-
- 9 nava-rājya-gajō narēndrah | sānīd[r]-āmṛita-drava-muchāṁ prabhavō gavāṁ yō **Gōvinda-**
chadradendra iti chandra iv=āmbu-rāsēḥ(śēḥ) || [8*] Ma(Na) katham=apy=alabhanta
raṇa-kshamāns=tis[ti]shu di-
- 10 [kshu] gajān=adha(tha) Vajrinēḥ(ṇah) | kakubhi va(ba)bhru(bhira)mur=Abhramuvallabhaḥ-
(bha)-pratibhatā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] sō=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-chara-
ṇah sa cha parama-
- 11 bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-nija-bhuj-ōpārjjita-
śrī-**Kanyakuvjā(bj-ā)dhīpatya**-śrī-**Chandradēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-
mahā-
- 12 rājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrī-**Madanapālādēva**-pād-ānudyāta-
paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśva(śva)ra - paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrīma-
Gōvindachandradē-
- 13 vō vijayī || **Kas[n]avbha(bbha)vapa**-pattalāyām **Vaḍhavalī**-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-jana-
padān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rāja⁵-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhā-
- 14 ra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishaka(shag)-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-tū(dū)ta-kari-
turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purusha(shā)n samājñāpayati vō(bō)-
- 15 dhayaty=ādisa(śa)ti cha || yathā viditam=astu bhavatām(tām) | yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-
jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-madhūka-chūta-[va*]na-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gō-
chara-pa-
- 16 ryantaḥ s-ōrdhv-āvaḥ(dhaḥ) sa-gartt-ōsharāś=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ s[v]a-sīmā-pa-
[r*]ya[n]taḥ **ēkasaptaty-adhika-sa(śa)t-aikādasa(śa)-saṁva[t*]sarē Kārttika-**
paurṇamāsyām ankataḥ Saṁvata(vat) 1171 Kārttika-su-
- 17 **di 15 Sōmē śrī-Vārāpasyām Ga[rn]gāyām** snātvā vidhivan=ma[n]tra-dēva muni-manu-
ja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāns=tarppayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=
upasthā-
- 18 y=Ausha[dhi]patisakalasēsharam⁶ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya pūjām
vidhāya [pra]chura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha
puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddha-

¹ Some records read °ādhigamya.² Some records read paṭalam.³ There is a redundant superscript r above nma.⁴ Sometimes the correction śaiśha (cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 12, Note 97) is suggested unnecessarily. The word iva need not be taken here to indicate utprēkshā.⁵ This word is redundant although the intended expression may be rājaputra or rājanyaka.⁶ Read °sakalasēsharam.

- 19 yē asmābhiḥ Sārkkavaśya-gotrāya¹ Āṅgīrasa-Āmahiccha-Aruksha²-tri pravarāya Sāmavēd-
ādhyāyinē paṇḍita-śrī-Mālhaṇa-pautrāya agnihōtri-śrī-Kēsa(śa)va-put[r]āya pa[m]ḍita-
- 20 śrī-Gōvardhanāyasarmmaṇē³ Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya gōkarṇṇa-kusa(ja)-latā-pūta-kara-tal-ōdaka-
pūrvvam=ā Padmasadmanō Hūhūk-āntam yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradatta iti matvā
yathā-dīyamāna-bhā-
- 21 ga-bhōga-kara-pravarīkara-Turushkadamḍa-kūḍi⁴-paśabhṛiti-samta⁵-rāja-pratyādāyān
dāsyatha || chha || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ⁶ | Bhūmī[m] yah pratigṛhṇā(hṇā)ti yaś=cha
bhūmim prayachchhati | u-
- 22 bhau tau puṇya-karmmaṇau niyatau(tam) sva[r]gga-gāṇanau || [10*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā
bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī[s=ta]sya tasya tadā phalam(lam)
[[11*] likhi-
- 23 ⁷taṁ karapika-Thakkura-śrī-Sahadēvēna || maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ || chha || chha ||

¹ The name is not found in the list of *gotras* found in early Indian literature. The intended reading may be *Śārṅgarava-sagotrāya* or *Śārṅgarava-gotrāya*.

² *Śandhi* has not been observed in this passage. Read *Āṅgīras-Āmahayy* (or *Āmahīyav*, etc.)-*Aruکشaya*.

³ Read *Gōvardhanaśarmmaṇē* or *Gōvardhanāryasarmmaṇē*.

⁴ This seems to be the same as *kufaka* of some inscriptions.

⁵ Read *samasta*.

⁶ Better read *bhavataś=ch=asra ślōkav*.

⁷ This line is engraved below the second half of the previous line.

No. 35—PURI INSCRIPTION OF CHODAGANGA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.5.1958)

Some time ago I was informed that the removal of a coating of plaster from the walls of the temple of Śiva called **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** at the well-known city of **Purī** in Orissa revealed the existence of a number of inscriptions which had previously been hidden from the eye. In November 1957 I visited the temple and copied the inscriptions on its walls.

Out of the inscriptions copied by me from the walls of the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple at **Purī**, three were found to belong to the reigns of three kings of the imperial branch of the **Eastern Gaṅga** dynasty. All the epigraphs record the installation of perpetual lamps in the temple of the god **Mārkaṇḍēśvara**. The earliest of these records is engraved on the right wall of the second gate and belongs to the time of the great **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga** (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the Puri-Cuttack region from the **Sōmavaṁśis** about the beginning of the twelfth century. The writing of the record is fairly well preserved. This inscription¹ is edited in the following pages.

The preservation of the other two Gaṅga epigraphs² in the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple is unsatisfactory. The earlier of these two inscriptions is engraved on the same wall as the record of **Chōḍagaṅga** and is dated in the **third year** of the regnal reckoning of **Rāghava** who was a son of **Chōḍagaṅga** and ruled in the period c. 1156-70 A.D. The passage containing the date at the beginning of the record in line 1, which is in Sanskrit, reads : [svasti] śrīmat(mad)-*Rāghavadēvasya vijaya-rājya-samvata(samvat) 3*. No other details of the date have been quoted in the inscription. Since the **Aṅka** system of calculating regnal years may have been introduced during the reign of **Rāghava**'s elder brother and predecessor **Kāmārṇava** (c. 1147-56 A.D.),³ year 3 may be an **Aṅka** year actually referring to the second year of **Rāghava**'s reign. The next passage of the inscription in Oriya in lines 1-2 reads : *śrī-Mārkaṇḍē[svara]dēvara kavaḍi-pana tini akhaṇḍa-dipa vāraha*. It apparently refers to the investment of three *Paṇas* of cowries for the installation of twelve perpetual lamps in the temple of **Mārkaṇḍēśvaradēva**. The third inscription, engraved on the right wall of the doorway, is fragmentary, its lower part being damaged. Its date portion in lines 1-2 reads after the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti* : *śrī-vira-Bhānū[dēva]sya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samata 14 srāhē*. The record was therefore incised in the **fourteenth year** of the reign of one of the four Gaṅga kings named **Bhānu**. The characters employed in the inscription are Gaudīya and not Oriya and this fact may suggest that the king has to be identified with **Bhānu I** or **II** rather than with **Bhānu III** or **IV**. The year seems to refer to the **Aṅka** reckoning and to the twelfth actual year of the reign of the king in question. The next passage in lines 2-4 of this inscription reads : *Hara-prityā dēvī Umāṅkara data śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśvaradēvaṅka [sthī]rā ē-divasa ā-chandīr-ārkaḥ akhaṇḍa-dipakaḥ* This clearly shows that a queen named **Umā** probably one of king **Bhānu**'s wives, created a permanent endowment (*sthirā*) for a perpetual lamp

¹ This is No. 408 of 1957-58, App. B. There is another inscription (No. 403 of the same App.) written partly in Telugu and partly in Sanskrit in Gaudīya characters. It records that **Atyāṇḍi**'s son **Gaṅga-nārāyaṇa Vēlāṇḍi** alias **Chōḍagaṅga** deposited 5 *Māḍhas* for the provision of oil for a perpetual lamp in the **Mārkaṇḍēśvara** temple on Thursday, Tula-śu. 12, Śaka 1051 (possibly September 27, 1128 A.D.). The inscription, however, does not refer to the reign of **Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga**.

² These are *ibid.*, Nos. 404 and 407.

³ Cf. *SII.*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1332-34.

for the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The name of queen Umā, however, seems to suggest that the king mentioned in the record is really Bhānu III (c.1352-78 A.D.). Vīśvanātha-kavirāja, who wrote his *Chandrakalā-nāṭikā* during the reign of Gajapati Niḥsaṅka-Bhānu (i.e. Gaṅga Bhānu IV reigning upto 1434-35 A.D.),¹ quotes in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,² composed some time afterwards,³ a stanza referring to Umādēvī's husband Bhānu, as a contemporary ruler, from a work of his own father Chandraśekhara-sandhivigraha. Apparently the same Umādēvī is mentioned in the Bhubaneswar Pārvatī temple inscription⁴ of the 13th Aṅka year of the king named Bhānu and in the Simhachalam inscription⁵ of Śaka 1301, Mārgaśīrsha ba. 1, Friday (25th November 1379 A.D.) falling in the reign of Narasimha IV (c. 1378-1402 A.D.). It thus appears that Umādēvī's husband Bhānu should be identified with **Bhānu III**, the father of Narasimha IV and grandfather of Bhānu IV, as suggested by Rajaguru and Das.⁶

The inscription of **Chōḍagaṅga**, which forms the main subject of this article, contains nine lines of writing. The inscribed area covers a space about 13½ inches in height and 32 inches in length. Individual *aksharas* are about 1½ inches in height. The **characters** of the record are Gaudīya and its **language** is Sanskrit. But it exhibits considerable influence of the local language and is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. In some of the sentences, the language is actually a mixture of **Sanskrit and Oriya** and often the meaning has to be conjectured. The date in line 1, given in the king's regnal reckoning, also offers some difficulty. The regnal year is written in two figures, the second of which is clearly 7. The first figure is exactly the same as found in the same date occurring in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, which has been published in the pages of this journal.⁷ This doubtful figure has some resemblance with the shape of 5, so that the date in both the Bhubaneswar epigraph and the present inscription would appear to be the regnal year 57. But the Bhubaneswar inscription shows that the same year of Chōḍagaṅga's reign corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *ritu-Rāma-khēndu*, i.e. Śaka 1036=1114-15 A.D. Since the said Śaka year corresponded to the thirtyseventh and not fiftyseventh regnal year of Chōḍagaṅga who ascended the throne in 1078 A.D., the first figure in the number in question had to be read as 3. In view of this, Chōḍagaṅga's regnal year quoted in the inscription under study should also have to be read as 37. Thus the epigraph appears to have been engraved in **1114-15 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the date referred to above. The first sentence in lines 1-4 apparently means to say that, in the year 37 during the reign of the illustrious Chōḍagaṅgadēva, *Sādhu* Bhīmadēva, a resident of Niralō-grāma called an *Aṅgabhōga* of the god Purushōttama, as well as Ruda (Rudra?) and Hari (both probably of the same place) accepted some amount or coins of gold for one *chhāyā-dīpa* meant to be a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. The epithet *sādhu* applied to Bhīmadēva shows that he belonged to the mercantile community. Possibly Ruda and Hari were also members of the same community. The expression *aṅga-bhōga* often occurs in Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions in association with *raṅga-bhōga* and *aṅga-raṅga-bhōga* is sometimes translated as 'decorations and illuminations of a god'.⁸ In the present case, the epithet *aṅga-bhōga* is applied to a village, the income from which appears to have been utilised for the *aṅga-bhōga* or decoration of the deity in question.

¹ See *JOHR*, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. i ff.

² Cf. Kane's ed., 1923, pp. 13-14.

³ Verses from the *Chandrakalā-nāṭikā* are quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

⁴ Cf. *JOHR*, Vol. III, p. 49. Umādēvī is here wrongly taken to be the name of goddess Pārvatī.

⁵ *SIH*, Vol. VI, No. 730. Umādēvī's relation with king Narasimha is not stated in the inscription.

⁶ *JOHR*, Vol. VI, Appendix, pp. v-vi. Another known queen of Bhānu III was Hirādēvī.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 29 ff. (No. 1), and Plate facing p. 32.

⁸ Cf. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, Part II, p. 201. For *bhōga*, 'a jāgīr', cf. above, p. 170.

Thus the village of Niralō seems to have been a rent-free holding in the possession of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī. The expression *chhāyā-dīpa* means a lamp held in the hand of an image generally of the donor. The word *chhāyā*, 'image', is known from other inscriptions also. A Srikurmam inscription¹ of Śaka 1275, belonging to the reign of Gaṅga Bhānu III, speaks of the dedication of the *chhāyās* of the king's father Narasiniha III and the latter's wife Gaṅgāmbikā, which were represented as holding lamps for offering light to the god in the Srikurmam temple. The responsibility of Bhīmadēva and his two colleagues was no doubt to supply oil for the lamp in lieu of the interest of the gold deposited with them.

The next sentence in line 4 states : "Now Bhīmadēva's son Nāna arranged for the discharge [of his obligation]." This shows that, probably after Bhīmadēva's death, his son Nāna refunded the deposit and thereby freed himself from the obligation of supplying oil for the perpetual lamp. That the responsibility fell upon the son of Bhīmadēva alone may further suggest that Ruda and Hari were his own brothers or sons. From the above two sentences we learn that formerly an endowment had been created by depositing some amount or coins of gold with Bhīmadēva and others and that, in the 37th regnal year of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, Bhīmadēva's son Nāna freed himself from the responsibility. But who created the endowment that was terminated by Nāna is not mentioned in these sentences. The names of the persons responsible for the creation of the endowment are, however, possibly known from the following sentences which describe the creation of a new endowment in the place of the terminated one.

The next sentence in lines 4-6 mentions three persons and refers to an image representing all the three of them. The following sentence in line 6 states that Jīvanta-śrēṣṭhin accepted the gold for the lamp. This apparently means that the said three persons had originally created an endowment for the supply of oil for a perpetual lamp held in the hands of their own images in the temple of Mārkaṇḍēśvara and that, on the termination of the old endowment, they created another endowment by depositing the same gold with another person named Jīvanta-śrēṣṭhin. The condition binding Jīvanta-śrēṣṭhin is found in the following sentence in lines 6-7, which states that, in respect of the said perpetual lamp, god Mārkaṇḍēśvara would receive two hundred [measures] of oil every month. The name of the measure is not given in the record. In a similar context in the Bhubaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, referred to above, mention is made of the *karāṅka*, i.e. a small pot usually made out of coconut-shell and used in measuring oil.² The same *karāṅka* measure may be referred to in the present case as well. The names of the three persons who created the endowment are given as : (1) Hari, the *Pūjāhāri* of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara, (2) Vandau (probably another *Pūjāhāri* of the same god), and (3) Vāsu, the *Pūjāhāri* of another god whose name appears to be Kōhṛiṇēśvara. *Pūjāhāri* is the same as *Pūjārī* meaning 'a priest'.

Lines 7-9 at the end of the record mention the names of the persons who were witnesses to the above transaction. These were : (1) *Mudrāhasta* Dēvadhara ; (2) Nilakamuṇḍa (possibly another *Mudrāhasta*) ; (3) *Pasāpālaka* Śrīdhara ; (4) Nārāyaṇa (possibly another *Pasāpālaka*) ; (5) *Sāmmavāji* Mahādēva ; (6) Dēvamēṇḍi (possibly another *Sāmmavāji*) ; and (7) *Śrīkaraṇa* Hari. *Mudrāhasta* (Oriya *Mudiratha*) is now the designation of a class of servants of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī. Dēvadhara may have been a similar servant of the god Mārkaṇḍēśvara. *Pasāpālaka* may be the same official designation found in inscriptions in the forms of *Pasāyita*, *Pasāita* or *Pasāyati*.³ *Sāmmavāji* may be a mistake for *Sōmayājīn*. *Śrīkaraṇa* is the designation of a scribe. These people appear to have been temple officials.

¹ *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

² Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 30-31.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 107 and note 3.

The inscription is interesting from several points of view. It is the only inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga so far discovered at Purī where the Gaṅga king is known to have built the great temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha after its annexation to the Gaṅga empire and the transference of his allegiance from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism in the early years of the twelfth century. It is not possible to determine when exactly and by whom the Mārkaṇḍēśvara temple was built. But it is not unlikely that this temple had been in existence when Chōḍagaṅga built the temple for Purushōttama-Jagannātha. We do not know whether the Purushōttama-Jagannātha temple was built by Chōḍagaṅga before or after the 37th year of his reign, though the absence of any reference to the achievement in any of his own records may probably suggest that the construction was undertaken in the later years of his life. We also do not know as to who was responsible for granting the village of Nirālō in favour of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, although it is clear that this deity was already enjoying considerable influence when the inscription under study was engraved. The suggestion is supported by the reference to *sāgara-tīra-sannivēṣe Purushōttama-śabditam dēv-āyatanam* in Kṛishṇamīśra's *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* which was staged in the presence of the Chandēlla king Kīrtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.).¹

The name of the god Kōhrīṇēśvara, worshipped at Purī as suggested by the record under review, is interesting. I am not sure whether it is really Kō-Rinēśvara suggesting its installation at Purī by the Tamil residents of the area like Kāmāṇḍi of the Alagum inscription.² I have heard of no such deity now worshipped there. The name appears to have been applied to a Śiva-liṅga.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is the village of Nirālō. I am not sure about its location.

TEXT³

1 Siddham⁴ [||*] samvata⁵ 37 śrī-Chōḍagaṅgadēvasya pra[va*]rddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē śrī-Mārkaṇḍēśva(śva)-

2 radēvasya yāvat⁶-chandr-ārka[m] pravattamānām-'khaṇḍadvipa' śrī-Purusōttmadēva-aṅga⁷.

3 bhōga-Nirālō-grāma-vāstavya-sādhū(dhu)-Bhi(Bhī)madēva ēva[m] Rudā⁸ ēvaṁ Har[ī]¹⁰ ēka-chhāyā-dvipa-sunā¹¹

¹ It is difficult to say whether the suggestion is further supported by the fact that the *Anargharāghara* of Murārīmīśra (ninth or tenth century according to some, but c. 1050-1135 A.D. according to others) was staged on the occasion of the *yātrā* of the god Purushōttama of Purī since the epithet *lavan-ōda-vellā-van-ālī-tamāla-taru-kandala*, applied to the deity, does not refer to his worship on the sea-shore and since Viṣṇu's name Purushōttama was not unknown elsewhere (cf. No. 504 of 1956-57, Appendix B). For the date of Murāri, see De, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 449; Kieth, *Sanskrit Drama* p. 225; ABORI, Vol XXXVIII, p. 88; etc. It has to be noticed that Murāri's drama gives a rapid description of well-known places like Ujjayinī, Vārāṇasī, Kailāsa, Prayāga, Tāmrāparṇī on the sea, Champā in Gauḍa, Pañchavati, Kuṇḍina in Mahārāṣṭra, Kāñchi in Drāviḍa and Māhishmatī in Chēdi-maṇḍala, but not of Purushōttamapurī or Purī. The other references pertaining to dates earlier than the eleventh century, cited in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. III, pp. 6 ff., are even more dubious.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ Read *samvat*.

⁶ Read *yāvach*.

⁷ Read *pravattamān-ākhaṇḍa-dīp-ārtham*.

⁸ Read *Purusōttamadēv-aṅga*.

⁹ Probably *Rudra* is intended.

¹⁰ Read *Harīṣ iti śaiṣ*.

¹¹ Read *dīpa-suvāṇam* or *dīp-ārtham suvāṇam*.

- 4 grihitam¹ [||*] idānim(nīm) sādhu(dhu)-Bhi(Bhī)madēvasya pūta²-Nānēna v[ī]sudhya³ kri-
(kri)yatē [||*] Mārkaṇḍēsva(śva)ravē(dē)-
- 5 va-pūjāhāri-Hari[h] ēvaṁ Vand[au] ēvaṁ Kōhriṇēs[v]a(śva)radēvasya pūjāhāri-Vāsu⁴ śsām
(shām) tī[bhī]-⁵
- 6 r=janā⁶ ēka(kā) chhāyē [||*] Ji(Jī)vanta-srēṣṭa⁷ dvipa-sunā⁸ grihitam¹ [||*]
Mārkaṇḍēsva(śva)ra[d]ēvasam⁹ prati-mā¹⁰ dvipa-
- 7 upajōgē¹¹ taillya(lām) dā(dvē) śatē¹¹ [||*] ētada-arthē¹² sākshi[ṇaḥ¹³] mūdrahasṭha¹³-Dēvadhara¹⁴
ēva[m¹⁵] Ni(Nī)lakam[u]-
- 8 ṇḍa[h¹⁶] pasāpālaka-Sri(Śrī)dhar ēvaṁ Nārāyaṇa[h¹⁷] Sārmavāji¹⁵-Mahādēva[h¹⁸] Dēvamēṇḍi-
[h¹⁹] śrīkara-
- 9 ṇa-Hari[h ||*]

¹ Read *grihitam*.

² Read *putra*.

³ Read *visuddhi*.

⁴ Read *Vāsuḥ iti*.

⁵ The intended reading is *tribhī*^o; but read *trayāśām*.

⁶ The intended reading is *janānām*.

⁷ Read *śrēṣṭhinā*.

⁸ Read *dīpa-suvarṇam* or *dīp-ārtham suvarṇam*.

⁹ Better read *°dēvasya*.

¹⁰ Read *°māsam dīp-ōpayōgē*.

¹¹ The idea seems to be *dvi-śata-karāṇa-parimāṇam*.

¹² Read *ētaḍ-arthē*.

¹³ Read *mūdrāḥṣṭa*.

¹⁴ An unnecessary *anusvāra* above *ra* seems to have been cancelled.

¹⁵ The intended reading may be *Sōmayāji*^o.

No. 36—KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITALAI

(1 Plate)

BAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR.

(Received on 13.7.1957)

The stone slab bearing the present inscription was dug out by Sri Kanchhedi Lalji Patel in 1953 while he was ploughing his field in the village of **Kāritālāi**¹ in the Murwara Tahsil of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. In April 1955, I visited the place and examined the inscription. The inscribed stone was later removed by me to the Raipur Museum.

The slab measures 2' 7½" in length and 1' 3½" in height. The inscription contains 13 lines of writing. A piece of stone has broken away from the top left corner of the slab causing loss of four letters in line 1 and of two letters in line 2. The middle and lower parts of the record are also damaged.

The record is well written and neatly engraved. The characters are Nāgarī of about the 10th century A.D. and resemble those of the stone inscriptions of the early Kalachuri rulers.²

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except the words *śubham* and *maṅgalam* at the end, it is metrically composed throughout. There are in all 12 verses. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated. *V* is always written for *b*. The sign for *upadhmaniya* has been used thrice in lines 1, 2 and 10. The inscription is not dated.

Verse 4 of the record mentions the Kalachuri king **Yuvarājadēva** (I), son of **Mugdhatuṅga**. The damaged portion in verse 6 seems to have contained the name of his son **Lakshmaṇarāja** II whose minister **Sōmēśvara** is mentioned in verse 10.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *kūpa* (well) in the heart of the city of **Sōmasvāṃpura** (obviously **Kāritālāi**) by **Sōmēśvara** who was a minister of Kalachuri **Lakshmaṇarāja** II and is known from another record³ to have erected a temple of Vishṇu at **Kāritālāi**. His father **Bhākamiśra**⁴ (**Bhāmiśra** of the present inscription) was one of the two ministers of king **Yuvarājadēva** I.

Verse 1 seems to praise Vishṇu and Lakshmi. Verse 2 praises the moon, while verse 3 refers to the kings of the lunar race. The poet has compared the qualities of the lunar race with those of the moon in phrases having two meanings. In verse 4, we are told that **Yuvarājadēva** (I), son of **Mugdhatuṅga**, was born in the said family. Verse 5 describes the exploits of the former and states that his elephants had pressed the **Gauḍas**, punished the **Kōsalas**, beaten the kings of the south and conquered the **Gūrjaras**. Thus, unlike the **Bilhari** inscription,⁵ the present record which is definitely earlier than the former, claims for **Yuvarājadēva** I *alias* **Kēyūravarsha**, the victories

¹ The village is 36 miles north-east of **Katni**, headquarters of the Murwara subdivision. The following inscriptions were discovered at or near **Karitalai**: (1) copper plate of **Jayanātha**, Gupta year 174 (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.); (2) inscription of **Lakshmaṇarāja** I, Kalachuri year 593 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 37); (3) inscription of the time of **Lakshmaṇarāja** II, which records the erection of a temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' (i.e. Vishṇu) by his minister **Sōmēśvara** (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 42); (4) Satī record of the time of **Vīrarājadēva**, Vikrama Samvat 1412 (*ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 113; *Hiralal's List*, No. 48). See also *Hiralal*, op. cit., No. 74.

² Cf. above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 37 and 42.

³ *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 42.

⁴ **Bhākamiśra** and **Gōllāka** *alias* **Gauḍa**, son of **Bhānu**, were the two ministers of **Yuvarājadēva** I (cf. *ibid.*, pp. lxxxiv).

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 256 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, No. 45.

KALACHURI INSCRIPTION FROM KARITAJAI

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12

(from a Photograph)

over the Gaudas, Kōsalas, the South Indian kings and the Gūjaras only. The views of scholars,¹ who doubt the statement of the Bilhari inscription that Yuvarājadēva I had even conquered Kaśmīra and the Himalayan countries, find support from the present inscription. On the other hand, it adds two new victories to the list, i.e., those over the Kōsalas and the Gūjaras.

Verse 6, which is fragmentary, possibly contained the name of Lakshmaṇarājadēva whose merits are described in verses 7-9. Sōmēśvara and his father are referred to in verses 10 and 11 respectively. Verse 12 records the object of the inscription which, as indicated above, was the excavation of a well by Sōmēśvara in the city of Sōmasvāmpura.

The city of Sōmasvāmpura (verse 12) may have been named after the shrine of Sōmasvāmin, which seems to be identical with the temple of 'the Enemy of the Demons' built by Sōmēśvara and mentioned in Lakshmaṇarāja's inscription from Kāritālāi referred to above.

TEXT²

[Metres Verses 1, 7 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Sruṅgharā*; verses 3-4 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 5-6, 9, 12 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 8 *Prithvī*; verse 10 *Upajāti*; verse 11 *Āryā*].

- 1³क्षमलक्ष्मीभ्यां सह साध्वजितायते । यत्स्मृतौ न द्विषी सैन्यं सहसाध्वजितायते ॥ [१*]
स्वर्गंस्त्रोत⁴प्रवाहप्रथमहिमगिरिर्वातृ⁵पुत्रात्त्रिचक्षुश्शक्तिप्र-
- 2 — ८⁶ मुक्ता त्रिपुरहरशिरश्शाश्वतश्वेतपद्मः⁷ । कामान्तर्यामिदेहो दहनदिवसकृन्मण्डलान्तो-
त्त्रिपुत्र⁸पुण्यज्योतिश्चकास्ति त्रिजगति कमलावा(बा)लव(ब)न्धुः
- 3 सुधाञ्जलुः⁹ ॥ [२*] स्वच्छाशयस्फुरितनिर्मलमण्डलाग्रसंक्षोभिताखिलदिशाश्रयवाहिनीशा ।
मोमात्सदुदगतिरतीव्रकरा नरेन्द्रचन्द्रावली प्रववृते प्र-
- 4 तिवि(बि)म्बि(म्बि)तेव ॥ [३*] तत्प्राभवद्भुवनभूषणभूतभूतिः श्रीमुग्धतुङ्गतनयो युवराज-
देवः । यस्यांघ्रिवारिरुहि वा(बा)ढमलीयमानाः प्रापुर्द्विषस्सपदि सं-
- 5 पदमापदञ्च ॥ [४*] यै[गौ]डाः परिपीडिताः सरभसं यैः कोसलाः शासिता यैः
क्षुण्णाः¹⁰ गतदक्षिणै [ः*] क्षितिभृतो यैर्गुर्जरा निज्जिताः । विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपा-
- 6 दिताः प्रतिदिनं ते येन ध[न्या] ८ — — — ८ ८ — — — पुरपुरं दण्डोद्ध-
[ताः] सि[न्धु]राः ॥ [५*] इन्दोः सुन्दरतां बु(बु)धादि बुधतामेताङ्गलां शांतिता¹⁰-
मायोरायु-

¹ *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 89.

² From the original stone and impressions.

³ [The lost letters may be restored as *Śrīvatsa-la*°.—Ed.]

⁴ [The reading is *°giri* = *Dhātṛi*°.—Ed.]

⁵ [The missing letters may be restored as *°tyagra*° or *°tyāka*°.—Ed.]

⁶ [Read *padmam*.—Ed.]

⁷ [Read *°lānta(ntō)=tri*°.—Ed.]

⁸ [Read *sudhāmśuk*.—Ed.]

⁹ [Sandhi has not been observed here.—Ed.]

¹⁰ [The reading seems to be *Budhād= vibudhatām= Ailāt= kalā-bālītām= A*°.—Ed.]

- 7 रुदारमायुधविधावुत्साहि[तां] — ७ — [1] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ —
 —[व्यापि चीतस्य¹ यस्तस्माल्लक्ष्मणराजदे]वनृपतिः श्रीमानभून्मा[न]भूः ॥[६*]
 मृन्म(ण्म)ही
- 8 करिणः कीटाः पाषाण[ा रत्नराशयः ।]
 [रणे] पात्यविलक्षता² ॥[७*] भ्रभू ७ पटकारिणां ७ ७ न — ७ — — ७ — ७
 [भि]स्तितललेखिनां मधु -
- 9 बिलिप्तचन्द्रार्पिणां(णाम्) । अहो सुमहदद्भुतं वचनमद्भुतोद्भाविनां न येन
 विनिवेशितं हृदि कथाप्रसंगादपि ॥[८*] नेत्रस्थाननिविष्टवारिविसरंरुन्मुक्तकेशोत्क-
- 10 रेहन्तालीद्वितयान्तरार्पिततृणस्तम्बे(म्बे) रणप्राङ्गणे । वर्षासून्नतिभाजि मेषपटमे
 यद्वारणाक्षौहिणीत्त्रा सेनेव पुराणशास्त्रवशिर)पिण्डास्थि-
- 11 कूटैः स्थितं(तम्) ॥ [९*] पदेनवद्यो निपुणः प्रमाणे वाक्ये विपक्वः श्रुतिपार-
 दुषवा । वा(वा)लाग्नि³होत्री कुशलः कलासु सोमेश्वरस्तस्य व(व)भूव मन्त्री ॥
 [१०*] धिषणान्वितोपि
- 12 काव्यप्रियोपि बु(बु)धसंगतोपि तच्चित्रं(त्रम्) । यत्सकलग्रहरहितः श्रीमद्भामि-
 भ्रसूनुरसो ॥[११*] सोमस्वामिपुरान्तरालतिलकं स(सु)व्यापकं वापिकारूपं कूपमचीक्ष[ान]-
- 13 [त्स] ७ ७ लादप्युत्तमं पावनं(नम्) । यन्नि[र्मा]पणकालकर्मठदृष — — कड
 — ७ — — वर्त्त ७ समन्ततोपि कमठपृष्ठस्य पुष्ट[स्तटः]⁴ ॥ [१२*] [शुभं(भम्)] ॥
 मंगलं(लम्) ॥

¹ [The reading may be °vīrasya(s=sa).—Ed.]

² [The reading is Pārthivī vilakṣatā.—Ed.]

³ [Read [kṣ]l-āgni°—Ed.]

⁴ [The reading is defective and doubtful and does not suit the metre.—Ed.]

No. 37—UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME, YEAR 19

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 17. 6. 1958)

A fairly extensive site with remains of a Buddhist *chaitya* has recently been brought to light on the west bank of the Buckingham Canal, somewhere between the railway stations of Chinna Ganjam and Uppugundūr, the railway line lying about half a mile south-east of the site. There is a lake, called Rumperu, beyond the railway bridge at that point. The lake is connected with the sea, about 5 miles from there. In ancient times, the sea might have been nearer the site, as it abounds in shells as well as in brickbats, stone pieces and potsherds, lying about or stuck in the ruined structure of the *stūpa* which appears to be of a large size.

The nearest village, **Uppugundūr**, in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District, is about 2 miles west of the site. The land within which it is situated belongs to one Sri Gogineni Nagiah. The site was accidentally exposed by the landlord's men while digging a deep channel for draining out excess rain-water from the paddy fields nearby. The antiquities laid bare included broken stone statues, sculptured pillars, slabs, etc. Some of these have been removed to Uppugundūr where they are kept in an enclosure, close to the Village Munsif's Office, for safe custody. Among the exposed antiquities was a marble pillar which had some figures and designs carved on the top and a Prakrit inscription incised on its lower part.

On receipt of information regarding the discovery of the inscription, I visited the site on January 21, 1958, in the company of Sri Pallela Pulla Reddi, the acting Village Munsif of Uppugundūr. On arrival there, to our great surprise and disappointment, we found that the inscribed part of the pillar had been broken away and missing. The chisel marks on the remainder of the pillar as well as a quantity of unsoiled chippings strewn thereabout were proclaiming, so to say, that the act of vandalism had been perpetrated freshly. I was told that, at the time of the removal of a damaged Buddha statue and some sculptured pieces to the village of Uppugundūr, the inscribed pillar had been allowed to be left *in situ*, the landlord having taken it upon himself to take care of that. It is a pity that this pillar was not removed to a place of safety along with the rest of the finds. Luckily, the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project, had already secured an estampage or two of the inscription, a photograph of which is reproduced here.

As may be seen from the photograph, the inscription has undergone some damage at its lower end. The extant portion shows 10 lines of writing, the first six being complete and the remaining ones progressively damaged. Unfortunately, the most important part of the record, in which its object was mentioned, has been lost to us in the portion already broken away. The tenth line, the extant portion of which reads [*ya?*]-*paṭane mahā*,¹ obviously mentioned the name of the place (*paṭana*, Skt. *pattana*), followed by what might have been *mahāchetiyam*, the erection of which must have been the object of the record.

The **script** of the inscription is Brāhmī of about the 3rd century A. D., akin to the one used in many a similar stone inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and places round about.² The ornamental treatment of the top and bottom strokes of various *aksharas* is its chief characteristic.

¹ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeta and Ghaṇṭasāla are some of the other places that have yielded similar inscriptions.

The language is Prakrit as is the case with the majority of the inscriptions just referred to from the same region.

As for its contents, it begins with the auspicious formula *sidham*, followed by a symbol which ordinarily stands for *Om*.¹ Thereafter comes adoration to the Buddha. Then comes the date, the details of which we shall presently notice. After the mention of the date comes the record proper. It states that one Saṅghila, son of a merchant (*vāṇija*, Skt. *vaṇij* or *vāṇija*), called Vaira (Skt. *Vajra*), and grandson of a householder (*gahapati*, Skt. *grihapati*), called Saṅghila, performed a meritorious deed, the details of which are lost in the missing part of the inscription. It may be observed that the donor is named after his grandfather in accordance with a well-known custom in ancient India.² The inscription further informs us that the donor's grandfather hailed from **Dhañṇakaṭṭa**. This place is mentioned also in some Prakrit inscriptions from Amaravati under the variant readings like Dhañṇakaṭṭa and Dhanakaṭṭa (both from Skt. *Dhānyakaṭṭa*). The Mayidavolu plates³ of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, however, mention the place-name exactly as it occurs in our inscription. It is generally identified with Dharanikota.

An indication as to the nature of the pious deed performed by Saṅghila is afforded by the few surviving letters, that read [*ya?*]paṭane mahā, in line 10. Possibly he erected a *mahāchetiya* (Skt. *mahāchaitya*) at a place the name of which ended in *paṭana*. This must refer to a sea-port or a flourishing coastal town which must have existed on the site of the present ruined *stūpa*. Future discoveries will throw more light as to the identity and the history of the place.

Saṅghila allowed a number of his near relations to be associated with himself in the merit of the pious act, who are specifically mentioned. They are his mother Dhammavānikinī,⁴ his brother Nāgilanaka, his sisters Budhamnikā and Samudamnikā, his wife Sāgarāmnikā, his brother's wife Saṅghanikā, and children.⁵ Some more names are mentioned further on, but their relationship with the donor is not clear owing to the damaged condition of the inscription. They are Vairasirinaka, Nāgilanaka, Dhamanikā and Nāgasammanikā besides those damaged. There is a mention of children again after the name of Nāgilanaka in line 8. They possibly refer to the children of Nāgilanaka who is most probably identical with Saṅghila's brother mentioned earlier in line 5.

The inscription is dated the 13th day of the 4th fortnight of the Summer season (*gimha*, Skt. *grīshma*) of the 19th year of [the reign of] the Ikhaku king Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata. The highest known regnal year of this king is 20 which is cited in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions already referred to above. On this score, thus, our inscription does not add much to our knowledge. However, by its location, it throws some fresh light on the extent of this king's dominions.

¹ Its occurrence in a Buddhist record is odd, but instances are met with. Inscriptions F and H of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have it; but it has been left unread. The same is the case with one of the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions. See Plate LXIII in *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* by J. Burgess, London, 1887, pp. 110 f. Compare also Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. III) p. 46, note 3, and the Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva, above, Vol. XX, p. 43 and note 2.

² See above, Vol. XX, p. 6 and note 2.

³ Ibid. Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff.

⁴ The latter part of the name is the feminine of *vāṇija*. It is also possible that her proper name has not been mentioned here. She is only respectfully referred to here as *Dammavānikinī*, i.e. 'the pious lady, consort of the merchant [Vajra]'.

⁵ These children may refer to those of the donor himself, for those of his brother are mentioned separately further on.

UPPUGUNDUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPURISADATA'S TIME,
YEAR 19

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

(from a Photograph)

My reading of the inscription is based on the photograph which I owe to the courtesy of the Superintendent, Nagarjunakonda Excavations Project.

TEXT

- 1 Sidham Om¹ [*] namo bhagavato sava-sat-otamasa Sammāsambudhas=eti [*]
- 2 mahā[r]ājasa Mādhariputasa **Ikhākunar** siri-Vīrapurisadatasa
- 3 **samvacnharan** 10 9 **gimha**-²**pakhar** 4 **divasar** 10 3 **Dhamñakaḍa**-vathavasa
- 4 Saṃghā-gaḥapatisa natukena Vaira-vāniya-putena Sa[m]ghilena
- 5 matāva Dhammavānikiniya bhātuno cha Nāgilamnakasa bhagini-
- 6 Budhamnikāya Samudamnikāya bhariyāya Sāgarānikāya bhātu-bha-
- 7 riyāya Saṃghanikāya bālak[ā]nam cha Vairasirinakasa Chamda . . m. m. .
- 8 kasa Nāgilamnakasa bālakānam cha Dhamānikāya patu
- 9 kāya Nāgasammanikāya cha evam sa-nāti-mita-bamda
- 10³[ya]⁴ paṭane mahā⁵

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The form of the *akshara* meant to be *mha* is not regular.

³ Two medial *i* signs are seen here over the damaged letters.

⁴ Only the right side of the letter is visible.

⁵ [For the symbol in line 1, *wha* is a variant of one found in Kushāṇa inscriptions, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 150, note 3. In line 8, the word is *bālīkānam* which is preceded by the list of Saṃghā's sons (cf. *bālakānam* in line 7) and followed by that of his daughters. It is better to read *bhagini[nam*]* in line 5.—Ed.]

No. 38—MODASA PLATE OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1067

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1958)

A set of photographs of the inscription published here was received from Pandit Purani Utsavalal of **Mōḍāsā**, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Sabarkantha District in the Gujarat area of the Bombay State, through Dr. M. R. Mazumdar of Baroda.¹ The locality was formerly in the Prantij Taluk of the Ahmedabad District. The Pandit's interest was aroused by the mention of the geographical names **Mōhaḍavāsaka** and **Śayanapāṭa** in the record since he could easily identify them respectively with the present **Mōḍāsā** and the village of **Sinvāḍa** in the **Mōḍāsā** Taluk. Unfortunately the original plates were not available for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, though the inscription is decipherable from the set of photographs referred to above. Considering the welcome light the record throws on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa, it is edited in the following pages.

The inscription is stated to be incised on both sides of a **single** plate measuring about 9 inches in length and about 6 inches in height. There is a hole in its upper margin ; but no ring or seal was available. There are in all 21 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 on the first side and 6 on the second. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory. The weight of the plate is not known.

The inscription is written in **Nāgarī characters** of about the eleventh century A. D. They are rather carelessly engraved and cannot be compared with the beautifully incised letters of the inscriptions of the Paramāras such as the Gāonri plates of Muñja, dated V. S. 1038 and 1043.² They may, however, be compared with those of Bhōja's Beṭmā plates³ of V. S. 1076, the characters of which are not as beautiful as those of the Gāonri plates but are nevertheless much more carefully engraved than those of our epigraph. It may be remembered in this connection that the present charter is not an Imperial Paramāra record.

An interesting feature of the **palaeography** of our epigraph is the incomplete formation of the letter **ś** (without its vertical right limb) in a large number of cases ; cf. *śudī* in line 2, *vāśaka* (for *vāsaka*) in line 6, *śrutā°* in line 7, *Śayana°* in lines 8 and 9, *śut°* (for *sut°*) in lines 12 and 14, etc. Medial **ē** has been written both as *prishṭha-mātrā* and as *śirō-mātrā*. In some cases, the *śirō-mātrā* type of medial **ē** has its top curved towards the right ; cf. *paramēsvara* (for *paramēśvara*) in line 3, *maṇḍalē* in line 6, etc. See also the medial signs of *ai* and *o* in *ih=aiva Vallō°* in line 7. **B** has been written by the sign for *v*. The letter *jh*, rarely found in early inscriptions, is once used in a personal name in line 15.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are many grammatical and orthographical errors in the text. The record is entirely written in prose, there being not even the usual imprecatory verses. Its **orthography** is characterised by a confusion between **ś** and **s** (cf. *paramēsvara* for *paramēśvara* four times in lines 3-6 and *śuta* for *suta* in lines 12, 14, 18 and 20) besides other errors of spelling. There are many cases of the redundant use of a *daṇḍa*, while sometimes it is placed quite close to a letter so as to look like an *ā-mātrā*.

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58. No. A 23. See also H. G. Shastri's article on the epigraph in *Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. V, 1945, Supplement, pp. 37-40.

² See above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 108 ff., and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 320 ff., and Plates.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 1-2, both in words and in figures, as **Sunday, the first of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 1067** [of the V. S. which was Kārttikādi]. This date corresponds regularly to the **6th May, 1011 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the date discussed above. Then it introduces (lines 2-6) the *rājya* of the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva* who meditated on the feet of (or, was favoured by) *P. M. P. Sindhurājadēva*. King Sindhurāja is similarly stated to have succeeded *P. M. P. Vākpatirājadēva* who is likewise described as the successor of *P. M. P. Siyakadēva*. It is difficult to say whether the expression *Bhōjadēva-rājyē* used in the text means 'during the sovereignty of Bhōjadēva' or 'in the kingdom of Bhōjadēva', since both interpretations would suit the context. But the word *rājya* is generally used in the sense of 'sovereignty' in such contexts in epigraphic records. Lines 6-7 introduce a subordinate ruler named *Vatsarāja* who was apparently ruling over **Mōhaḍavāsaka** or the **Arddhāshtama maṇḍala** in it and is described as *bhōtkāramahārājaputra*. In the signature of the ruler copied in line 20, his name is written as *Vachchharāja*. There is no doubt that **Mōhaḍavāsaka** mentioned in our inscription is identical with the **Mōhaḍavāsaka vishaya** known from the Harsolā plates¹ of Paramāra Siyaka, dated V. S. 1005.

The expression *bhōtkāramahārājaputra* may be a mistake for *bhōkṛi-mahārājaputra*. In that case, *Vatsarāja* is called *Mahārājaputra* probably because he was an as yet unknown son of the Paramāra king Bhōja, although the possibility of *Vatsarāja* having been the son of some other ruling chief is not precluded. The word *bhōkṛi* would suggest that **Mōhaḍavāsaka** or a part of it lay within the fief under *Vatsarāja*'s possession. This interpretation is quite probable in view of the passage *Kēlhaṇadēva-rājyē varittamānaḥ(nē) śrī-Kīrttipālādēva-putt[ai] [h*] Sināṇara-bhōktā-(kṛi)-rājaputra-Lasha(kshma)ṇapālha(la)-rājaputtra-A(ttr-Ā)bhūyapāla(laiḥ)* occurring in a record of the Chāhamānas of Naḍūla.² Otherwise the passage *bhōtkāramahārājaputra* would have to be taken to mean that Paramāra Bhōja's feudatory *Vatsarāja* ruling over the whole or a part of the **Mōhaḍavāsaka** district was the son of a chief named *Bhōtkāra-mahārāja*. But this is less likely.

Lines 7 ff. record the grant of two *hala* measures of land in **Śayanapāṭa-grāma** made by *Vatsarāja* probably in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Dēdda* who is described as *Vallōtakīya* and *Chāturjātakīya*. **Śayanapāṭa-grāma** was situated in **Arddhāshtama-maṇḍala** lying within the **Mōhaḍavāsaka** district, mentioned above. Lines 11-12 give the Brāhmaṇa's name as *Dēddāka* who seems to be further described as belonging to a family pertaining to the *Upānasya gōtra* and hailing from *Harshapura* and as the son of *Gōpāditya*. The *Upānasya gōtra* is not found in early Indian literature and it is difficult to determine whether it is a mistake for *Aupamanyava*. The expression *Vallōtakīya* in the Brāhmaṇa's description suggests that he was either the inhabitant of a locality called *Vallōtaka* or belonged to a community of Brāhmaṇas known as *Vallōtaka*. The same word also occurs in line 13 as an epithet of certain other Brāhmaṇas. The epithet *Chāturjātakīya* (lines 7 and 12) applied to the donee apparently means a member of the *Chaturjātaka* of the *Cintra praśasti*,³ which was no doubt an administrative board of four like the *Chauthiā* of Rajasthan (cf. *Pañchakula* or *Pañchāyat* which was a similar board of five administrators).

The language of the grant portion of the record discussed above is defective and may also indicate that it was the Brāhmaṇa *Dēdda* or *Dēddāka* who was the donor of the grant and that *Vatsarāja* merely ratified the transaction. If such was the case, the donee was the son of *Gōpāditya*; but his personal name is not mentioned.

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff. and Plates.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 49, text lines 3-5; cf. *ibid.*, p. 5, text lines 2-3, where the same princes are described as *Namānaka-bhōktā*.

³ Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 721 ff.; A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 250-51.

Lines 9-10 describe the gift land as producing such crops as *kōdrava* (a species of grain eaten by the poor people), *tila* (sesame), *mudga* (a kind of pulse), *vrihi* (paddy) and *kaṇikā* (cummin seed) while lines 10-11 state that the land was given together with a house, a threshing floor, and a quantity of paddy apparently stored there, no doubt in the village of Śayanapāṭa.

Lines 13-15 give the names of the *pārśvikas* [of the gift land]. By the word *pārśvika* was apparently meant persons owning lands in the neighbourhood of the two *hala* measures granted to the donee in the village of Śayanapāṭa. The list of the *pārśvikas* includes the names of the following persons : *Rājādhyaksha* (probably, 'a judge') Vidita ; the Brāhmaṇas Tāta, Nāṭa and Pāhiya who were residents of Vallōṭaka or members of the Vallōṭaka community ; the Brāhmaṇa Gōvarddhana as also Kēlāditya ; *Ṭhakura* Rāṇaka, son of Dantivarman; and the *Paṭṭakila* (i.e. Paṭēl) Jhambāka as well as Lallāka and Gōggaka.

A similar list of witnesses is found in lines 16-19 and it is stated that the charter was engraved in their presence. This list includes the following names : *Ṭhakura* Kēsavāditya described as the 'lord of the Saṁkaśakas' ; Tāmpālīka and the *Mēhara* (village headman) Vallabharāja ; the *Śrēṣṭhīn* Jāuḍi and Bhabha, both sons of Kapasṭhi ; Vēivaśu (Vaivasvata ?), Gūḍhayati and Saṁgēma (possibly Saṁgama) ; and *Ṭhakura* Chandrika, son of Killā or Killa. The real meaning of *Samkaśaka* used in this section is difficult to determine. Possibly it is the name of a tribe or community and does not stand for *saṁkarshaka*, meaning 'an agriculturist', since 'a lord of the cultivators' is difficult to think of.

Lines 19-20 state that the document was written by the scribe Chhaḍḍaka who was the son of Annaka. A copy of the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates under study is found in line 20. But, as already indicated above, the name is given here in the Prakrit form of *Vachchharāja* instead of *Vatsarāja* as found in line 7. The document ends with a *maṅgala* in line 21.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, Vatsarāja mentioned in it is not known from any other source. Secondly, it is the earliest inscription referring to the reign of the great Paramāra king Bhōja. Thirdly, it speaks of Bhōja's rule over parts of the Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad region, not far from Anahilapāṭaka, the capital of the contemporary kings of the Chaulukya or Sōlankī dynasty of Gujarat.

The tradition recorded by Mērutuṅga¹ and others that Paramāra Vākpati Muñja, also called Utpala, was succeeded not by his younger brother Sindhurāja but by the latter's son Bhōja is contradicted by Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*² as well as by epigraphic evidence. Like the records of the Imperial Paramāras, our inscription, issued by a subordinate ruler, applies imperial titles to Sindhurāja and represents him as the successor of Vākpati and the predecessor of Bhōja. According to Mērutuṅga,³ Vākpati Muñja, while he was leading an expedition against the Chālukyas, was defeated in a battle and captured by the Chālukya king Taila II who put him to death at a later date. The Chikkerur (Dharwar District) inscription⁴ of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āhavamalla (i.e. Satyāśraya, son of Taila II), dated Śaka 917, Jaya, Phālguna-sudi 15, Saturday (possibly February 18, 959 A.D.), states that he was just then moving towards the north for fighting against Utpala (i.e. Paramāra Vākpati Muñja). This not only shows that the Paramāra king was captured sometime after February 995 A.D. but seems also to suggest that he was already in the Chālukya territory in the course of his fatal expedition. It appears that the Chālukya crown-prince's movement from

¹ *Prabandhachintārāṇi*, Tawney's trans., pp. 31-32, 36.

² XI, 98.

³ Op. cit., pp. 33-36.

⁴ Above, pp. 131 ff. The inscription of course states that Āhavamalla proceeded against Utpala in connection with his northern *dig-vijaya* after having subdued his enemies in the south. But the fact cannot be ignored that its date is too near that of the Paramāra king's southern expedition. The inscription shows that Āhavamalla Satyāśraya was then his father's governor in the Dharwar region and that he was under orders of transfer.

the southern part of his father's empire towards the north was part of a scheme of general mobilisation of the fighting strength and resources of Taila II for the defence of the northern regions of his dominions which had been invaded by the Paramāra monarch. Since Muñja was killed some time before the death of Taila II in 997 A.D., it further appears that, from the date of his departure on his last expedition against the territory of the Chālukya king about the beginning of 995 A.D., Sindhurāja was ruling the Paramāra kingdom, first as his brother's representative and then (after Muñja's capture or death) as the latter's successor. The beginning of Sindhurāja's rule may thus be assigned to about the commencement of 995 A.D.

The duration of the rule of Sindhurāja and the date of the accession of his son Bhōja cannot be determined. Some scholars have suggested that Bhōja ascended the throne about 1005 A.D., while others have placed his accession to about 1010 A.D.¹ But there is a definite tradition in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Bhōjaprabandha* recording the duration of Bhōja's reign and there is hardly any reason why it should not be accepted as genuine. According to this tradition, Bhōja ruled for 55 years, 7 months and 3 days.² While the earliest known date of Bhōja's son and successor Jayasimha is V. S. 1112, Āshāḍha-vadi 13 (probably the 13th June, 1056 A.D.) when his Mandhata plates³ were issued, the *Chintāmaṇisāraṇikā*, composed by Daśabala at Bhōja's court apparently in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.),⁴ seems to offer the latest date for the reign of Bhōja. Thus Bhōja seems to have ruled from the middle of 1000 A.D. to the end of 1055 A.D. His father Sindhurāja therefore ruled for about five years between 995 and 1000 A.D. The fantastic stories of Sindhurāja's exploits given in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* (the date of the composition of which is doubtful although it is sometimes believed to be 1005 A.D.) can scarcely be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning a longer reign to Sindhurāja.⁵

No inscription of Paramāra Sindhurāja has as yet been discovered ; but we have a number of dates for the reign of his son and successor Bhōja. Besides the *Chintāmaṇisāraṇikā* composed at Bhōja's court in Śaka 977 (1055-56 A.D.) and referred to above, the *Rājamṛigāṅkakarāṇa*, ascribed to Bhōja, was composed in Śaka 964 (1042-43 A.D.).⁶ Bhōja's copper-plate grants discovered so far offer the following dates : (1) Banswārā plates⁷ issued on Māgha-sudi 5, V. S. 1076 (probably January 3, 1020 A.D.) ; (2) Beṭmā plates⁸ issued on Bhādrapada-sudi 15, V. S. 1076 (probably September 4, 1020 A.D.) ; (3) Ujjain plates⁹ granted on Sunday, Māgha-vadi 3, V. S. 1078 (probably 24th December, 1021 A.D.) and issued on Chaitra-sudi 14 of the same year (probably March 19, 1022 A.D.) ; and (4) Depālpur plates¹⁰ issued on Chaitra-sudi 14, V. S. 1079 (probably March 9, 1023 A.D.). Besides these, there are (1) the British Museum Sarasvatī image inscription¹¹ of the reign of Bhōja, dated V. S. 1091 (1034-35 A.D.) ; (2) the Tilakwādā plates¹² issued by Bhōja's feudatory Yaśōrāja of Saṅgamakhēṭa-maṇḍala on the occasion of the Sōma-parvan on Monday in the

¹ See Bühler, *Pāyulachchhī*, Intro., p. 9 ; above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

² Cf. *Bhōjaprabandha*, ed. Vāsudēv Paṇḍikar, p. 2 : *Pañchāsat=pañcha varshāni sapta-māsa-dina-trayam* | *Bhōjarājēna bhōktavyaḥ sa-Gaudō Dakṣiṇāpathah* See also *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, ed. Durgashankar Kevalam Shastri, p. 32.

³ Above, Vol. II, p. 48 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 132. Bühler assigned Bhōja's death to a date after 1062 A.D. on inadequate evidence.

⁴ See *JOR*, Vol. XIX, Part II, 1952, Supplement.

⁵ See above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33 ; cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 80-81.

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 320 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 f. ; Vol. XIX, p. 361.

¹⁰ *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff.

¹¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 120.

¹² Ibid., No. 128.

month of Mārga, V. S. 1103 (possibly November 17, 1046 A.D.) ; and (3) the Kalvan plates¹ issued by another of the Paramāra king's feudatories, named Yaśōvarman, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Chaitra-vadi 15 (March 17, 1048 A.D.). It will be seen that the earliest date for Bhōja supplied by these records is Māgha-sudi 5, V.S. 1076=January 3, 1020 A.D., although we know that he ascended the throne earlier since Chālukya Jayasimha II claims to have defeated him by Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.).² The present epigraph issued on Sunday, Jyēshtha-sudi 1, V. S. 1067=May 6, 1011 A.D., is nearly nine years earlier than the earliest of Bhōja's inscriptions so far published.

The inclusion of the Sabarkantha-Ahmadabad region in the dominions of Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1000-55 A.D.) is an interesting information supplied by the record under study. So far the said area was known to have formed a part of the kingdom of Bhōja's grandfather Siyaka (c.948-74 A.D.). Our inscription suggests that, in spite of the foundation of the Chaulukya power at Anahilapātaka by Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.), the region continued to be under the rule of Siyaka's successors. It is interesting to note in this connection that the inscriptions of Mūlarāja and his immediate successors do not mention any place to the east of the upper course of the Sabarmati river, which was probably the eastern boundary of the Chaulukya kingdom during the period in question.³

The **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription are : (1) the district of Mōhaḍavāsaka ; (2) the sub-division of Ardhāshṭama-maṇḍala (literally, ' the sub-division of 7½ [villages] ') in the above district ; (3) Śayanapāṭa-grāma in the above *maṇḍala* ; and (4) Harshapura. Whether Vallōṭaka was the name of a locality near Śayanapāṭa cannot be determined. Of these, the location of Mōhaḍavāsaka and Śayanapāṭa-grāma has been indicated above. The identification of Harshapura, whence the donee's family hailed, is uncertain. It may be modern Harsolā in the Prantij Taluk formerly of the Ahmadabad District but now of the Sabarkantha District, though the name also reminds us of the place of the same name mentioned in the Harsaudā (old Harshapura in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh) inscription⁴ of Paramāra Dēvapāla, dated V. S. 1275 (1218 A.D.).

TEXT⁵

Obverse

1 Siddham⁶ | Samvatsara-śatēshu daśasū(su) saptashaptya(shṭya-a)dhikēpna(shu)
Jyēshtha-śukla-patka(ksha)-pratipa-

2 dāyārṇ Samvat 1067 Jyēshtha(shṭha)-[śu]di 1 Ravāv=ady-ēha samasta-vṛi(bṛi)had-
rāj-āvali-

3 pva(pū)rvam(rvva)-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Siyakadēva-
padanudhyata⁷-pa-

4 ramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Vākpatira(rā)jadēva-pād-ānudhya-
(dhyā)ta-paramabhaṭṭā-

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. R.D. Banerji's views (*ibid.*, p. 70) that the issue of the grant by a feudatory indicates the decline of Paramāra power and that the charter was issued during the troubled days after Bhōja's death are unsound.

² Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 230.

³ Cf. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

⁵ From a set of photographs.

⁶ Expressed by symbol. The following mark of punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke.

⁷ Read *pād-ānudhyāta*.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अं क
तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वसुदेव उवाच ॥
कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं ॥
कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं ॥
कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अं क
तं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ वसुदेव उवाच ॥
कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं ॥
कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं ॥
कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं कुरु मे पुत्रं ॥

- 5 raka maha(nā)rāja(jā)dhīrāja¹-paramēśva(śva)ra-srī **Sirīdhurājadēva**-pa(pā)l-ānūdhya(dhyā)-
ta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-ma-
- 6 ha(hā)rāja(jā)dhīrāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-srī-**Bhōjadēva**-rājyē srī-**Mōhaḍavā**[śa(sa)]k-
Ārddhāṣṭama-maṇḍalē
- 7 bhōtkāra²-mahārājaputra-srī-**Vatsarājō(ja)** ih. aiva Vallōtakīya-chāturjātakīya³-[ś]rut-ādhyā-
- 8 yana-sa[m̐*]pana(nna)-pravara-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Dēddāśya⁴ [**Śa**]yanapāṭa-grāmē pradatta-
hala-dva-
- 9 ya-bhūmī-sā(śā)sanam prayachchhaty⁵ ēvaṁ yathā | [**Śa**]yanapāṭa-grāmē kōdrava-
tila-[⁶ mu[dga- [⁶]
- 10 vīhi- [⁶ kanti(ni)k-ādi-[ksh]jēttra-bhūmī sva-chatur-āghaṭṭanayanīyaty⁷ tathā grāma-
madhyē gṛha-khala-
- 11 dhānya-samētā asya Vrā(Brā)hmaṇasya **Harshapura**-vinirggatāya Upānasya⁸-sagōttrāya [⁶
- 12 Gōpāditya-[śu(su)]tāya [⁶ chāturjātakīya-vī(vi)pra-Dēddākāśya⁹ dharmā(īma) hētavē
sā(śā)san-āka(kā)rōṇa prada-
- 13 ttā | bhūmī-pārasikā¹⁰ lakhyattā¹¹ [|*] rājādhyā[ksha]-Vidita[h̐*] | Va[llo]takīyā Vrā(Brā)-
hmaṇā[h̐*] Tāta[h̐*] Nāta[h̐*] [⁶
- 14 tā(ta)thā [⁶ Pāhīya[h̐*] | Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Gōvarddhana[h̐*] | Kēla(lā)ditya[h̐*] | Daṁ-
tivarṇa-[ś]u(su)ta- [⁶thakura- [⁶Rāṇaka[h̐*] paṭ[ti]a-
- 15 kila-[⁶ Jhamvā(mbā)ka-[⁶ Lallāka-[⁶ Gōggaka-ādibhi | paṭ[ti]katvā¹² bhūmī datritā¹³ |

Reverse

- 16 sā[kshi]pōh(nō) lī(lī)khyantē || tratrā¹⁴|| Saṁkaśakānām=adhipati- [⁶ thakura-Kēśavāditya-
[h̐*]
- 17 tathā Tāmpālīka[h̐*] | mōhara-Vallabharājah | Kapashḍi(shṭi)-suta-śrēṣṭhi(shṭhi)-Jāudī[h̐*]

¹ The *akshara ja* is written below the line.

² As indicated above, this may be either a mistake for *bhōtkṛi* or, less probably, the personal name of Vatsa-
rāja's father.

³ Cf. the expression *chāturjātakīya-vīpra* in line 12 below.

⁴ Read *Dēddāya*; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to determine whether Dēddā was the donee or the real
donor of the grant which was ratified by Vatsarāja probably with Bhōja's permission. The name of the Brāhmaṇa
is written as *Dēddāka* in line 12 below.

⁵ Read *prayachchhaty*.

⁶ The *danda* is redundant.

⁷ Read *āghāṭa-samyuktā*.

⁸ This may be a mistake for *Aupamanyava*.

⁹ Read *Dēddākāya*; but, as indicated above, it is difficult to say whether Dēddāka was the donee or the donor
of the grant in favour of the son of Gōpāditya. The name of the Brāhmaṇa is written as *Dēddā* in line 8 above.

¹⁰ Read *pārsvikā*.

¹¹ Read *likhyantē*.

¹² Read *ādīnām pārsvikatvē*.

¹³ Read *datt=ēti*.

¹⁴ Better read *yathā*.

- 18 Kapashḍi(shtī)-śu(su)ta-Bhabha[h*] | tāthā Vēiva[ś]u[h*]¹ Gu(Gū)ḍhayati[h*] Saṁgēmā²
Kil[l]ā³-śu(su)ta-|⁴ ṭhaku-
- 19 ra- |⁴ Chaṁd[r]ik-ādi⁵-samasta-jana-prātyaksha[ni*] śāsanam samukīritam⁶ || likhitam
- 20 chētata⁷ likhya(lēkha)ka- |⁸ Amnaka-śu(su)ta-Chchhaḍḍakēna ||⁹ iti || śrī-Cha(Va)chchha-
(tsa)rājasya¹⁰ [i*]
- 21 maṁgalam mahā-śrī[h*] ||¹¹ ||

¹ It is difficult to say whether the intended name is Vaivasvata. The intended reading may also be *Vēira-suta*.

² The intended reading may be *Samgamaḥ* |

³ The intended reading may be *Killa* followed by an unnecessary *daṇḍa*.

⁴ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *Chandrika ity-ādi*^o.

⁶ Read *samutkīṛṇam*.

⁷ Read *ch=aitat*.

⁸ The *daṇḍa* is redundant. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁹ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

¹⁰ This represents the donor's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. Note that the name of the donor is written as Vatsarāja in line 7 above.

¹¹ There are two spiral symbols here between the double *daṇḍas*.

**No. 39—KANCHIPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ACHYUTARAYA,
SAKA 1453**

K. G. KRISHNAN AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7. 12. 1957)

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the east wall of the old Sabhānāyaka shrine in the Ēkāmrānātha temple at **Kāñchīpuram** in the Chingleput District, Madras. The inscription contains two parts, one in **Sanskrit** engraved in **Grantha characters** and the other, which is incomplete, in **Tamil** in the **Tamil script** mixed with Grantha. The Sanskrit portion is couched in verses in *Anuṣṭubh* intercepted by a prose passage which has also been numbered along with the rest. There is nothing particular to note regarding palaeography or orthography. The inscription is important from the point of view of literary history as it throws light on the authorship and date of four literary compositions in Sanskrit.

The epigraph is **dated** in the reign of **Achyutarāya** of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and the details of the date, viz., **Śaka 1453,² Khara, Kumbha śu. 3, Rēvatī, Friday,** correspond to **1532 A.D., February 9,** the *nakshatra* being current till 34 of the following day.

The epigraph commences with two stanzas invoking respectively the gods Vighnēśvara and Śiva. Then it introduces king **Achyuta** of the Tuluva dynasty, whose greatness is described at length and who is described as the son of **Narasa**. The king's commander-in-chief **Salaka Tirumala** is described next as the lord of Ōndāṇa-maṇḍala. It is stated that he defeated the **Pāṇḍya** and **Kēraḷa** kings and acquired sovereignty over them. This Tirumala is then stated to have installed **Bhōgarāja**, son of Timmarāja of the solar race, as governor at **Kāñchī**. Then the record proceeds to narrate an important event that happened during the governorship of Bhōgarāja at Kāñchī. Bhōgarāja worshipped Lord Ēkāmrānātha and summoned an assembly of learned Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, Māhēśvaras and temple officials before the god Ēkāmrēśvara. Two other persons, one described as Rāmachandra's brother and the other as Nārāyaṇa, were also present. On that occasion, the assembly listened to four literary works in Sanskrit composed by Śrīnivāsa, viz. *Śivabhaktivilāsa* (stated to have been an account of the lives of the 63 Śaiva devotees), *Charaṇādīstava*, *Bhōgāvalī* and *Nāmāvalī*. Śrīnivāsa, the author of these works, is represented as the son of Sitārāma of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and as a resident of Chēyarūr. He is also stated to have been well-versed in the Sāmaveda and to have performed the Vājapēya sacrifice acquiring thereby the singular privilege of carrying the white umbrella.³ In appreciation of the compositions mentioned above, the *sabhā* is said to have made presents of ornaments and clothes to the poet and to have also arranged for the poet's permanent residence at Kāñchī by purchasing a house for him. The house stood on a site, 40' wide⁴, in the northern part of the eastern row of houses in Nallakampa-vīthi to the south of the outer *prākāra* of the Ēkāmrānātha temple. The poet also received a *śivamāna* of rice daily and five *bhāras* of grains and five *paṇas* per month, to be enjoyed hereditarily. It was further enjoined upon the members of the *sabhā* to see that this gift continues uninterruptedly. The Tamil portion, which is unfinished, refers to the above four works, to the assembly and to Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja, the *karttar* of the place.

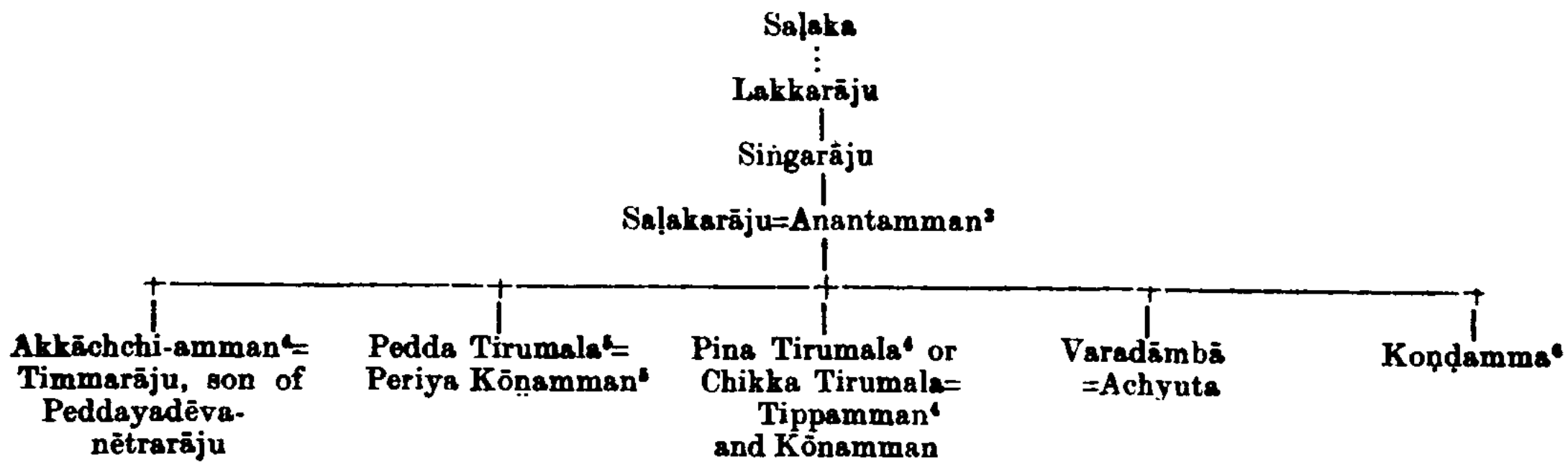
¹ A. R. Ep., 1955-56, App. B, No. 274.

² The Śaka year is obtained from the chronogram *Śakṣmī-bhāgyē* which is apparently a mistake for *Lakṣmī-bhāgyē* because the latter form, besides being more sensible, agrees with the cyclic year Khara which corresponds to Śaka 1453. The chronogram is based on the *Kaṭapayādī* system.

³ That the persons who performed the Vājapēya sacrifice were entitled to hold the white umbrella as an honour is indicated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayōdhyā Kāṇḍa, Canto 45, verses 22-23, and Gōvindarāja's commentary thereon.

⁴ The length of the site is stated to have been the same as that of the adjoining house.

Salaka's son Tirumala, described in the record as Achyuta's commandar-in-chief, is the well-known brother-in-law of the king. Tirumala is described as the lord of Ōndāṇa-maṇḍala. Ōndāṇa is unknown to us as the name of a territory. But, among the numerous inscriptions referring to this chief, two, one from Gūḍūr¹ in the Nellore District and the other from Vēmūlūrupāḍu² in the Guntur District, mention *Ōndāṇemaṇḍalikaragaṇḍa* as one of his titles, meaning perhaps the chief of the *maṇḍalikas* each of whom had an elephant. It does not seem to refer to any *maṇḍala* Ōndāṇa by name, as our epigraph would make us believe. It is possible that the composer of our record arrived at this form in his attempt to transliterate this *biruda* of Salaka Tirumala without knowing its significance. But there is no doubt that this Tirumala is identical with Pedda Tirumala whose genealogy, as gathered from the Vēmūlūrupāḍu inscription and some other inscriptions, from Śrīraṅgam, may be recorded here.



Bhōgarāja, installed as *karṭtar* at Kāñchī, is called Bhōgayadēva-mahārāja in the Tamil section of the record. Some inscriptions⁷ from the North Arcot and South Arcot Districts mention a Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja always in association with Salakarāja Tirumala. One of them⁸ from Tiruppaṇaṅgāḍu states that, when Tirumalaidēva-mahārāja was camping at Kāñchī in the month of Makara in Śaka 1453, Khara, after having captured Vira-Narasimharāya-nāyakkar, Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja enquired at his instance into a complaint lodged by the authorities of the temple at Tiruppaṇaṅgāḍu against the misappropriation of 50 *poṇ* of *jōḍi* by the captured chief. The amount is stated to have been formerly remitted by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Narasimharāya-nāyakkar withheld the amount even after a reminder from Sāḷuva Timmayar. Bhōgaiyadēva

¹ *Ins. Nel. Dist.*, Part I, Gūḍūr, No. 108. The text given there reads *Ōndāṇemaṇḍa*. A Tamil inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 575) from Kāñchīpuram gives this expression as *Ōndāṇai-maṇḍa*.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, No. 544.

³ *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1950-51, No. 318 ; cf. also Nos. 323-24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1938-39, No. 3 ; 1950-51, No. 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1924, No. 170.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1906, Nos. 174, 175 and 253 ; 1921, No. 356 ; 1939-40, No. 266.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1907, Part II, para. 60.

recovered this amount. In another inscription¹ from Elavānāsūr, a Bhōgaiyadēva is referred to as the son of Tippiyadēva-mahārāja who is described as *Chōḷa-kula-tilaka* and *Uṇaiyūr-puravar-ādhiśvara* and stated to have served Tirumalaiyadēva-mahārāja. Bhōgaiyadēva is mentioned in our record as the son of Timmarāja and as having belonged to the Sūrya-varṇa. If *Timma* and *Tippa* can be regarded as variants of the same name, Bhōgaiyadēva-mahārāja of the present record would be identical with his namesake mentioned in the Tiruppaṇāṅgāḍu and Elavānāsūr inscriptions.

The theme of Śrīnivāsa's *Śivabhaktivilāsa*, stated to be a *kāvya* dealing with the lives of the 63 devotees of Śiva, is the same as that of the fine Tamil poetical work entitled *Periyapurāṇam* also known as *Tiruttoṇḍar purāṇam* composed by Śēkilār in the first half of the 12th century. *Śivabhaktivilāsa* has been noticed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.² *Charaṇādistava*, called *Pādūdikēśastava* in the Tamil portion, is evidently the same as *Ēkāmrānāthastava* noticed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*.³ The works are assigned by Aufrecht to Śrīnivāsa-dīkshita who is no doubt identical with Śrīnivāsa-yajvan of our record, the titles *yajvan* and *dīkshita* being synonymous. *Charaṇādistava* was no doubt a description of the god commencing from his sacred feet and ending with the glory of his crown or the head. It is sometimes composed also in the reverse order. It appears that both the types were chosen to describe a god while the latter was employed only to describe a man. The other two works *Bhōgūvali*⁴ and *Nāmāvali* are evidently names of two types of compositions. Apparently they too were compositions on Ēkāmrēśa. The munificence of the gifts made to the poet is sufficient indication of the patronage that men of letters enjoyed during the period in question.

Cheyarūr, the native place of the poet, cannot be identified due to want of further details.

TEXT*

- 1 Śubham=astu [1*] Vām-āṁk-ārūḍha-vāmākshī-vakshōj-āsakta-pu-
- 2 shkaram | vāraṇam vighna-tamasām Vāraṇāsyam=upāsmahē [1*] Kāmā-
- 3 kshī-tuṅga-vakshōja-kamkaṇ-āṁkita-vakshasam⁶ | śīlayē sthi-
- 4 tam=Ēkāmrā-mūlē Bālēnduśekhara⁷m | [2*] Yasy-ājñām sarvva-
- 5 bhūpālā vahantō nija-mūrddhabhiḥ | nīrājayanti kōṭīra-ratna-dī-
- 6 paiḥ pad-ā[ṁ*]bujam | [3 | *] Na[ta]-mūrddha-pad-āṁgushṭha-nakh-āgra-kṛita-randhrataḥ |
yat-pratāp-ānā⁸
- 7 jvālā-jālair-utsarppibhir-mmuhuh | 4 | Brahmāṇḍam makha-nikshipta-nava-palla[va*]-sam-
- 8 hatēḥ | suvarṇṇa-pūrṇṇa-kumbhasya vibhramam vahati sphuṭam | [5*] [Na]-

¹ Ibid., 1906, No. 174.

² See p. 670.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ For the nature of this composition, see *Pratāparudriya* (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXV), Kāvya-prakarṇa, p. 98.

⁵ From the original and inked impressions.

⁶ Cf. *Mūlapaṇḍita*, Āryāśatakam, verse 15.

⁷ Tamil *r* is used here.

- 9 la-Nābhāga-Nahusha-Nṛiga-Rāma-mukhān nṛipān | atisētē pavitrēṇa charitē(trē)ṇa
 10 nijēna yaḥ | 6 | Asau Narasa-bhūpāla-tanayō vinay-ōjva(jjva)laḥ | Achyutēndra-
 11 mahārāya-nāmā sīmā su-vartmanām | 7 | Yadā bhujēna Bhōgīndra-bhōga-ka-
 12 lpēna sat-prabluḥ | vahaty=aśēsha-vasudhā-valayaṁ valayaṁ yathā | 8 | Tadā tasya chamū-
 nāthas-sarvva-sūmrā-
 13 jya-dhūr-vahaḥ | Ōndāṇa-maṇḍal-ādhiśas=Salaka-kshmāpa-bhūr=abhūt | 9 | Yaḥ Pāṇḍya-
 Kēraḷa(l-ā)dhīśam(śau) parā-
 14 jitya tataḥ karam | karan=tat-prithivī-rājya-lakshmyā iva tad=āgrahīt | 10 | Asau Tirumala-
 kshmāpas=ta-
 15 sy=āptam prāpta-tējasam | Sūryya-vaṁś-ābdhi-śaśinaṁ Surēndra-sama-vikramam | 11 | Ti-
 mmarāja-bhu-
 16 [va]m Bhōgarājam Kāñchyān=nyavēśayat | sa tatra kārayan pūjām=Ēkāmrēśasya
 bhūyasīm | 12 |
 17 Śakshmībhāgyē¹ Śakasy-ābdē Khar-ābdē Kumbha-gē Ravau | sita-pakshē
 tṛitīyāyām
 18 Rēvatyā[rn*] vāsarē Bhṛigōḥ | 13 | Praṇamy=Aikāmraramaṇan=tasy=āgrē samupāviśat |
 R-
 19 machandr-ānujanmā² Nā[rā*]yaṇō='pi cha | 14 | Gautamās=cha Bharadvājā[h*] Kauśi[kā]h³
 Kāśyapās=tathā | Aga-
 20 styās=cha mahānmā(tmā)naś=Śiva-dvija-kul-ōttamāḥ | 15⁴ | Kulē śilē sad-āchārē tyāgē bhōgē
 śamē damē | prathitāḥ
 21 kiścha(n̄=cha) kuśalās=sakalāsu kalāsu cha | 16 | Māhēśvarās=cha mahitāḥ | ⁵ karaṇās=cha
 guṇ-ālayāḥ [| *] āla-
 22 [y]-Aikāmrānāthasya purataś=tridaśā iva | 17 | Tadā tata(tō) Bharadvāja-Sīta(tā)rāma-
 sutas=sudhīḥ | Vājapēy-ārjjita-śveta-
 23 ja(chchha)tra-maṇḍala-maṇḍitaḥ | 18 | Pada-vākya-pra[mā]ṇēshu Bharat-ādi-kalāsu cha |
 prathitaś=Chēyarūr-grāma-vāsī

¹ See p. 199, note 2.

² After 'janmā we have to read *cha śṛīman* to suit the metre.

³ The letters *śikā* are written below the line.

⁴ The number 13 was originally engraved and later it appears to have been corrected into 15.

⁵ This *daṇḍa* was wrongly engraved here instead of at the end of this hemistich.

⁶ The sign for medial *ai* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

- 24 *Sām-ābdhi-pāragah* | [19|*] *Śrīnivāsaś-Śivasy-ājñā(jñā)-vaśata[h*] svēna nirmmitam | tri-
[sha*]shṭi-bhakta-chāritra-dyōtakam kāvyam=utta-*
- 25 *mam* | 20 | *Śivabha[kti]¹vilās-ākhyam=aśrāvayad=imām sabhām | Cha[ra]ṇādīstavam Bhōgā-
valīm Nāmāvalīm²=api* | 21 | *Etā-*
- 26 *n prabandhān=ākarnya santushtās=[t]ē sabhāsadaḥ | prasannam Śivam=āla³kshya lakshma-
bhiḥ pūrvva-sam(śam)sitaiḥ* | 22 |
- 27 *Prasasy=aitam kavim bhūshā-vastr-ādyaiḥ pratipūjya cha | kṛi(ka)lpayanti sma ch=āvāsam
Kānchyām-ēv-āsyā santatam* | 2[3 |]
- 28 *⁴Ēkāmranātha-bāhya-prākārād=dakṣiṇatō Nallakampa-vidhi(thi)-śrēshṭhi-rathyā-pūrvva-
śrēṇy-[u]ttara-prānta-sthi-*
- 29 *ta[ni*] dakṣiṇ-ōttarataś=chatvāriṃśat-pada-vistṛitam prativēśa-griha-prācharayāma⁵-sam-
āyāmam Ēkāmre-*
- 30 *sēna ka(kra)ya-labdham ni[dh]y-ādy-ashṭa-bhōga-sahitam=ēka-nikētanañ=ch=āsmē(smai)
Śrīnivāsa-*
- 31 *yajvanē dattavantah* | 26 | *Ēkāmres-ālayāt prāpyam=amunā [ka]vin=ānv-aham* |
- 32 *Śiva-māna-mitam śāli-taṇḍulānāñ=cha sañchayam* | 27 | *Māsē māsē tataḥ
prāpya[ni*]*
- 33 *vīhīṇām bhāra-pāñchakam | pañānām pañchakamam=api⁶ prasādam Pārvatīpatēḥ |
2[8 |]*
- 34 *Ētat=sarvvan=dvija[sy-ā*]sya bhōjyam putr-ādikair=api | yath-ēsṭha-viniyōg-ārham=ā-
kalpāntam=akalpa-*
- 35 *yan* | 29 | *Śrīnivāsēna vidushā prāptam-Ēkāmran[ā]yakāt | prasannād=ētaḍ=akhilam pāla-
niyan-na-*
- 36 *rādhipaiḥ* | 30 | *Māhēsvarair=Mmahādēva-divy-ājñā-paripālakaiḥ | sthānakaiś=cha Śiva-*
- 37 *prīti-kartṛi-dharmm-ārttha-kāmkshibhiḥ* | 31 | *Kāmākshī-ku[cha]-mudr-āmkaś=Śaṅkaraḥ
kīmkarūn=nijān | avyā-*
- 38 *d=avyāja-kāruṇya-kallōlita-dṛig-añchalah* | 32 | *Śubham⁷*

¹ Below *ti* there is another unnecessary letter looking like *thi*.

² The word *Nāmāvalī* is written below the line.

³ The letter *la* is written below the line.

⁴ The passage running from this upto *dattavantah* in line 31 is in prose; yet it is enumerated as though it is equal to three verses, thus carrying the number to 26.

⁵ Read *prachār-āyāma*. The vertical line of *cha* appears to have been projected downwards

⁶ Read *pañchakan=ch=api*.

There is a punctuation mark here consisting of two symbols resembling the Tamil figure 10 flanking a sign resembling the letter *u*.

- 39 Tiruvēkambam-ūḍaiya Nayingār Arupatti(ttumūvar-purāṇam Saṁskṛita-bā(bhā)shaiyir(yiṛ)=
chey-
- 40 da Śivabhaktavilāsattaiyum¹ tammudaiya Bhōgāvalli(liyai)yum¹ Nāmāvalli(liyai)yum¹
Pātā(dā)dikēśastavamum²
- 41 ugandu tiru[ch*]chevi-ch³chātti aruḷuga(gai)yil i-kkōyil Tāṇattārum Māhēśvararum
santōṣi-
- 42 ttu sthalattukku kattar(rttar)=āna Bhōgayadēva-mahārājā⁴

¹ The letter *yum* is indicated by a symbol.

² Read *starattaiyum*.

³ The letter *ch* is redundant.

⁴ The writing stops here abruptly.

No. 40—NOTE ON MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF GAURI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11. 7. 1958)

The fragmentary inscription of a ruler named Gauri belonging to the Mānavāyani family was discovered at Mandasōr in Madhya Pradesh while another record of the same ruler, dated V.S. 547 (491 A.D.), was found in a temple in the vicinity of Chhōṭī Sādrī near Neemuch about 32 miles from Mandasōr. Both the records were edited by me above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120-32, with Plates.¹ A king named Ādityavardhana is mentioned about the beginning of the Mandasōr epigraph of Gauri, apparently as ruling from Daśapura (Mandasōr). The Chhōṭī Sādrī inscription does not mention this ruler. One of the several possibilities suggested by me regarding Ādityavardhana's identification was that he may have been Gauri's overlord and a later member of the Aulikara family of Daśapura.

In an interesting paper entitled "New Light on the Ancient History of Malwa", which has appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, December 1957, pp. 314-20, Prof. V. V. Mirashi has tried to show that king Ādityavardhana mentioned in the Mandasōr inscription of his feudatory Gauri whose known date is V.S. 547 (491 A.D.) and king Dravyavardhana mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (LXXXVI, 2) of Varāhamihira who flourished in the sixth century A.D. were later members of the Aulikara ruling family of Western Malwa just as king Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, one of whose Mandasōr inscriptions is dated V.S. 589 (532 A.D.), and that all these three Aulikara kings had their capital not at Daśapura (modern Mandasōr) but at Ujjayinī. As regards the second of the two suggestions, Prof. Mirashi observes, "Dr. Sircar seems to think that Daśapura was the capital of Ādityavardhana . . . There is no basis for this conjecture." I am afraid, Prof. Mirashi has not been successful in proving his point.

We have two pillars² of the nature of *jaya-stambhas* raised by Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana at Daśapura (Mandasōr) and it is generally believed that he was ruling from the said city.³ This is quite possible since the early kings of the Aulikara family very probably had their capital at Daśapura where most of their lithic records have been found.⁴ The suggestion is supported by one of the Mandasōr inscriptions of this family, which clearly states that, in V.S. 493 (436 A.D.), Aulikara Bandhuvarman was the ruler of Daśapura while the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta 'was ruling over the earth'.⁵ This shows that the Aulikara king Bandhuvarman, who was a feudatory of Kumāragupta and flourished in the second quarter of the fifth century, had his capital at Daśapura. But Prof. Mirashi says, "The pillars commemorate the memorable victory which Yaśōdharman obtained over the Hūṇa king Mihirakula. The battle appears to have been fought at Daśapura, about 75 miles north by west of Ujjayinī. Hence the memorable pillars were erected at Daśapura, the site of the battle, and not at Ujjayinī, the capital of Yaśōdharman." The theory, however, does not appear to be quite convincing in view of the facts that most of the stone inscriptions of the Aulikara kings, as indicated above, have been found at Daśapura and none at all at

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. xi.

² *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 142 ff.

³ Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 504.

⁴ See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 3, 6-7; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff. For early Aulikara records found elsewhere (not far away from Mandasōr), cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 4; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff. The two inscriptions of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, a later member of the family, were both found at Mandasōr (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 9, 1870).

⁵ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 79 ff. Cf. *Kumāragupte prithivīm prasāsati* in verse 23 and *Bandhuvarmanay=udārē samyak-sphūṭam Daśapuram=idam pālayaty=unnat-āmsē* in verse 29.

Ujjayinī and that one of these records mentions an early Aulikara king as having his capital at Daśapura, while, on the other hand, there is absolutely no evidence to show that the Aulikaras—earlier or later—had anything to do with Ujjayinī.

Verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandasōr inscription of Gauri reads as follows :

Jitvā ripu-balam samkkhē(khyē) ramyam pura[m] daś-ādi . [l*]*

....[na]ra-vyāghrē narēndr-Ādityavardhanē ||¹

In my opinion, the damaged *akshara* at the end of the first half of this stanza is certainly *kaṁ* while the word lost at the beginning of its second half, as I have suggested, may be restored as *pālayati* or *praśāsati*. The above restoration is supported by the style of epigraphic records including the Mandasōr inscription of Bandhuvarman (verse 29) referred to above. There can be little doubt that the stanza represents Ādityavardhana, probably an Aulikara, as the ruler of Daśapura ; that is to say that he had his capital at Daśapura. Prof. Mirashi, it is interesting to note, admits that ' the name Daśapura appears [in the verse quoted above] in a fragmentary form ', that Ādityavardhana is said to have ' done something to a town whose name contained the word *daśa* (probably Daśapura) ', that ' as the name of Ādityavardhana is used in the locative case, the intended meaning seems to be that he was ruling at the time ', and that the kings Ādityavardhana and Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana ' were connected in some way or other with Daśapura (Mandasōr)'. In spite of all these admissions, however, he, strangely enough, comes to the conclusion that the said stanza ' gives no clear indication ' as regards Ādityavardhana's relations with Daśapura. But, if it is admitted that the name of Daśapura occurs in the verse in the accusative along with that of Ādityavardhana in the nominative absolute, I do not see how Prof. Mirashi can easily escape, without resorting to unwarranted conjectures, from the natural conclusion that the king was ruling at the city in question.

It will be seen that, while in our opinion verse 2 of the fragmentary Mandasōr inscription of Gauri apparently speaks of Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana, it offers no indication on the point to Prof. Mirashi. It is, therefore, natural to expect that he has stronger grounds to show that Ujjayinī, and not Daśapura, was the capital of Ādityavardhana as well as of Dravyavardhana and Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, all the three kings probably belonging to the same family. Unfortunately the two points Prof. Mirashi has raised as evidence in support of his theory do not appear to be convincing at all as both of them are based on misunderstanding.

The first point raised by Prof. Mirashi in this connection is based on the mention of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana as an *Āvantika* or *Āvantika-nripa*, i.e. ' the king of Avanti ', in the following stanza of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, to which reference has been made :

Bhāradvāja-matam dṛiṣṭvā yach=cha śrī-Dravyavardhanah |

Āvantikah prāha nripō mahārājādhirājakah ||

Prof. Mirashi takes the name Avanti occurring in the expression *Āvantika*, to indicate the city of Ujjayinī. But unfortunately he forgets that Avanti was primarily the name of a people or their country (identical with West Malwa) and only secondarily the name of the chief city of the said people or country.² Of course it is well-known that, during certain periods of the history of the Avanti country, Ujjayinī was its chief city. The expression *Āvantika* thus means both ' the lord of the Avanti people or country ' and ' the lord of the city of Avanti (identified with Ujjayinī)'. One has to note that the Paramāra kings like Bhōja are called ' king of Avanti '³ even though they had their capital at Dhārā and not at Ujjayinī. It will, therefore, be seen that the epithet *Āvantika* applied to Dravyavardhana does not prove that his capital was at Ujjayinī and not at Daśapura.

¹ I do not find any justification for Prof. Mirashi's remark, " The metre appears defective."

² See Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, trans., p. 344, note ; Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, App. III, s.v. *Avanti*.

³ Cf. *Avanti-bhūpāla* in Monier-Williams' *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Avanti*.

Prof. Mirashi's contention that 'the aforesaid passage from the *Bṛhatsamhitā* thus suggests that the later Aulikara kings Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Vishṇuvardhana (Yaśōdharman) ruled from Ujjayinī' therefore stands on a shaky foundation.

Prof. Mirashi's other argument in support of his theory is based on the Mandasōr inscription¹ of V.S. 589 belonging to the reign of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana. He says, "It (i.e. the Mandasōr inscription of V.S. 589) tells us that the country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra (Aravali) mountains was being governed by one Nirdōsha who was a *Rājasthānīya* appointed by Yaśōdharman and had his headquarters at Daśapura. This clearly indicates that Yaśōdharman himself was ruling not from Daśapura but from some other place like Ujjayinī." He refers us to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 154, with the following remark: "The name of the viceroy was Nirdōsha and not Daksha as shown by Kielhorn." We are sorry to note that there are not only several errors in these statements but also that the inscription does not prove Prof. Mirashi's theory at least to our satisfaction.

In the first place, the inscription does not really mention any 'country between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra mountains'. Verse 19 of the record actually speaks of the land bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and the Sea (Arabian Sea) apparently meaning the region lying to the west of the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra and to the east of the Arabian Sea. There is nothing in the record to show that the city of Daśapura was situated in this land. As a matter of fact, the area indicated seems to have been situated to the west of the city in question. Secondly, the person represented in the stanza as the *Rājasthānīya*, i.e. viceroy or governor, of the said region is not Nirdōsha but his father's elder brother Abhayadatta. Verses 20-21 suggest that, on the death of Abhayadatta, the viceroyalty of the above land fell on Dharmadōsha who was a son of the former's brother Dōshakumbha. Thirdly, it is uncertain whether Abhayadatta was a contemporary and a viceroy of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana, although Dharmadōsha was in office in V.S. 589 when his younger brother Nirdōsha excavated a well apparently at Daśapura in the name of his deceased uncle Abhayadatta. Verse 21 of course seems to suggest that Dharmadōsha was a viceroy of Yaśōdharman; but he may have been mentioned by Nirdōsha merely to indicate his own importance as the brother of an important personage like the governor of a district. Fourthly, for similar reasons, Nirdōsha's mention of his relations with Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha scarcely proves that Daśapura, where he excavated the well, lay within the territory under the viceroyalty of his elder brother and paternal uncle, even if both of them were viceroys under the Aulikara king Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana. Fifthly, the inscription does not mention Daśapura as the headquarters of Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha, not to speak of Nirdōsha who is not stated to have been a ruler. Sixthly, the mention of the two names together in two different stanzas shows that Daksha was the second name of Nirdōsha.² Seventhly, even if Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana had his capital at Daśapura, Abhayadatta and Dharmadōsha could have acted as governors of the metropolitan district of the Aulikara empire with their headquarters at the capital city.³

The points raised above will make it clear that the Mandasōr inscription scarcely proves the location of Yaśōdharman's capital at Ujjayinī. Prof. Mirashi's statement that 'all these kings (viz. Ādityavardhana, Dravyavardhana and Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana) were ruling from Ujjayinī' is thus an unwarranted conjecture, especially in view of the discovery of most of the Aulikara inscriptions at Daśapura and of the fact that verse 2 of the Mandasōr inscription of Gauri

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 150-58.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 392, note 3.

³ It may be noted that, when *Mahārāja* Brahmadatta or *Mahārāja* Jayadatta was ruling over Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti with headquarters apparently at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, there was also the office of an *Ayuktaka* (no doubt the governor of the district round the city) at the same city. See above, Vol. XV, pp. 135 f., pp. 138 ff.; Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

apparently represents Daśapura as the capital of Ādityavardhana just as the earlier Aulikara king Bandhuvarman is mentioned as the ruler of the same city in another Mandasōr inscription.

Prof. Mirashi thinks that *Mahārāja* Gauri had his capital at Daśapura. But this view seems to go clearly against the evidence of verse 2 of his Mandasōr Inscription, unless of course Gauri is identified with Ādityavardhana. As indicated above, we have only the following two inscriptions of Gauri: (1) the Chhōṭī Sādri epigraph, and (2) the Mandasōr inscription recording the excavation of a tank by him in the suburbs of Daśapura for the merit of his deceased mother. Of course Gauri's activities recorded in these inscriptions do not prove that he had his capital at either of the two places where his records have been found or at a third place, since a ruling chief could build a temple or excavate a tank at his capital or elsewhere in or outside his own territory. Thus according to an inscription¹ of Śaka 983 (1060 A.D.) from Barsur in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh, a Telugu-Chōḍa *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* named Chandrāditya-mahārāja, who had his headquarters at Ammagrāma, is known to have built a temple of Śiva called Chandrādityēśvara and excavated a tank called Candrādityasarōvara at Bārasūru which was the capital of his Chhindaka overlord, *Mahārāja* Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa.

Another fact that cannot be ignored in this connection is that Daśapura was in early times one of the celebrated holy places in Western India² and that death at a place of pilgrimage was considered by the people as highly meritorious.³ Gauri's mother may, therefore, have visited Daśapura on pilgrimage with a view to meet her end at the holy place. The excavation of wells at Daśapura by both Nirdōsha and Gauri in the name of their dead relatives in such a case becomes clear.⁴

Moreover, as already indicated above, verse 2 of the Mandasōr fragmentary inscription of Gauri suggests that Daśapura was the capital of his overlord Ādityavardhana probably of the Aulikara dynasty. It is, therefore, impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that Gauri of the Mānavāyani family, who was a feudatory chief and not a governor, had also his capital at the same city of Daśapura.

We also find it difficult to agree with Prof. Mirashi's view regarding the date of Dravyavardhana who is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and may be supposed to have belonged to the Aulikara family. The date of the composition of this work is uncertain, although it may have been written some time about the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.⁵ It is, therefore, impossible, without further evidence, to prove whether Dravyavardhana ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. or whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana. Prof. Mirashi conjectures that Dravyavardhana was a successor of Ādityavardhana and a predecessor of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana and says, "*Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of Avanti mentioned by Varāhamihira (c. first half of the sixth century A.D.) must, therefore, be placed in the period V. 552 to 589. He may have ruled from c. V. 552 to 572 (A.D. 495-515). He was thus a predecessor of Yaśōdharman and might have been his father." He lays special emphasis on the last sentence by putting it in *italics*. Unfortunately, however, all these statements appear to us to be nothing more than guesses unsupported by any evidence worth the name.

¹ See *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1908-09, pp. 111 ff.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, pp. 158-59; *The Classical Age*, pp. 216, 220. For another similar inscription, see Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

² Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 161, text line 2.

³ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 43 ff.

⁴ Cf. *JAHRS*, Vol. XIX, p. 207.

⁵ Varāhamihira probably composed his *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in Śaka 427 (505 A.D.) since in that work the said Śaka year has been taken as the basis of calculation. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* appears to have been composed at a later date. The tradition that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 (587 A.D.) is now generally regarded as of dubious value. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 323.

No. 41—MALGA PLATES OF SAMANTA INDRARAJA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 18.7.1958)

About the middle of the year 1957, Pandit L. P. Pandeya of Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, informed the Government Epigraphist for India of the existence of a copper plate inscription lying in the possession of Shri Badri Prasad Rai of Dhobahar in the Bilaspur District of the same State. Under his instructions, Shri Rai was good enough to send the inscription on loan to the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1957, and it was soon returned to him after examination. The owner of the plates was stated to be Thakur Ratansinghji of **Malgā**, P. O. Kotma, District Shahdol, Madhya Pradesh.

The inscription is written on a set of **three** plates which measure about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 inches each and are strung on a ring measuring about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness. The ring passes through a hole about the middle of the upper side of the plates. The first plate has writing only on the inner side while the other two plates are inscribed on both the sides. The record contains 30 lines of writing, 7 lines each on the inner sides of plates I and III and the obverse and reverse of plate II, and only 2 lines on the outer side of plate III. The rectangular seal soldered to the joint of the ring contains only the legend *śrī-Indrarājah* (correctly *sr-Indrarājah*) in embossed characters. The three plates together with the ring and seal weigh 119 tolas.

The **characters** belong to a variety of the Siddhamātrikā alphabet and are assignable to a date roughly between the Bodhgaya inscription¹ (c. 588 A. D.) of Mahānāman and the Apsad inscription² (c. 670 A. D.) of Ādityasēna, that is to say, about **the first half of the seventh century**. The letters are, however, more angular in shape and their top is formed by a hollow triangle of a bigger size than the solid triangle at the top of the letters of the Bodhgaya and Apsad epigraphs. Letters with a hollow triangle forming the top are sometimes met with in early inscriptions, e.g., in the recently discovered Mallar (Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh) plates³ of Vyāghrarāja, written in Southern characters assignable to the 6th century A. D.

Among initial vowels, *a* occurs in line 29; *ā* with length indicated by a curve in lines 1 and 8 and by an angular sign in lines 13, 16, 21 and 24; *i* in lines 6, 8, 26 and 28; *u* in line 28 and 29; and *ē* in line 29. The medial signs of *ā* and *ē* (cf. also medial *ō*) are sometimes a *śirō-mātrā* and sometimes a *prishṭha-mātrā*. Medial *u* is written with a downward vertical stroke (cf. *ṭphulla* in line 2), or a curve attached to the lower end of the letter (cf. *tuṅga* in line 3). The sign has been written differently in *ru* in *guṇair-u*³ in line 1 and *chāru* in line 2. Medial *ū* is indicated by a downward curve added to the left of the vertical stroke of a medial *u* (cf. *mūrtti* in line 4), or a curved stroke added to the right side of the *u* sign (cf. *°r=bhūtva* in line 16). The sign for medial *ū* in *bhūgnā* in line 23 is of a different type. The subscripts *ch* and *v* are not clearly distinguished (cf. *svasti* in line 1 and *°ḥ=chāru* in line 4). The letter *m* is written with a straight stroke or a globular mark added to the lower left corner of *p* (cf. *śrīmā°* and *mati* in line 6). The form of subscript *y* is angular and the top of the letter *ḥ* is flat. In the ligature *ry* (cf. *panyanta* in lines 5 and 13),

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff., and Plate.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

³ No. 6 of 1958-59, App. A. Cf. also above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 15.

r looks different from the form of superscript *r* added to other consonants. *Visarga* is represented either by two dots (cf. *samaḥ* in line 1) or by two slightly curved strokes placed one above the other (cf. *s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ* in line 11).

The orthography of the record shows a considerable amount of carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. Words like *arahati* for *arhati* (line 24) exhibit the influence of local pronunciation. Though a separate sign for *b* was not unknown (cf. the erased word *Buday-yakē* in line 9), the letter has been represented by *v* throughout as is generally done in the contemporary inscriptions of North India. Occasionally consonants are doubled in conjunction with *r* (cf. *mūrtti°* in line 4 and *pittrō°* in line 13). Sometimes the signs for *anusāra* and *visarga* have been either omitted (e.g. in *ya[m*] śrī[h*]* in line 2), while often one of them is written for the other (e.g. in *pakshaḥ* for *pakshaṃ* in line 5, and *vāsinaḥ* for *vāsinaṃ* in line 10). In some cases, *visarga* is unnecessarily added (e.g. in *ghaṭṭanaḥ* in line 4). Class nasals have been generally used instead of *anusvāra* (cf. *Indra* in line 1; *paṇḍita* in lines 2-3; *tuṅga* in line 8). *Anusvāra* is once wrongly changed to *ṇ* in *vaṇṣa* for *vaṃṣa* in line 17. While it is wrongly used for final *m* in *phalaṃ* in lines 20 and 26, it is wrongly retained in *dattām=vā* in line 22 and *samva°* in line 30.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, and the composition is a mixture of prose and verse. For instances of grammatical errors, see *Śailēndrarājā* for *°rājāḥ* in line 3, *nirjīvā* for *nirjitya* in line 5, *Indrarājā* for *°rājāḥ* in lines 6-7, *svāminasya*¹ for *svāmīre* in line 15, *rājānē*² for *rajabhiḥ* in line 19, etc.

The record belongs to the time of *Sāmanta Indrarāja* and is dated in his regnal reckoning without mentioning any era. The details of the date are given as the **eleventh day** of the **first fortnight** of the month of **Jyēṣṭha** of the **first (or, eleventh) year** apparently of *Indrarāja*'s reign, the week-day being **Tuesday** and the *nakṣatra* **Uttarabhādrapada**. The month was no doubt *Pūrṇimānta*. The details are, however, not sufficient to determine the exact date of the record. As indicated above, the palaeography of the inscription suggests a date about the first half of the 7th century A. D.

The document starts with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. The first verse that follows introduces *Sāmanta Indrarāja*'s father whose name was probably *Kṣhitipati*. The next verse describes the donor of the grant, viz. *Indrarāja*, as a great fighter.

A long passage in prose in lines 7-17 records *Sāmanta Indrarāja*'s declaration from his residence at **Maṇḍaka** to his officers including the *grāmakūṭa* (village-headman) and the chief persons and residents of **Sālagrāmāmantamaraka** (or *Sālagrāmamantamaraka*) within **Gulagrāmaka** which was situated in **Ākāśa-rāṣṭra** forming a part of the **Chhēṇḍaparaṅga vishaya**. The village was granted as a tax-free holding to *Bhavasvāmin*, son of *Nāgasvāmīśa*-rman of the *Śāṇḍilya gōtra* and the *Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina śākhā*. The order regarding the execution of the grant was passed by *Indrarāja* himself. The above section is followed by *Indrarāja*'s request in lines 17-19 to the future kings to protect the grant. After seven imprecatory verses, some of which are not usually met with, the document is said in lines 27-28 to have been written by *Rājaputra Dēva* and engraved by *Drōḍḍaka*, son of the goldsmith *Īsvara*. The date of the charter, quoted at the end of the record in lines 28-30, has been already discussed.

The inscription under review is interesting in that *Sāmanta Indrarāja* and his father are known for the first time from it. Unfortunately we have no clue to determine the dynasty to which they belonged. *Indrarāja* was a *Sāmanta*, i.e. a feudatory ruler. But there is no mention of his overlord. The issue of the charter, dated apparently in his own regnal reckoning, without any reference to the overlord, suggests that *Indrarāja* was a semi-independent chief, although

¹ Cf. *svāmināya* in the *Umachal* rock inscription (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 67).

² Cf. *rājānaiḥ* in one of the *Pandukesvar* plates (ibid., p. 209.)

he seems to have been the ruler of a small territory in the Shahdol region in the former Rewa State. The area was under the kings of Kauśāmbī in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.¹ and later came under the possession of the Imperial Guptas.² In the 6th century, the Maukharis of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, whose dominions are known to have comprised the neighbouring Kālañjara region of Bundelkhand,³ may have extended their power over the Rewa area. It is, therefore, not impossible that Indrarāja originally owed allegiance to the Maukharis and ruled semi-independently for sometime between the death of Maukhari Grahavarman about 605 A. D. and the establishment of Harshavardhana's power over the former Maukhari empire shortly afterwards. The semi-independent period of Indrarāja's rule may possibly also be assigned to a date following Harsha's death in 647 A. D. In such cases, the record under study may be assigned roughly to the second decade or the middle of the 7th century.

Among the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, Maṇḍaka whence the grant was issued seems to have been the capital of *Sāmanta* Indrarāja. It is difficult to say whether the name of Malgā, the findspot of the inscription, is a modification of that of ancient Maṇḍaka. The gift village is called Sālagrāmāmantamaraka or Sālagrāmamantamaraka which is apparently made out of the names of two localities, viz. Sālagrāma and Amantamaraka or Mantamaraka. These two localities forming one unit was a part of the village called Gula-grāmaka which was situated in a *rāshṭra* or subdivision called Ākāśa within the *vishaya* or district called Chhēṇḍaparāṅga. None of these can be identified.

TEXT⁴

[Metres : verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 3-9 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁵ svasti [||*] Āsi(sī)d=Indra-samah kshitau **Kshita(ti)pati[h*]** śaktyā ktri(kri)-yābhīr=gupair=u-
- 2 tṣhull-āmala-chāru-vimva(mba)-vadanā ya[m*] Śrī[h*] sadā sēvatē | yō dēva-dvija-sādhu-[pa]-
- 3 ṇḍita-janasy=ādhā⁶ra-bh[ū]tō ha vā⁷ siddh-[ā]dhyāsita-hēma-tuṅga-śikharah Śailai(lē)ndra-rājā(jō) yathā [|| 1*]
- 4 Jāta[s=ta*]sy=ātma-jā(jō)=pi prakāṣa-gha(ga)ja-ghaṣa(tā)-ghaṣṭanaḥ(na)ś=ch[ā]ru-mūrtti-[r*]=nitya[m*] dāt=ābhīmā-

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.

² An inscription of kandagupta has been found in the former Rewa State, while Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Chattisgarh. See *ibid.*, pp. 267-68 ; below, pp. 306 ff.

³ Bhandarkar's List, No. 25 ; above, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.

⁴ From photographs and impressions.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ The letter *dhā* is written above the line.

⁷ Better read °bhūtō=bhavat.

- 5 nī raṇa-chapala-paṭuḥ¹ bhrānta-paryanta-[k]īrti[h] [*] nirjitvā(ty=ā)rātī-pakshaḥ(kṣham)
prasabham=apahi(hṛi)-
- 6 tō(tā) yēcha(na) lakshmī viśālā sa śrīmā[n*]=śrī-nikētaḥ prati-mati-suchinaḥ **Indra-**²
- 7 rajā(jō) narēndiaḥ [|| 2*] Maṇḍakāt=para[ma*]māhēśvarā(rō) mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ
śrī-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 sāmā(ma)nta **Indrarājaḥ Chchhē(Chhē)ṇḍaparaṅga-vishaya-prativaddhaḥ³ Ākāśa-**
rāshṭrē Gula-
- 9 grāmakē |⁴ Sālagrām mantamarakē⁵ grāmaku(kū)ṭa-drōṇāgika-
- 10 gaṇḍakānāyaka⁶-dēvavārika(kā)|n*] sarvvāmē(n=ē)va pramukhā[n*] yathā-prativāsinam-
(naḥ) samājñā-
- 11 payati viditam=astu bhavatā[m*] yath=āsmābbhir=aya[m*] grāma[h*] s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ
- 12 a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśā⁷ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ(dhi)ś=chōra-daṇḍa-yalitaḥ⁸ chatuḥ-śī(sī)-
- 13 m-ādbāna-paryanta 4-chandr-[ā]rka-kshiti-tārakā-nirōdhēna⁹ mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha
punyā(ṇy-ā)-
- 14 bhivṛiddhayē |⁴ Śa(Śā)ṇḍilya-gōtra-Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina-Nāgasvāmi-puva(tra)-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 Bhavasvāminasya¹⁰ pratipādit-ēty=a¹¹vagamya |⁴ yath-ōchita-bhōga.n=upana-
- 16 yanta[h]¹² ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhāyair=bhūtvā suklam prativā(va)stavyam=iti svayam=ā-
- 17 jñāparā | yē ch=āsmad-vañśē¹³ samū(mu)tpadya(tsya)ntē rājānaḥ(na)s=tairapanīya¹⁴
dattir=anu-

¹ Read *paṭur*°. Originally *dā* may have been engraved in the place of *tu*. The reading of the word may possibly be °*manāḥ* also.

² Read *ruchiraś=ch=Indra*°.

³ Read °*baddhē*.

⁴ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁵ The letters *lagrāmā* are engraved where °*lākṣyā* were originally written and afterwards erased. Between °*marakē* and *grāmakuṭa*, the four letters *luḍayyalē*, originally written, have been erased. If the ā sign of *ṇā* is regarded as the part of an erased letter the reading may be *Sālagrāma-Mantamarakē*.

⁶ These two expressions are not known from any other record. It is difficult to say whether they are mistakes for *drāṇḍika* and *daṇḍanāyaka*.

⁷ Read *pravēśaḥ*. There is an unnecessary slanting stroke after *śā*.

⁸ Read *varjitaḥ*.

⁹ Read *nirōdham*.

¹⁰ Read °*svāminē*.

¹¹ Read *pratipāditaḥ=ā*°.

¹² Read °*yadbhiḥ*.

¹³ Read °*vañśē*.

¹⁴ Read °*r=ap=īyam*.

i

ii, a

ii, b

Scale : Three-fifths

iii, a

22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28

iii, b

30 30

- 18 pālanīy=ātu(nu)mōdanīyā cha | yaś=ch=ēmō(mām) datti[m*] vilōpam=āpādayishyat sa
- 19 pañchabhir=mahāpātakaiḥ saba sanīyuktam(ktah) sya(syā)[t] [l*] [Ba*]hubhir=vasudhā
bhūtvā rājānē¹
- 20 Sagar-āji(di)bhi[h*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[m](lam) [l*] 3*]
Shashṭi-
- 21 varisha²-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidah [l] āchhē(chchhē)ttā ch=ānumantā

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 cha ttā(tā)ny=ēva nara³kē vasē[t || 4*] Sva-dattām para-dattāmvā⁴ yō harēti(ta) vasundharā
[m*] kapilā-sata-ghā-
- 23 tinām=ēnasā pratipadyatē [|| 5*] Khila-bhugnā⁵ tu yā bhu(bhū)mi[r*]=yā cha bhuktā
daś=āparē⁶ [l*] śa[ta][m*] yā-
- 24 [va]ntu(t=tu) yā bhuktā na rājā hantum=arahati⁷ [|| 6*] Āsphōṭayanti pitara[h*] pra-
valganta(anti) pitāmahā[h*]
- 25 tvam=ēkō=sni(sma)t-kulē jātā(tah) sa mattrā bhavishyati⁸ [|| 7*] Prāpsyasē vipula[n*]
bhōgā[n*] pūrvva-dattē(tta)sya tat=pha-
- 26 lam(lam) [l*] punar=dēh=īti dānābhi(d=dhi) punar=bhōgī bhavishyasi [l*] 8*] Iha ioka-
kṛitām karma tat=pa[ra*]ttr=ōpi(pa)-
- 27 bhujiyat(tē) | tala-siktasya vṛikshasya phalam śākhāsu dṛśyati⁹ [|| 9*] likhitan=cha
rājaputtā(ttra)-Dēvē[na*]
- 28 utkīrṇa[ni*] suvarṇakara-Iśvara¹⁰-putrīṇa¹¹ Drōṇākēna samāptañcha(ñ=ch=ē)da[m] śāsana-
[ni*] Jyashṭa¹²-prathā¹³

¹ Read *bhuktā rājābhiḥ*.² Read *varsha* for the sake of the metro, though the form *varisha* is also recognised.³ The letter *ra* is written below *na*.⁴ Read °*dattām vā*.⁵ The word intended is *bhugnā* which has been used in the sense of *bhagnā*. Cf. Apte, *Pract. Sans.-Eng.**Dict.*, s.v.⁶ Read °*parā*. Originally *pu* was written.⁷ Read *hantum=arahati*. The stanza seems to refer to the right of persons who bring fallow land under cultivation for the first time or enjoy the possession of a plot of cultivated land for a period between 10 and 100 years. Many authorities, however, speak of 20 years' possession of land and 10 years' possession of movable property as leading to proprietary right. Cf. *Mitāksharā* under *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, verses 24 and 27.⁸ Read *sa* (or *tvam*) *nas=trātā bhavishyati* (or °*si*).⁹ Read *dṛśyatē*.¹⁰ Read °*kār-Īśvara*.¹¹ The letter *ṇa* is engraved below the line.¹² Read *Jyēṣṭha*°.¹³ The letter *tha* is engraved below *rṇa*, the third letter of the line.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 29 ma-paksha Urattara¹bhādrapada(dē) |² Aṅgārā(ra)-vāra(rē) ddi(di)vasa ēkādaśa(śē) |
prava[r*]ddhamāna-
- 30 vijaya-rājya-samvatparaḥ³ 1 |⁴

¹ Read *Uttara*°.

² The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

³ Read *saṁvatsaraḥ*.

⁴ The reading may possibly also be *11*.

No. 42—MAHUDI PLATES OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V. S. 1074

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4. 7. 1958)

This is a set of **two** copper plates, lying in the possession of Shri Ratansinghji Saindhawa of the village of **Mahudi** in the Jabar Tahsil of the Shehore District of Madhya Pradesh. One set each of unsatisfactory impressions and pencil-rubbings of the inscription was received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Mr. V. S. Wakankar of Ujjain.¹ An attempt to secure the original plates on loan failed. The inscription is, therefore, edited in the following pages on the basis of the above material.

The plates measure each about 13·75 inches in length, about 9 inches in height and ·2 inch in thickness. They bear writing only on the inner sides. The two holes, separated by an intervening space of 5 inches and meant for the rings on which the plates were strung, are found in the lower margin below the writing on the first plate and in the upper margin above the writing on the second. There are in all 29 lines of writing in the inscription, 15 lines on the first plate and 14 on the other. The preservation of the writing appears to be satisfactory. The last 8 lines of the record (lines 22-29) on the inner side of the second plate are shorter than the other lines by 4 inches as a rectangular area at the left lower end of the surface, about 4 inches in length and 5 inches in height, is occupied by the engraved figure of Garuḍa which was the **emblem** of the Paramāra rulers and is generally found on their copper-plate grants.

The inscription is written in Nāgarī **characters** of the eleventh century A.D., which closely resemble those of the charters of the Paramāra king **Bhōja** (c. 1000-55 A.D.) who was also the donor of the grant under study. The letters may be compared with those of Bhōja's Banswara² and Betma³ plates of V. S. 1076 (1020 A.D.) as well as of his Ujjain plates⁴ of V. S. 1078 (1021-22 A.D.) and Depalpur plates⁵ of V. S. 1079 (1023 A.D.).⁶ The inscription uses the *avagraha* once in line 29 and the initial vowels *a* in lines 15, 21 and 28, *i* in lines 16, 25 and 27 and *ai* in line 1. The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The **orthography** of the record also resembles that of the epigraphs referred to above. Both *anuvāra* and the class nasals have been employed. Although final *m* has been used correctly in some cases, it has often been wrongly changed to *anuvāra* at the end of a sentence or of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The change of final *m* to *anuvāra* before *v* has been wrongly avoided. No stop has been indicated at the end of the second foot of stanzas and the last word of this foot is sometimes joined in *sandhi* with the first word of the next foot. Consonants like *g*, *ṇ*, *bh*, *m* and *v* have been reduplicated when they follow *r*. But *rbhbbh* has been written wrongly for *rbbh*. As regards *visarga-sandhi*, we have both *chatur-sapta*⁷ (line 7) and *chatus-sīmā* (line 12). The word °śarmmaṇāya in line 15 is one of the grammatical errors in the composition of the record.

The charter bears **two dates**. The grant is stated in lines 7-8 to have been made on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvapa**

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 26. See also Mr. Wakankar's article on the inscription in the Hindi periodical *Ushā* (Bhoj-āṅka, pp. 20 ff.), published from Dhar, Madhya Pradesh.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 320 ff. and Plates.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 f. and Plates; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361.

⁵ *IHQ*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

⁶ For some other epigraphs of Bhōja's reign, see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 120 and 128; above, pp. 192 ff.; Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff.

in the year 1074 [of the V.S.]. But line 28 quotes the date of the charter as *Samvat* (i.e. V.S.) 1074, *Āsvina-sudi 5*. There is no doubt that the grant was actually made on the first date, though the document which was later incised on the plates under study was prepared on the second date quoted in the record. The year was no doubt *Kārttikādi*.¹ The details of the first date are, however, irregular. V.S. 1074, *Śrāvaṇa-sudi 15*, corresponds to the 30th July 1018 A.D. But the week-day was Wednesday and not Thursday as given in the inscription, while there was no lunar eclipse on that date according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. V.S. 1074, *Āsvina-sudi 5*, seems to correspond to the 17th September 1018 A.D. The present charter is the second of the copper-plate grants issued during the reign of Paramāra Bhōja, the earliest date of his time being offered by the plates of his son or feudatory Vatsarāja, dated V.S. 1067 (1011 A.D.).²

The introductory part of the inscription beginning with the *Siddham* symbol followed by two stanzas in adoration of the god Śiva and introducing the donor as *Paramabhātāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhōjadēva*, who was preceded on the throne successively by *P. M. P. Sindhurājadēva*, *P. M. P. Vākpatirājadeva* and *P. M. P. Sīyakadēva*, is similar to that of the other charters of Bhōja. Lines 5 ff. record, in the usual style, the grant of the village called *Dugāryī-grāma*, situated in the territorial unit called *Bhūmigriha-pāschima-dvipaṃchāśatka*, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa by the king when he was stationed at *Dhārā*. The name of the district seems to indicate an area consisting of 52 villages and lying to the west of a locality called *Bhūmigriha* while *Dhārā* was the capital of the Paramāra king. The name *Bhūmigriha-pāschima-dvipaṃchāśatka* reminds us of such districts as *Nāgadraha-pāschima-pathaka* and *Ujjayinī-pāschima-pathaka* mentioned respectively in the Ujjain and Depalpur plates referred to above. Similarly, the word *dvipaṃchāśatka* in the name reminds us of such names as *Nyāyapadra-saptadaśaka* mentioned in the Betma plates. The donee of the grant was *Mārkaṇḍasarma* who was the son of *Bhaṭṭa Śrīpati* and grandson of *Bhaṭṭa Gōkarṇa* and belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from a locality called *Śravaṇabhadra* in *Gauḍa-dēśa* (modern West Bengal). The village was granted as usual with the right to receive all the *ādāyas* or imposts such as *hiranya* (taxes in cash), *bhāga* (share of the crops produced), *bhōga* (periodical offerings) and *uparikara* (additional cess or tax on temporary tenants). This part of the record is in the same style as in the king's other grants. It ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The letter *chha* thrice repeated in line 27 indicates the end of the document proper. This is followed in the next line (line 28) by the date (V.S. 1074, *Āsvina-sudi 5*) when the document was prepared. In the same line, which ends with a usual *maṅgala*, we have also the statement that the king himself was the *ājñā*, which seems to mean that the announcement of the gift was made by the king himself. The passage *sva-hastō-yaṃ mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvasya* in the next line (line 29) represents the king's signature on the original document later engraved on the plates. The charter ends with the statement that *Jāsaṭa* was the *dāpaka*. The word *dāpaka* means 'one who causes another to give'. It is thus not impossible that *Jāsaṭa* was the real donor of the village of *Dugāryī* in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Mārkaṇḍasarma* and that king Bhōja merely ratified the creation of the rent-free holding.³ The word *dāpaka*, however, occurs in many other grants especially of the Paramāra kings and is generally understood in the sense of *dūta* or *dūtaka*, i.e. the executor of a grant.⁴

The Banswara plates of Bhōja were issued in V.S. 1076, *Māgha-sudi 5* (probably the 3rd January, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of what is called *Kōṃkaṇa-vijaya-parvan*, while his Betma

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361, No. 169.

² See above, pp. 192 ff.

³ Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 178 and note 2; cf. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 33, note 1.

plates were issued in V.S. 1076, Bhādrapada-sudi 15 (probably the 4th September, 1020 A.D.) on the occasion of *Kōṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-pārvan*. Hultzsich interpreted the expression occurring in the Banswara plates as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa,' while D.B. Bhandarkar suggested 'the festival day in consequence of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa'.¹ D.B. Diskalkar thinks that the Banswara plates refer to Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa, and the Betma plates to his occupation of the country.² It, however, appears to us that both the expressions mean the same event, viz. Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa. The silence of the present record on this achievement of the Paramāra king may suggest that Kōṅkaṇa was conquered by Bhōja sometime after the dates of the present grant, probably in 1019-20 A.D.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Dhārā, the capital of Bhōja, is the modern Dhār in the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The location of the gift village of Dugāryī and the district called Bhūmigriha-pāschima-dvipaṇchāsatka as well as of the locality called Śravaṇabhadra in the Gauḍa country is uncertain.³

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1-2, 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3, 7 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verse 8 *Śālīnī* ; verse 9 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* [|*] Jayati Vyōmakēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi(bi)bhartti tām(tām |) aindaviṁ
śirasā lēkhām jagadvī(d-bī)j-āmkur-ākṛitim [| 1*] Tanvantu vaḥ
- 2 Smarārātēḥ kalyāṇam=anīsa[m] jaṭāḥ [|*] kalp-ānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍid-valaya-pi-
ṅgalāḥ [| 2*] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-
- 3 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Sīyakadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-śrī
- 4 Vākpatirājadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
Sindhurājadēva-pād-ā-
- 5 nudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēvaḥ kuśali |
Bhūmigriha-pāschima-dvipaṇchā-
- 6 satk-āntaḥpāti-Dugāryī-grāmē samupāgatān=samasta-rājapurushān=Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇ-
ōttarān=pratinivāsi-paṭṭakila-ja-
- 7 napad-ādīnś=cha samādisaty=astu vaḥ samviditam yathā | śrīmad-Dhār-āvasthi-
tair=asmābhiś=chatuṣsaptaty-adhikā(ka)-daśa-śa-
- 8 *a-samva*tsarē Śrāvaṇa-sudī-paurṇamāsyām Gurau samjāta-sōma-grahaṇa-
pārvvaṇi snātvā char-āchare-gurum=bhagavanta-
- 9 .m=Bhavānīpatyam(tim) samabhyarchya saṁsārasy=āsāratām jñātvā tathā hi | Vāt-
ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 201.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

³ A stanza in the Tilakwada plates has been read as *Tat-pāda-kamala-dhyātā Kanyakubja-vini[b*]śrī(eri)taḥ |*
vamīś Śravaṇabhadraṇām Surādityō narā(r-ḍ)ttamāḥ || - (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First All-India*
Oriental Conference, p. 324). It is possible to think that the Śravaṇabhadras mentioned in the verse originally
lived at the village of Śravaṇabhadra mentioned in the Mahudi plates as situated in West Bengal.

* From impressions and pencil-rubbings.

* Expressed by symbol.

* Read *samva*°.

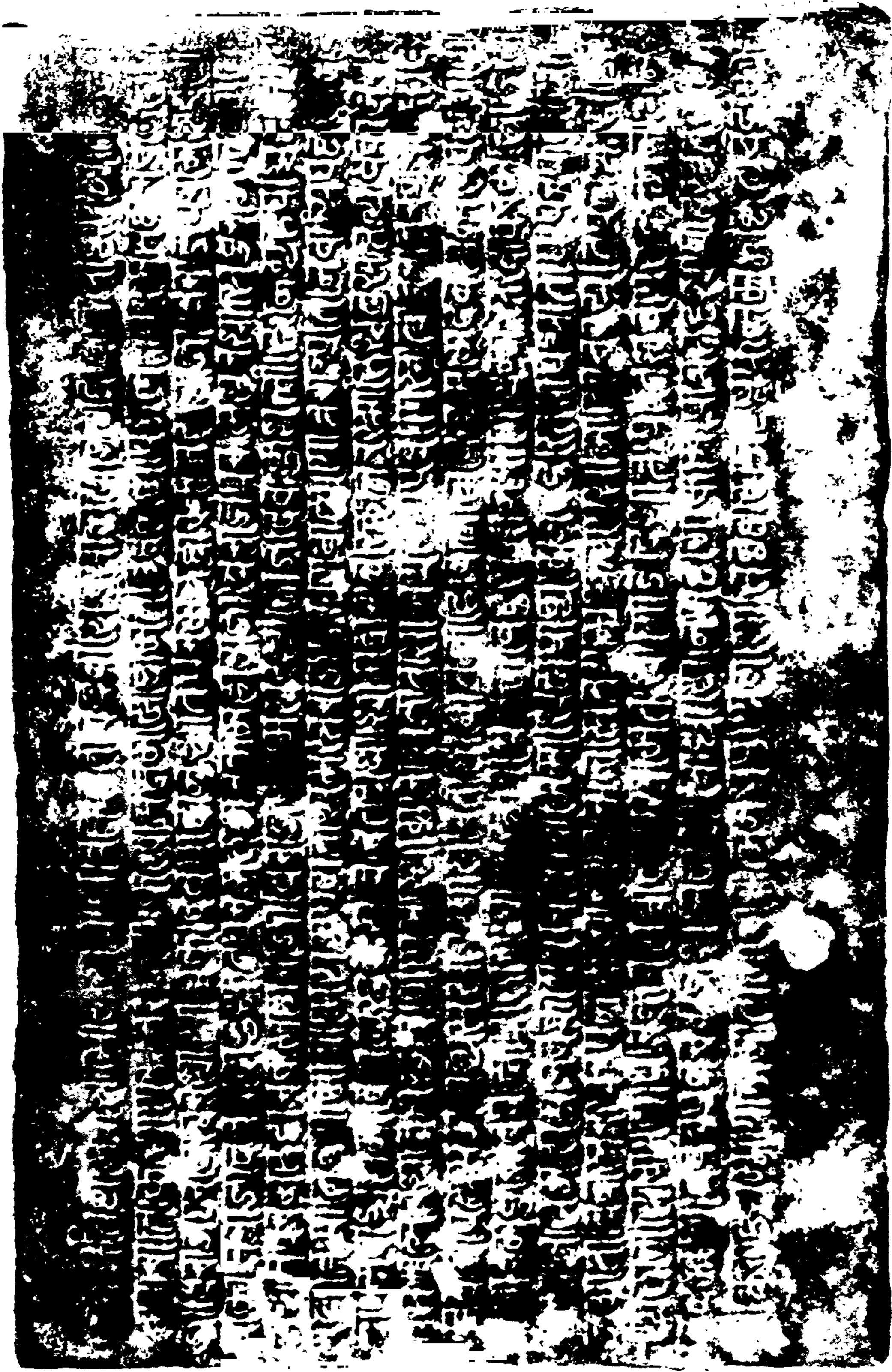
- 10 ta-mātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ [|*] prāṇās=trīṇ-āgrā-jala-vimdu-samā narāṇām
dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lō-
- 11 ka-yānē [| 3*] Bhīamat-saṁ sāra-chakr-āgra-dhār-ādḥārām=imām śriyam(yam |)
prāpya yē na dadus=tēsbām paśchāt-tāpaḥ param phalam=iti |(lam || 4 iti)
- 12 jagatō vinasva(śva)ra-sva[rū]pam=ākalayy=ōpari-likhita-grāmaś=chatus-sīmā-gōchāra-
yūti-paryantaḥ sa-hira-
- 13 ōya-bhāga-bhōgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sarvv-ādāya-samētaḥ śrī-Gauḍa-dēs-āntaḥpāti-Śravaṇa-
bhādra-sthāna-vinirgga-
- 14 ta-Vātsya-gōtra-paṁcena-piavaia-Vājasanēya-śākh-ādhyāyinē Bhaṭṭa-Gōkarṇṇa-pautra-
Bhaṭṭa-Śrīpati-suta-paṁḍita-
- 15 [M]ārkkāṇḍasarmmaṇāya¹ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē adriṣṭa-
phalam=aṅgikṛitya chaṁdr-ārkk-ārṇṇa-

Second Plate

- 16 [va]-kshiti-sama-kālam yāvat=parayā bhaktyā śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvvakam pratipādita-
iti matvā tan-nivāsi-pa-
- 17 [tṭa]kila-janapad-ādibhir=yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādikam=ājñā-śravaṇa-
vidhēyairbhbbhū(r=bbhū)tvā sa-
- 18 rvvam=asmaḥ samupanētavyam(vyam) | sāmānyam ch=aitat=puṇya-phalam vudhv=
ā²smad-vamśajair=anyair=api bhāvibhirbhbbhō(r=bbhō)ktiribhir=a-
- 19 smat-pravṛitta-dharmma(rmma)dāyō=yam=anumanāvyā(vyah) pālaniyaś=cha |
uktam cha | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādi³
- 20 bhīrya(bhiḥ | ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [| 5*] Yān=īha
dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmma-ārtha-
- 21 ya[śa]skarāṇi [|*] nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhu[h] punar=
ādādita [| 6*] Asmat-kula-kramam=udā-
- 22 ram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyānumōdanīyam(yam |) lakshmi-
(kshmyā)s=taqid-va[la]-
- 23 ya-vudvuda⁴-chamchalāyā dānam, phalam para-yaśaḥ-paripālanaḥ cha [| 7*] Sarvvān-
=ētān=bhāvi-
- 24 naḥ pārvthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ [|*] sāmānyō=yam dharmma-
sētu-
- 25 r=nnripāṇām kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [| 8*] Iti kamal-dal-āmbha(mbu)-vimdu-lō-
- 26 lām sriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitam cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitam cha
yudhvā⁴ na
27. ni purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti(pyāḥ || 9 iti) || chha || chha || chha ||
- 28 Samvat⁵ 1074 A(Ā)śvina-sudi 5 [|*] svayam=ājñā || maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ [|*]
- 29 sva-hastō=yam mahārāja-śrī-Bhōjadēvasya || dāpakō='tra śrī-Jāṣaṭa[h*] ||

¹ Read °sarmmaṇē.² Read buddhv=ā°.³ Read budbuda.⁴ Read buddhvā.⁵ Read Samvat

MAHUDI PLATES OF PARAMARA BHOJA, V.S. 1074



2
4
6
8
10
12
14

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

Scale : Seven-twelfths

No. 43—PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265

(3 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7.3.1958)

The set of plates was received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1946-47 from the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, then Assistant Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Endowments Board, Madras.¹ The set consists of 10 thick plates each measuring 5.25" × 9.5", except the last one which is slightly smaller than the rest. The plates have a round hole in the left margin for a ring to pass through, though the ring was missing when the plates were received for examination. Of the ten plates, the first eight are inscribed on both the sides. They are numbered consecutively on their reverse. The ninth and tenth plates are each inscribed on only one of their sides. The tenth plate, as will be seen below, contains a post-script to the document and is also slightly smaller than the rest of the plates. The ninth plate contains a human figure, standing astride, with its head formed by two heads of birds facing opposite directions. It holds two elephants by their trunks, one in each hand. An explanatory passage engraved on the left of this figure says that the donor Bhaktirāja enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍabhērūḍa*, thereby indicating that the figure depicted was that of the mythical bird Gaṇḍabhērūḍa. This bird is usually depicted as a double-headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks or claws. In mythology, however, two more fabulous creatures which are said to be the incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively, intervene between the elephant and the mythical eagle. They are the lion, more powerful than the elephant, and the eight-legged *Śarabha* stronger even than the lion.² Although the representation of the Gaṇḍabhērūḍa on our record does not conform to its traditional form, it is represented in the same shape in epigraphs like the Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) inscription³ (Śaka 1310) of Annadēva, the son and successor of Bhaktirāja, and the Vinukoṇḍa (Guntur District) inscription⁴ (Śaka 1377) of the time of the Sāgi chief Gannama-nāyaka. The same emblem is embossed in relief on each of the four granite pillars of an imposing *gōpura* at Śrīraṅgam.⁵ Perhaps the plate bearing the emblem of the mythical bird served the purpose of the seal of the charter under review and was a later addition like the one bearing the post-script. The seal of the Madras Museum plates⁶ of Bhaktirāja depicts the same figure in a very crude form.⁷ An earlier charter showing an excellent representation of this figure on its seal is the Eḍavalli plates⁸ of the Kōṭa chief Kēta III.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, App. A, No. 3.

² Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has explained the significance of these mythological figures sculptured in a frieze depicting 'the chain of destruction' in the Būchēśvara temple at Kōramāṅgala in Mysore and has cited examples of different kinds of representation of the Gaṇḍabhērūḍa in the Kannaḍa and Telugu areas. See *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 341 ff.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, No. 254 of 1905.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 528 of 1913.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1936-37, p. 77, para. 42.

⁶ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

⁷ Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes the figure as that of a man. The two heads of the mythical bird are here depicted so indifferently that they give the appearance more of a grotesque human head or that of an owl rather than that of two birds. But a closer examination clears this illusion. It must be noted, however, that the elephant usually associated with this bird is absent in the crude motif on the seal rendering its identification somewhat difficult.

⁸ *A. R. Ep.*, 1915-16, App. A, No. 5; cf. p. 138, para. 55.

Bhērūṇḍa occurs as a title of Satyarasa, a feudatory of Chālukya Jayasimha, while some of the later rulers adopted titles like *Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*, *Rāyagajagaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*, *Gajaughagaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*, *Arirāyagajagaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*, etc.¹ The soldiers of a Hoysala regiment are referred to as *bhērūṇḍas* in inscriptions.²

The record is throughout in **Sanskrit** verse engraved in **Telugu characters**. It is more neatly executed than the Madras Museum plates of the donor and its composition resembles that of other charters of the period such as the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka³ and the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva-Chōḍa.⁴ The medial signs of *ō* and *au* and the *aksharas* *bi* and *chi* are written alike.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in verses 44-46 (lines 79-81) as **Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika, Śaka 1265** (*bhūta-tarka-arka*), when there was a **lunar eclipse**. The date is irregular as there was no lunar eclipse in Śaka 1265, either expired or current.

The first few verses of the charter praise the primordial couple (Śiva and Pārvatī), the elephant-faced god (Gaṇēśa), the Primeval Boar (i.e. Viṣṇu), the Sun and Moon, and Brahman. The mythical lineage from Brahman down to king Dēvānīka through Marīchi, Kāśyapa, Bhānu (Sun), Vaivasvata-Manu, Ikshvāku, Kakutstha, Dilīpa, Rāghu, Aja, Daśaratha, Rāma, Kuśa, Atithi, Nishadha, Nala, Nabhas, Puṇḍarīka and Kshēmadhanvan is delineated in the next few stanzas (verses 7-13). Verses 13-17 speak of Nalla-Bhīma, born in Dēvānīka's lineage, and his wife Kāmā; their son Dāma and his wife Sōmā; their son Pōta and his wife Anyamā; their son Bhīma and his wife Pōtā; their son Dāma and his wife Lakshmī; their son Sōma and his wife Sūramā; and their son Gaṅga. When Gaṅga came of age, his father Sōma of the Solar lineage contemplated the marriage of his son with a bride of the Lunar race (verse 18).

Verses 19-23 mention the following members of the Lunar family: Kumāra and his wife Gaṅgamā; their son Chandra and his wife Gaurī; their son Brahman and his wife Sūramā; their son Dēva and his wife Abbidēvī; their son Kāma and his wife Lakshmyāmbā; their three daughters and two sons respectively named Irugāmbā, Dēvāmbā, Abbidēvī, Veṅga and Tamma; and Veṅga's three wives named Mahādēvī, Anyamāmbā and Chennamāmbā.

According to verses 24-28, Gaṅga of the solar or Kāśyapa lineage married Irugāmbā of the lunar race (*Mānavya-sakula*), who gave birth to **Kāma** named after his maternal grand-father and also called **Bhakta**. The following two stanzas (verses 28-29) speak of the accession of Bhakta or Bhaktirāja and the overrunning of the Āndhra country by the **Yavanas** (Muhammadans).

The Musunūri family, to which Bhaktirāja owed allegiance, is described in verses 30-33 as follows: Pōchi-nāyaka of **Vēṅgī-vishaya**; his son **Prōlaya-nāyaka** who left Vēṅgī along with Veṅga and repaired to a fort in a forest (*vana-durga*) surrounded by hills. Prōlaya-nāyaka and Veṅga are stated to have together subdued the pride of the **Turushka** horses and reconquered the **Āndhra** country. The four following stanzas (verses 34-37) describe how, on Veṅga's death, the son of Pōchi-nāyaka (i.e. Prōlaya) installed [in his uncle's estate] his (i.e. Vēṅga's) sister's son Bhaktirāja and how the young king defeated the infantry and cavalry forces of the Yavana lords. According to verses 38-42, Anyamā, Anyamā and Lakshmī were the three wives of Bhaktirāja who enjoyed the title *Rājavēśyābhujāṅga* and was ruling over **Chimtapēmṇa**, **Vēṅgī**, **Chintalapūṇi** and **Gōmṭūru**. Verses 43-44 state that, on Prōlaya's death, his cousin (*pitrivya-suta*) Kāpaya-nāyaka, installed Prōlaya's son **Vōchi-nāyaka** on the throne.

¹ *IHQ*, XX, p. 341, note 2.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Cn. 211.

³ Above, Vol. XXXII, p.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

According to verses 45-48, on the date already discussed above, **Bhaktirāja**, having obtained Vōchi-nāyaka's approval, granted to Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* the village of **Pentapāḍu** which was clubbed together with the villages of **Ēnarlagōḍḍu**, **Mulākala** and **Jalēpalli** in **Vēṅgī-vishaya** and named **Gaṅgādhara** after Gaṅga-bhūpati.

Verse 49 prays for the success of Bhaktikṣhitiśa who enjoyed the title *Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa* and *Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa*. This is followed by twentyeight verses in various metres enumerating the names of the seventysix donees together with the share or shares allotted to each of them as well as their *gōtras* and *śākhās*. There were, among the donees, persons learned in the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅgas*, *Vēdānta*, *Tarka*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Jyōtiṣa*, *Pada*, *Padakrama*, *Purāṇa*, *Sāmuḍrikaśāstra*, etc. Four among them received two shares each and one only a share and a half, while the rest of the donees were assigned either a single share or half a share each. One of the major shareholders was the priest of Bhaktirāja. A learned man named Bhāratī is mentioned in the post-script. Whether he was the composer of the charter is not known.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the donees bear the title or epithet *Ghaṭaśāsin*. This term occurs in inscriptions and literature in several forms such as *Ghaḍeśāsi*, *Ghaḍiśāsi*, *Ghaḍiyaśāsi*, and *Ghaḷiśāsi*.¹ To these may be added the form *Ghaisāsi* or *Ghaisāsa* met with in Kannaḍa inscriptions.²

The rest of the document, with the exception of the last four benedictory stanzas, enumerate the boundaries of the village granted and mentions, among others, the places Darśaparru, Mudunūru, Vipparru, Komnana, Kāṭaparru, Nakkakuṭṭa, etc.

List of donees

Name	Gōtra and Śākhā	Shares
1. Richehana-yajvan (teacher of <i>Sāma</i> and <i>Yajus</i> and versed in <i>Vēdāṅga</i>)	Hārīta, Yajurvēda	2
2. Vallabha-yajvan (versed in <i>Yajus</i> ; priest of Bhaktīśa)	Do.	2
3. Gaṅgādhara-ghataśāsin	Do.	1
4. Rudraya-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
5. Prōli-ghataśāsin	Do.	1
6. Dēvaya-ghataśāsin	Do.	1
7. Sūri-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Rik</i> and <i>Vēdānta</i>)	Hārīta, Rīgvēda	1
8. Gaṅgādhara-ghataśāsin	Do.	1
9. Mallaya-ghataśāsin	Do.	1
10. Nārāyana-ghataśāsin	Kaundinya, Rīgvēda	1
11. Gaṅgādhara-ghataśāsin (versed in <i>Tarka</i>)	Kaundinya, Yajurvēda	1
12. Koppanātha-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
13. Sōma (versed in <i>Vēdānta</i>)	Do.	1
14. Pōti-ghataśāsin (versed in <i>Dharmaśāstra</i>)	Do.	1
15. Sūrya (<i>Jyōtiṣ-śāstrin</i>)	Do.	1

¹ Cf. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 296 ff.

² *A. R. Ep.*, No. 268 of 1953-54.

Name	Gōtra and Śākhā	Shares
16. Kṛishṇa-ghaṭasāsini (<i>Jyōtiś-śāstrin</i>)	Kaupḍinya, Yajurveda	1
17. Nāmkaṇa-ghaṭasāsini	Kausika, Yajurveda	1
18. Dāsana-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Dharmaśāstra</i>)	Do.	1
19. Nārāyaṇa (versed in <i>Padu</i>)	Do.	1
20. Pōti-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	1
21. Pōtaya-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	1
22. Mārāya (<i>Padakramujña</i>)	Do.	1
23. Mallāya (versed in <i>Ṛigvēda</i>)	Kāśyapa, Ṛigvēda	1
24. Pōti-ghaṭasāsini (Do.)	Do.	1
25. Kāmāya-ghaṭasāsini	Kāśyapa, Yajurveda	1
26. Vonnāya-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Tarka</i>)	Do.	1
27. Annāya (versed in <i>Jyōtiś-śāstra</i>)	Do.	2
28. Pōti-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	1
29. Rudrāya (versed in <i>Vyākaraṇa</i>)	Do.	1
30. Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa (do.)	Do.	1
31. Puṇyamūrti (versed in <i>Ṛik</i>)	Parāśara, Ṛigvēda	1
32. Ananta-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Purāṇa</i>)	Do.	1
33. Vallabha-bhaṭṭa (versed in <i>Padu</i>)	Parāśara, Yajurveda	1
34. Kundaya (<i>Chaturvēdin</i>)	Bhāradvāja, Yajurveda	1½
35. Mallāya (<i>Sāmudrikaśāstrin</i>)	Do.	1
36. Bhīmāya-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	1
37. Agastī-yajvan	Do.	1
38. Prōli-bhaṭṭa (<i>Vēdāntin</i>)	Bhāradvāja, Ṛigvēda	1
39. Mallāya-ghaṭasāsini	Śrīvatsa, Yajurveda	1
40. Malli-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
41. Bhīmāya-ghaṭasāsini	Ātrēya, Yajurveda	1
42. Mallāya-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	1
43. Vallabha-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	1
44. Ananta-ghaṭasāsini	Gārgya, Yajurveda	1
45. Vallabha-ghaṭasāsini	Ābharadvasu, Yajurveda	1
46. Ōbhala-ghaṭasāsini	Hārīta, Yajurveda	½
47. Kūchena-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	½
48. Vallabha-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	½
49. Bhādrāya-ghaṭasāsini	Do.	½

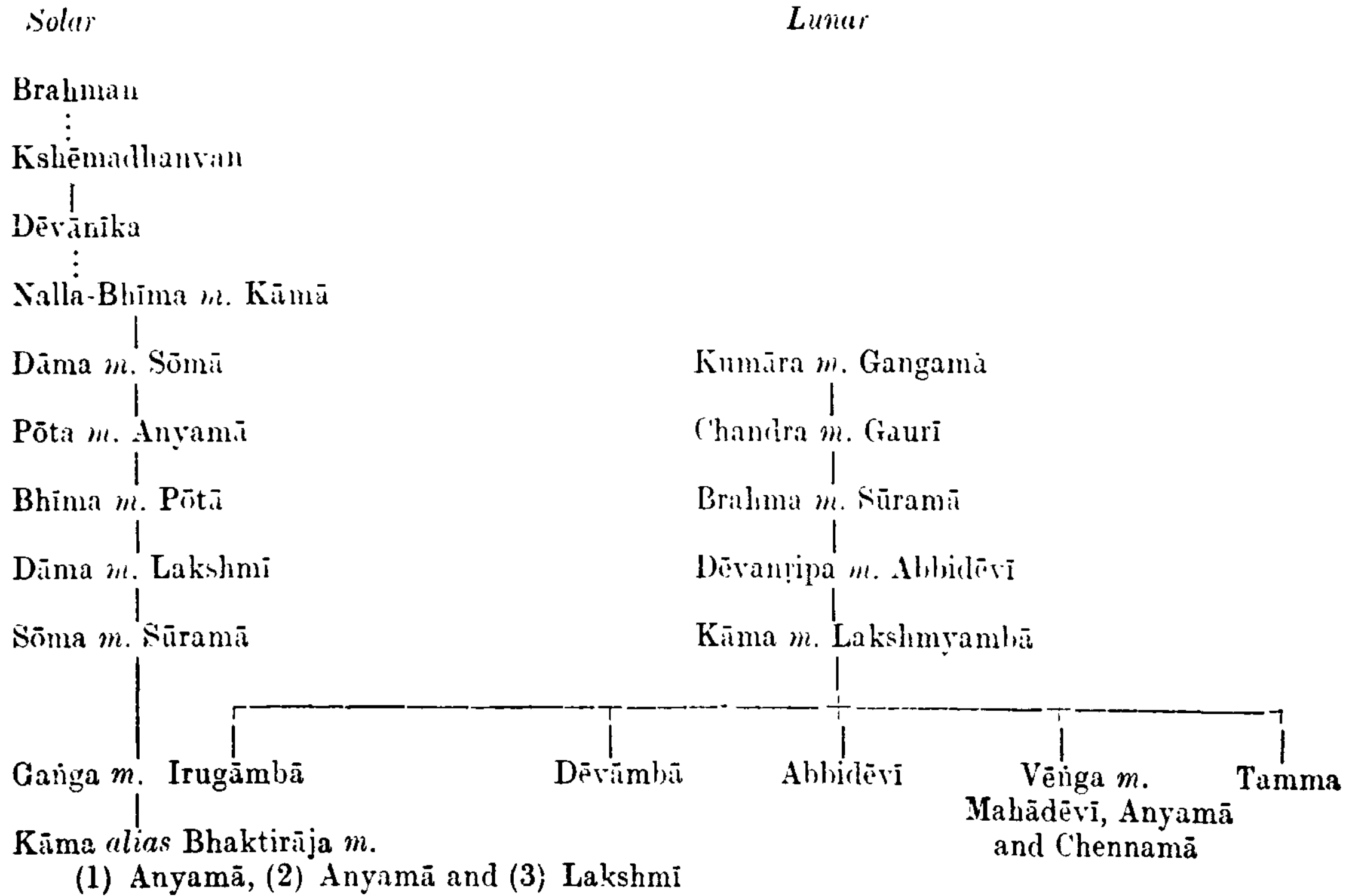
Name	Gōtra and Śākhā	Shares
50. Appana-ghaṭasāsina	Hārīta, Rīgvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
51. Vallabha-ghaṭasāsina	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
52. Kētana-ghaṭasāsina	Kauṇḍinya, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
53. Liṅgaya-ghaṭasāsina	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
54. Dōmmana-ghaṭasāsina	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
55. Mallaya-ghaṭasāsina	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
56. Sōmaya-ghaṭasāsina	Kauṇḍinya, Kāṇva	$\frac{1}{2}$
57. Allāḍi	Kauṇḍinya, Rīgvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
58. Ellaya	Ātrēya, Rīgvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
59. Raṁga	Ātrēya, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
60. Dōchaya-ghaṭasāsina	Kāśyapa, Sāmavēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
61. Sōmaya-ghaṭasāsina	Kāśyapa, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
62. Varadaya-ghaṭasāsina	Maudgalya, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
63. Gaṇapaya-ghaṭasāsina	Pūtimāsha, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
64. Chāmana-ghaṭasāsina	Kapi, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
65. Mailāra-ghaṭasāsina	Bhāradvāja, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
66. Kēsava-ghaṭasāsina	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
67. Appana-ghaṭasāsina	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
68. Śrīpati-bhaṭṭa	Śrīvatsa, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
69. Narahari-bhaṭṭa	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
70. Kāmaya-bhaṭṭa	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
71. Pinnaya	Do	$\frac{1}{2}$
72. Māraya-ghaṭasāsina	Śrīvatsa, Rīgvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
73. Kommaya-ghaṭasāsina	Kauśika, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
74. Lakshmaṇa-ghaṭasāsina	Maitrēya, Rīgvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
75. Pōtaya-ghaṭasāsina	Lōhita, Yajurvēda	$\frac{1}{2}$
76. Bhārati	Kauṇḍinya, Bahvricha	2
		65 $\frac{1}{2}$

The record supplies some new information about some of the earlier members of the donor's family as also of the chiefs of Musunūru. The Muslim inroads into Telingana that followed the downfall of the Kākatīyas and the attempts of the Nāyakas of the coastal region to stem the tide of the enemy hordes are well known and it has been shown how the chiefs of the various families such as the Paṇṭa-Redḍis, the Uṇḍirājas, the Rōcharla chiefs, etc., numbering altogether seventy-five according to the Kaluvachēru grant,¹ rallied round their leaders, the chiefs Prōlya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka of Musunūru and offered stiff resistance to the Muslims. The more prominent

¹ *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff.

among these chiefs were inter-related by ties of matrimony. Of them, the Chōḍas of Ēṛuva appear to have been a powerful ruling family of which Bhaktirāja was the most eminent member. In tracing the descent of this chief who was also called Kāma, the charter furnishes his ancestry for seven generations on the paternal side and six generations on the maternal. A comparison of the details of the families as indicated below, with those furnished by the Madras Museum and Rajahmundry Museum plates¹ reveals some new facts.

Solar and Lunar families



It will be seen from the above pedigrees that Dāma who married Lakshmī was preceded by four generations, viz., Bhīma, Pōta, Dāma and Nalla-Bhīma. The Madras Museum plates mention Nalla-Bhīma merely as a predecessor of Dāma, omitting the three intervening generations, and Karikāla as the latter's distant forebear, while according to the Rajahmundry Museum plates, Dāma's predecessor was Ēṛuva-Bhīma. This Ēṛuva-Bhīma or merely Bhīma as he is called in our record, is obviously the same person who took the name of his great-grandfather. The name of Bhīma's father, viz., Pōta, is not mentioned in the Madras Museum plates and his name and those of his predecessors supplied by this record are lost in the Rajahmundry Museum plates. Pōta's wife's name occurs as Annemāmbā in the Rajahmundry Museum plates and as Anyamā in the present inscription. The pedigree on the donor's maternal side refers to five generations backwards from Irugāmbā, mother of Bhaktirāja. Irugāmbā's brothers were Vēṅga and Tamma, of whom the former is mentioned in our record as an intimate associate of Prōlaya-nāyaka. We have seen that Prōlaya repaired along with Vēṅga to a fort in a forest when the Āndhra country was overtaken by the Yavanas (Muhammadans). This place has been identified with Rēkapalle, mentioned in the Vilasa grant as Mount Mālyavanta and as the capital of Prōlaya-nāyaka.² In the course of the struggle leading to the reconquest of the country by Prōlaya and

¹ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 254.

Vēṅga, the latter lost his life. It seems as though Vēṅga died without any issue, for, on his death, his overlord Prōlaya-nāyaka installed Vēṅga's nephew Bhaktirāja to his estate (verse 35). We do not know whether Bhaktirāja held his ancestral principality of Ēṇuva in addition to this newly acquired territory round about Vēṅgī, although that seems to have been the case, nor are we told what became of Vēṅga's brother Tamma who must have, in the natural course, succeeded to his late brother's estate had he survived him. On the death of Prōlaya-nāyaka, his son Pōchi (or Vōchi)-nāyaka¹ ascended the throne with the help of his uncle Kāpaya-nāyaka. Bhaktirāja now owed allegiance to Pōchi-nāyaka and obtained the latter's permission to make a gift of certain villages.

It will be seen that the donees who numbered 75 held 63½ shares altogether. The post-script adds the name of Bhāratī as a holder of two shares given to him by the donees at the instance of the donor. This brings the total number of shares distributed among the donees to 65½. But the post-script specifies the number of shares contained in the gift land as 66 and says further that Bhaktirāja added Uttanampūṇi to the gift land. This Uttanampūṇi was thus a piece of land which constituted the remaining ½ share out of the total of 66 that the gift land comprised.

The post-script referred to above calls for some remarks. It is dated **Ananda**, Pausha, Kṛishṇa-dvādaśī, when the sun was in Makara. The Cyclic year Ananda after the date of the main grant, viz., Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.), corresponds to Śaka 1296 (1374 A.D.) and thus the interval between the two dates comes to about 32 years. Bhaktirāja's reign probably continued beyond Śaka 1296, Śaka 1310 (1388 A.D.) being the earliest available date for his son and successor Annadēva.² The present grant gives the earliest date so far known for Bhaktirāja, earlier nearly by a decade and a half than his Madras Museum plates,³ the interval between this and the earliest date cited above for Annadēva being 45 years. Bhaktirāja's success against the Yavana forces referred to in verses 36-37 shows that he associated himself with his uncle or uncles (Vēṅga and Tamma) against the Muhammadans. The events that followed, viz., the death of Vēṅga and perhaps also of Tamma in these battles, made Prōlaya-nāyaka confer on the young Bhaktirāja the chieftaincy of his uncle's estate. The defeat of Boggara, Dābaru-Khānu and other Muhammadan warriors in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇḍi and Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja while he was yet a youth, as referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, evidently refers to the same achievement. Bhaktirāja's success was at the latest contemporaneous with the date of our charter, viz., Śaka 1265 (1342 A.D.).

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the record, Chintapēṭa, Chintalapūṇi, Vēṅgī and Gomtūru, over which Bhaktirāja is stated to have ruled and which perhaps formed the central part of Vēṅga's territory to which his nephew succeeded, may be identical with Chinnampēṭa, Chintalapūṇḍi, Peddavēgi and Guṇṭūru respectively. Of the places clubbed with Pentapāḍu, viz., Ēnarlagodḍu, Mulkala and Jalēpalle, the first is possibly the same as Yānaralapalle, about a mile and a half due south-west of Pentapāḍu, the other two bring insignificant hamlets of the same village. Of the villages of Darāparru, Paḍmara-Vipparru and Kommara, the first is about a mile due east of Pentapāḍu (or Pentapāḍu-agrahāram as it is now called) in the Tadepalligudem Taluk of the West Godavari District, the second about 4 miles south-west and the third also about 4 miles due south-south-west of the same. The stream called Veyyēru runs from west to east about a mile and a half due south of Pentapāḍu. Mudunūru, another village mentioned among the

¹ The name of this chief was wrongly read in *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, App. A, No. 3, as Vōbi-nāyaka.

² *A. R. Ep.*, No. 254 of 1905. This date is expressed by the chronogram *daśa-viśva-bhāji Vibhavē Mārggē Śatāṅka-grahē*. The chronogram yields the Śaka year 1310 corresponding to the cyclic year Vibhava and the occasion indicated is a lunar eclipse in Mārga. The above details regularly correspond to the 14th November, 1388 A.D.

³ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

boundaries, still retains the same name and is about 2 miles due south-east of Pēṇṭapāḍu. Tallā-reddikunṭa and other such names ending in *kuṇṭa* probably indicate certain ponds. I am unable to identify the other names.

I express my thanks to Messrs. K. H. V. Sarma and V. S. Subrahmanyam for having carefully checked the text of the inscription and offered many useful suggestions.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 41 *Mālinī* ; verses 2, 5, 7-21, 23-33, 42-47, 78-80, 83-84, 86-91, 93-97, 99-103, 105-109 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 3 *Udyōti* ; verses 4, 40 *Rāthōddhatā* ; verses 6, 22, 34-36, 38-39, 48-64, 66-77, 81, 85, 98, *Giti* ; verses 37, 65, 82 *Āryā* ; verse 92 *Indravajrā* ; verse 104 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate, First Side

- 1 Ōm² Jayati mithunam=ādyaṁ jātarūp-āru-
- 2 ṇ-ābham ravi-saśi-sikhi-nētraṁ rāja-rēkhā-vataṁsam(sam) [|*]
- 3 charaṇa-kamala-chaiṁchach-chaiṁcharik-āmar-ēśam
- 4 śaraṇam=upagatānām śāśvat-ānaṁda-dāyī [| 1*]
- 5 Pratyūha-timira-vrāta-parākaṇa-pa-
- 6 mḍitam(tam) | Bhav-āchal-ōḍitam nityam bhajē Gaja-
- 7 mukham mahah [| 2*] Astu mudē Vārāham vapu-
- 8 r aniśam vasumatī yasya | viśadē daṁśṭrā-sikha-
- 9 rē vilasati bhṇiṁg iva kētakī-mukulē [| 3*]

First Plate, Second Side

- 10 Kairav-ōtkara-kavāta-kumchikā paṁcha-bāṇa-nigama-prapaṁ-
- 11 chikā | rājatē viyati rāja-rēkhikā pāṁtha-lōka-paribhā-
- 12 va-rēkhikā [| 4*] Prabōdhit-ābja-kumudē bhāśētām bhāsit-ā-
- 13 khilē | nayanē Nagajābhartur=niśā-divasayōḥ ppa(pa)tī || [5*] Nā-
- 14 rāyaṇa-nābhi-saras-samjātam satatam=avatu vō nali-
- 15³ nam(nam) | yatra madhuvrata-nikarō yamibhir=vvēd-ārttha-
- 16 vāḍam=ātanutē || [6*] Tatas=samudabhūd=Brahmā Marichir=Brahmaṇō-
- 17 mutah | Kaśyapaḥ Kaśyapād=Bhānur=Bhānōr=Vvaivasvatō Manuḥ || [7*]
- 18 Ikshvākura=asmin=samitānē dikshv=ātata-mahā-yaśāḥ | Kakutsthaḥ Kā-
- 19 śyapināthas=tat-kulē taraṇi-prabhaḥ || [8*] Dilīpabhūpas=tad-vamśyō
- 20 Raghur=ētasya naṁdanah | Ajas=tad-ātmajas=tasya dātā Da-

¹ From impressions.

² This is preceded by a floral design.

³ The figure 1 is engraved against this line in the margin.

PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, SAKA 1265—PLATE I

1, a

2 2

4 4

6 6

8 8

i, b

10 10

12 12

14 14

16 16

18 18

20 20

ii, a

22 22

24 24

26 26

28 28

30 30

32 32

Scale : One-fourth

ii, b

34
36
38
40
42
44
46

34
36
38
40
42
44
46

iii, a

48
50
52
54
56
58

48
50
52
54
56
58

iii, b

60
62
64
66
68
70

60
62
64
66
68
70

Second Plate, First Side

- 21 śarathas=sutah || [9*] Tad-ātma-sambhavō Rāmō rājanya-kula-śekhara-
 22 ḥ | Kuśaḥ kuśēśay-ābh-ākshas=tanayas=tasya bhūpatēḥ || [10*] Kuśasy=Ātithi-
 23 r=utpamnō(nnō) Nipa(sha)dhō=tithi-sambhavaḥ || (|) Nalō Nishadha-bhūpasya sūnus=
 sūnrita-bhā-
 24 shaṇaḥ || [11*] Nabhā Nala-tanū-jātaḥ Puṇḍarikō Nabhas-sutah | Puṇḍarikasya
 putrō=
 25 bhūt=Kshēmadhanvā kshamāpatih || [12*] Dēvānikō dharāpālas=sambhūtaḥ Kshē-
 26 madhanvanaḥ | tad-anvayē samutpamnō(nnō) Nallabhīma-narādhipaḥ || [13*] Tasya kāmta-
 27 tar-ākārā Kām-ākhyā kāmīnī satī | tayōr=Dāma-dharāpālō
 28 jajñē Sōmā tad-amganā || [14*] Tayōḥ Pōta-dharānāthaḥ putras=tasy=Ānya-
 29 mā priyā | Bhīma-bhūmipatir=jātas=tayōḥ Pōt¹=āsyā vallabhā || [15*]
 30 Tayōr=Dāma-nripō jātō Lakshmīs=tasya manōramā | anayōs=Sōma-nri-
 31 patis=tanayō vinay-ānvitaḥ || [16*] Mahishī Sūram=āmushya mahaniya-
 32 tar-ākṛitih | tayōr=Ggaṃga-mahīpālō gabhīra-hṛdayas=sutah || [17*] Bhū-
 33 mi-bhāra-kshama-bhujē tasminn=ārūdha-yauvanē | Sōmēsō=sya vivāh-ārha-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 m Sōma-vamśam=amanyata || [18*] Kumārō nāma nripatir=vvidyatē Vidhu-va-
 35 mśajaḥ | ētasya Gaṃgamā dēvī Gaṃgā vārinidhēr=iva || [19*] Tayōś=Chandra-mahī-
 36 pālō jātō Gaurī tad-amganā | Brahma-bhūpas=tad-uditas=Sūramā ta-
 37 sya sumdarī || [20*] Tayōr=Ddēva-nripas=sūnur=Abbidēvy=asyā vallabhā | Kāma-kshitīśas=
 ta-
 38 t-putrō Lakshmyāmbā tat-priyā satī || [21*] Jātāḥ Kāma-mahīśāt=kanyās=tisras=su-
 39 tāv=ubhau ch=āsyām(syām) | Irugāmbā Dēvāmb=āpar=Ābbidēvī cha Vēm-
 40 *ga-Tamma-nripau || [22*] Vēmga-kshamāpatēs=tisrō dēvyō divy-āmgan-ō-
 41 pamāḥ | Mahādēvy=Anyamāmbā cha Chemnamāmb-ābhidh=āparā || [23*] [Ka]-
 42 śyap-ānvaya-sambhūtō Gaṃga-kshititalēsvaraḥ | Mānavya-sakul-ōttaṃsā-
 43 m māninīm=Irug-āhvayām(yām) || [24*] Kanyām kāmatar-ākā[rā*]m=upāyamsta
 44 yathā-vidhi² | sā tatō garbham=ādha[tta*] bhuvan-āvana-kāraṇam(ṇam) || [25*] Asū-
 45 ta putram puṇyē=’hni puṇyam mūrttam satām=iva | uditē tanayē
 46 tasminn=ubhayam vidit-ōtsavam(vam) || [26*] Nirīti vasudhā-chakram havi[s-tu]-

¹ The Rajahmundry Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 42) read *Prōlāmbikā*.² The numeral 2 is engraved against this line.³ This half verse completes the sense of the previous stanzas.

Third Plate, First Side

- 47 shtam trivishṭapam(pam)¹ | nāmnā **Kāma**-nṛipālasya pitā sutam=ayōja-
 48 yat || [27*] Śaiśavē='pi Śivē bhaktyā Bhakta ity=aparēṇa cha || () tatō **Gaṁga**-mahipā-
 49 lē trātum yātē='mar-ālayam(yam) || [28*] Bālō='pi **Bhakti**-bhūpālas=sa-
 50 dbhis=samṭānavach=chhritah | Yavanair=avanī-chakram=Āmdhram=atr=āmtarē
 51 hṛitam(tam) || [29*] Adharma-karma-niratā jātās=sa[r*]vvē janās=tataḥ | vikramī
 52 **Vēṁgi-vishayē** vidyatē **Pōchi-nāyakah** || [30*] Tasya dharma-ratō vī-
 53 raḥ putraḥ **Prōlaya-nāyakah** | viṣṛijya Vēṁgi-vasudhām Vēm-
 54 ga-bhūmibhujā saha || [31*] Agād=aga-śat-ākrāntam vana-durggam vi-
 55 chakshaṇaḥ¹ | samarē samit-āsēsha-**Turushka**-turag-ōtkarau || [32*] Puna-
 56 r=āharatām=ētāv=**Āmdhram** mamḍalam=arddhataḥ | bhujāv=i-
 57 va Varāhasya bhuvam pralaya-[vā]ridhēḥ || [33*] Vēṁga-kshititala[nā]-
 58 [thō] vihat-ākhila-Yavana-vāhinī-nāthaḥ | sāhāyyakam=iva

Third Plate, Second Side

- 59 karttum samarēshu Śachīpatēr=agā[t*]=tridivam(vam) || [34*] Tad-rājyē tad-bhaginī-ta-
 60 nayam **Bhakti**-kshitīsam=api bālam(lam) | asthāpayad=ari-jayinam Ku-
 61 maram=iva Pōchi-nāyakasya sutaḥ || [35*] Paṭutara-bhuja-bala-sā-
 62 lī Bhakti-kshitipālakō='tha bālō='pi | samgrāma-ramga-samhṛita-
 63 Yavan-ādhipa-subhaṭa-ghōṭak-ātōpaḥ || [36*] Tēna samarēshu sā-
 64 rddham samgharsham sōdhum=akshamāḥ kv=āpi | hata-śisṭā hṛita-bha-
 65 *vanā javanā Yavanāḥ palāyamta || [37*] Mahaniyya(nīya)-
 66 vaṁśa-jātā maṁgalatara-vṛitta-śīla-śālinyaḥ | Bhakti-kumārasy=ā
 67 san=[d]ēvyas=tisrō='nyam=Ānyamā Lakshmīḥ || [38*] Bharata-Bhagīrattha-mukhyais=**chira**-
 68 m=upabhukt=āpi pūrvva-bhūpālāḥ | rajyaty=ananya-pūrvvā rama-
 69 nē ramaṇ=iva vasumatī tasmin || [39*] Tasya dharma-guṇa-viśrutam śru-
 tam pūrit-ārtthi-nikar-āsayaḥ śayaḥ | varjit-ānya-hariṇīdri-

¹ This half verse completes the sense of the previous stanza.

² The numeral 3 is engraved against this line.

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 71 ॐ(śau) dṛśau vaiṇi-rāja-mukut-āspadam padam(dam) || [40*] Vitarāṇa-suradhōnu-
 72 r=vividvad-ambhōja-bhānus=sa jayati Śiva-līṅga-dhyāna-sakt-āntaraṅgaḥ |
 73 bala-vibhava-Surēndrō **Bhakti**-bhūpāla-chaṇdrō raṇa-kṛita-ripu-bhaṅgō rā-
 74 ya-vēśyā-bhujamgaḥ || [41*] **Chimtapēmṇa**-sthalam **Vēṅgim**=api **Chimtalapūṇigā**-
 75 m(gām) | **Gomṭūri**-vṛittim=apy=ē[sha] śāsti Bhakti-mahīpatiḥ || [42*] Kālēna tridivam
 76 yātē tataḥ **Prōlaya**-nāyakē | tat-pitṛivya-sutas=tasya rājyō **Kāpaya**-
 77 **nāyakah** || [43*] Tad-ātmajam vīra-**Vōchi**-**nāyakam** naya-kōvidaḥ |
 78 abhyashēchayad=ātmīya-prathā(dhā)napurushair=yutaḥ || [44*]¹ Ath=ānuma-
 79 tim=āsādya tasya Bhakti-mahīpatiḥ | **Śāk**-ābdē **bhūta**-**tarkk**-**ārka**-ga-
 80 nitē māsi **Kārttikē** || [45*] **Pūṛṇimāyām** Gurōr=vārē **grahṇē** śītarō-
 81 chishaḥ | vitatē **Vēṅgi**-**vishayē** sarvva-sasya-rddhi-sālīni || [46*] Peṇṭṭa(ṭa)pā-
 82 ḍur=iti khyātō grāmaḥ kaśchana vidyatē | **Ēnarllagodḍu**-**Mulkala**-[Ja]-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 83 lēpallibhir=anvitaḥ || [47*] Vidvadbhyō viprēbhyō vidit-ākhila-vēda-sāstra-
 84 tatvē(ttvō)bhyaḥ | **Gaṅgādhara**pura-samjñam tam prādād=**Gaṅga**-bhūpa-
 85 tēr=nāmnā || [48]² Gaṇḍḍa(ḍa)ragamḍḍō(ḍō) Bhakti-kshitipatiḥ=**Arirāyaga**
 86 mḍabhērumḍaḥ | sukritēna tēna jīvād=ā-dīnakaram=api cha mēdinīm
 87 pāyāt || [49*] Rishir=iva Richehana-yajvā Hārītas=Sāma-Yaju-
 88 r-upādhyāyaḥ | bhāga-dvaya-bhāg=asminn=adhigata-nigam-āṅga-
 89 nikara-nishṇātaḥ || [50*] Bhaktīsasya purōdhā Vallabha-yajvā Vasishṭha i-
 90 va sākshāt | Rāmasya Yajushi nipuṇō Ha(Hā)rītō bhāga-yuga-
 91 lavān=asmin || [51*] Gaṅgādhara-ghaṭasāsī Rudraya-bhaṭṭas=cha Prōli-ghaṭasā-
 92 sī | Dēvaya-ghaṭasāsī syur=Hārītā bhāginō=tra yājushkāḥ || [52*] Ri-
 93 chi nipuṇō Vēdāntī Hārītas-Sūri bhaṭṭa ēkāṁsī | Gaṅgādhara-ghaṭasā-

¹ The two verses together form a *yugma*.² The four verses ending with this one form a *Kalāpaka*.³ The figure 4 is engraved against this line near the ring-hole.

94 si Hārītō bhāgavāms=cha Rīgvēdī [| 53*] Tad-gōtras=ta-l-vēdī Mallaya-ghaṭasāsī-nā-

95 makō='mutra || (|) Rīgvēdī Kō(Kau)mḍin[y*]ō bhāgī Nārāyaṇ-ākhyā-ghaṭasāsī [| 54*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

96 Gaṃgādhara-ghaṭasāsī tarkka-jñah Koppanātha-bhaṭṭas=cha | Sōm-ākhyō Vēdā-

97 mti dharma-vid=anyō='pi Pōti-ghaṭasāsī [| 55*] Jyōtiḥ-sāstri [Sū]raya-

98 nāmā Kṛishṇ-āhvayaś=cha Ghaṭasāsī | Kō(Kau)mḍinyā yāju[shkā]s=sarvvē pra

99 tyēka-bhāginō='mutra || [56*] Nūmkana-ghaṭasāsī-abhidhō Dāsana-bhaṭṭa-

100 ś=cha dharma-sāstra-jñah || (|) Nārāyaṇa-nāmā='nyah pada-vēttā ch=ā-

101 'tha Pōti-ghaṭasāsī || [57*] Pōtaya-ghaṭasāsī=anyō Mārāya-nā-

102 mā pada-krama-jñō='pi || (|) pratyēka-bhāginō='smin=yājushkāḥ

103 Kō(Kau)śik-ānvay-ōdbhūtāḥ || [58*] Rīgvēda-vidau Mallaya-ghaṭasāsī=anyō='pi

104 Pōti-ghaṭasāsī | Kāmāya-ghaṭasāsī=anyō Vennaya-bhaṭṭas=cha tarkka-sā-

105 stra-jñah [| 59*] Annaya-nāmā Jyōtiś-sāstra-jñō='nyas=cha Pōti-ghaṭasāsī | Vyākara-

106 ṇa-jñāv=anyau Rudraya-Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa-namānau [| 60*] Kāsyapa-gōtrās=sa-

107 rvvē yājushkā bhāgasālīnō='mushmin | Annaya-nāmā jyō-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

108 tiś-sā[stra]-jñō bhāga-yugalavān=ēshu [| 61*] Rīchi Puṇyamū-

109 rttir=ā[dh]yō='py=Ananta-bhaṭṭah purāṇa-pāragataḥ | Yāju-

110 shkaḥ pada-vēttā Vallabha-bhaṭṭah Parāsar-ānvayinaḥ [| 62*] Pratyēka-

111 bhāgavāntas=tataḥ param Kumdayaś=chaturvē[dī] | Mallaya-sā-

112 'mudrikō=[pi*] Bhīmāya-ghaṭasāsī=Agasti-yajvā cha [| 63*]

113 Bhāradvāj-ānvayinō Yājushkā bhāga-sālīnas=sarvvē |

114 ētēshu s-ārdha-bhāgī Kumdaya-nām-āmkitaś=chaturvvēdī [| 64*] Rīgvē-

115 dī tad-gōtrī vēdāmtī Prōli-bhaṭṭa ēk-āmśī | Mallaya-ghaṭasāsī=anyas=tata-

116 ḥ param Malli-bhaṭṭ-ākhyah || [65*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jātau Yājushkau bhāga-sālīnā-

117 v=atra | Bhīmāya-Mallaya-Vallabha-ghaṭasāsī-abhidhā Yajur-vidas=sarvvē [| 66*]

118 Ātrēya-gōtra-jātās=tatra pratyēka-bhāga-bhājas=tē | Gā[r*]gya-ku[lō]=namt-ā=

119 khyō Ghaṭasāsī bhāgavān=Yajurvēdī [| 67*] Vallabha-ghaṭasāsī=āmśī [Yā]-

¹ Between this and the next line the numeral 5 is engraved against the ring-hole.

72 72
74 74
76 76
78 78
80 80
82 82

c, b

84 84
86 86
88 88
90 90
92 92
94 94

d, a

96 96
98 98
100 100
102 102
104 104
106 106

Scale : One-fourth

v, b

108
110
112
114
116
118

108
110
112
114
116
118

v, a

120
122
124
126
128
130
132

120
122
124
126
128
130
132

v, b

134
136
138
140
142

134
136
138
140
142

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 120 jushkō='py=Ābharadvasōr=vvarṁśyah || (|) Ōbhala-Kūchena-Vallabha-Bhadraya-
 121 ghaṭasāsīnō='rddha-bhāg-ārḥāḥ [| 68*] Hārītā yājushkās=tad-gotrāv=a-
 122 rddha-bhāgināv=anyau | Appana-Vallabha-ghaṭasāsī-abhidhānau dvāv=adhīta-
 123 Ṛigvēdau || [69*] Kō(Kē)tana-Liṁgaya-Dommana-Mallaya-ghaṭasāsīnaś=cha yā-
 124 jushkāḥ | Kāṇv-ādhītī Sōmaya-ghaṭasāsī=Allāḍir=api cha¹ Ṛigvē-
 125 dī [| 70*] Kaumḍinya-gōtra-jātās=sarvvē bhāg-ārdha-sālinas=tatra | Ā-
 126 trēyāv=ardh-āṁśāv=Ellaya-Raṁgau cha Ṛig-Yajur-vvēdō(dau) [| 71*]
 127 Dōchaya-Sōmaya-ghaṭasāsī-abhidhānau Kāśyap-ānvay-ōdbhū-
 128 tau | Sāma-Yajur-vvēda-jñau kramēṇa bhāg-ārdha-sālināv=atra [| 72*] Varada-
 129 ya-Gaṇapaya-Chāmana-ghaṭasāsī-abhidhās=trayō Yajur-vvēdāḥ [|*]
 130 Maudgalya-Pūtimā[sha]ṇa-Kapi-gōtrās=ch=ārdha-bhāgināḥ kramaśaḥ [| 73*] Mai-
 131 lāra-Kēśav-Āppana-ghaṭasāsī-ākhyā Yajur-vvidas=tatra | bhāg-ārdha-bhā-
 132 ja ētē Bhāradvāj-ānvayē samudbhūtāḥ [| 74*] Śrīpati-Narahari-bhaṭṭau Kā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 133 maya-bhaṭṭō='pi Pinnay-ākhyas=cha | Śrīvats-ānvaya-jātā yāju-
 134 shkās=ch=ārdha-bhāginas=sarvvē [| 75*] Ṛigvēdī tad-gōtrō Mārāya-ghaṭasāsī-nā
 135 makō='rdh-āṁśī | Kauśika-gōtrō(trah) Kommaya-ghaṭasāsī-abhidhō Yajur-vvi-
 136 dau¹ tadvat [| 76*] Ṛigvēdī Maitrēyō Lakshmaṇa-ghaṭasāsī-nāmakō='rddh-āṁśī |
 137 Lōhita-gōtraḥ Pōtaya-ghaṭasāsī-arddh-āṁśa-bhāg=Yajur-vvēdī || [77*]
 138 ²Sīmā prāchyām Bōḍugumṭas=tasya dakṣiṇatō='pi
 139 cha | Tall-ākhyā-reḍḍigumṭō='sya prāchyām sīmā
 140 babhūva saḥ [| 78*] Goḍḍumballēr=Ddarśapaṇṇōr=madhyē mā-
 141 rgō mahān hi yaḥ | Kumārasvāminō
 142 gumṭas=tasy=āgnēyyām=amushya cha [| 79*] Prāchyām=mā-

¹ Read °vid=api.² The numeral 6 is engraved near the ring-hole.

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 143 rggō mahān=āsīt=sīmā tatra sa ēva yaḥ | Goḍḍumballēr=Ddarsapaṛrō-
 144 r=Mudunūrōś=cha saṁdhi-gaḥ || [80*] Dakṣiṇatō='mushy=āsīn=Muchchēnapallēs=cha
 145 Goḍḍumballēs=cha | Mudunūrōr=api ch=aivam grāma-traya-saṁdhi-madhya-
 146 gō mārggaḥ || [81*] Tat-paśchimatas=sīmā Muchchanapallēs=cha Goḍḍu[m*]ballēs=cha [|*]
 147 Uttanapūṇēs=samdhāv=api rachitō mya(mṛi)ttikā-rāśiḥ || [82*] Tad-vā-
 148 yaviya-kakubhi mṛid-rāśis=sīma-lakṣaṇam(ṇam) | tasy=ōttarasyā-
 149 m=apy=āsīn=Nattū-kuly-āmtima-sthalī || [83*] Tad-vāyaviyya(viṇa)-kakubha(bhi)
 150 Māra-bhaṭṭasya Koppaṇōḥ | kshētram lla(la)kṣaṇam=ētaśya pratīchyām
 151 Kamdigumṭakaḥ [| 84*] Mārapachemga-kshētram tan-nairṇityām=amu-
 152 shya dakṣiṇataḥ | Śimgi-śeṭṭi-Malla-kshētram tat-prāchyām mrunma(mṛiṇma)yō
 153 rāśiḥ || [85*] Tasya dakṣiṇatas=sīmā Veyyēṇur=atha dakṣiṇā [|*]

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 154 āgnēyīm diśam=ārabhya sīmā sādhu pradarśyatē [| 86*] Āgnē-
 155 yyām=api Veyyēṇur=tasya paśchimatō='pi cha | Mōḍu-kshē-
 156 trasya nairṇityām Paṇṇumballīya-kulyakā [| 87*] Tasyā u-
 157 dīchyām sīmā tu Mōḍōr=vāyavya ūsharaḥ | tasya paśchi-
 158 ¹matas=sīmā dakṣiṇas=sētūr=ishyatē [| 88*] Ertuma[l*]ly-ākhyā-
 159 gumṭasya tasya paśchimatō='pi cha | Paṇṇumballēs=cha Vi-
 160 pa(ppa)ṇrōr=Ggaṁgādharapurasya cha [| 89*] Saṁdhau mārggas=sīma-saṁdhir=abhū-
 161 d=ā Nakkakumṭataḥ | Nakkakumṭ-ōttar-ōttuṁga-sthalī tatra tu la-
 162 kṣaṇam(ṇam) [| 90*] Tasyāḥ prāchyām Nāgadēva-kshētra-sētv-annasārataḥ [| 91*]² Ta-
 163 sy-ōttarasyām kḷalu Kāṭapaṇṇrōr=Ggaṁgādhar-ākhyasya

Eighth Plate, First Side

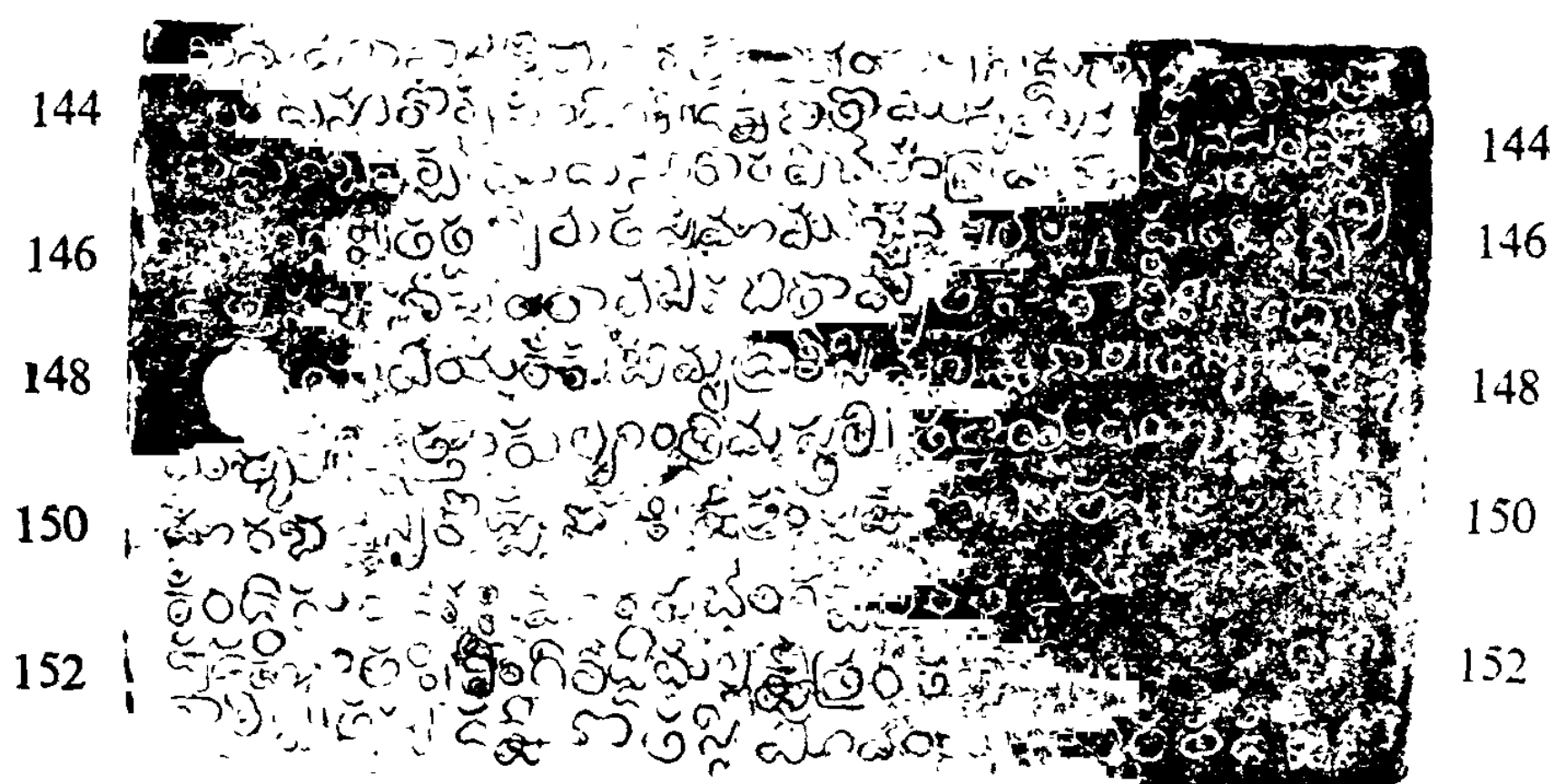
- 164 purasya sīmni | sētūr-hi sīmā tad-anu prasārān=mṛit-saṁcha[ya]-
 165 ḥ paśchima-dig-vibhāgē [| 92*] Sētuh Kāru-taṭākasya prāchyō='sy=ōttaratō=
 166 'pi cha | Peṇḍlikumṭō='sya ch=ōdīchyām mṛid-rāśir=lakṣaṇam sa cha [| 93*] Kāṭapaṇṇrō-

¹ The numeral 7 is engraved near the ring-hole.

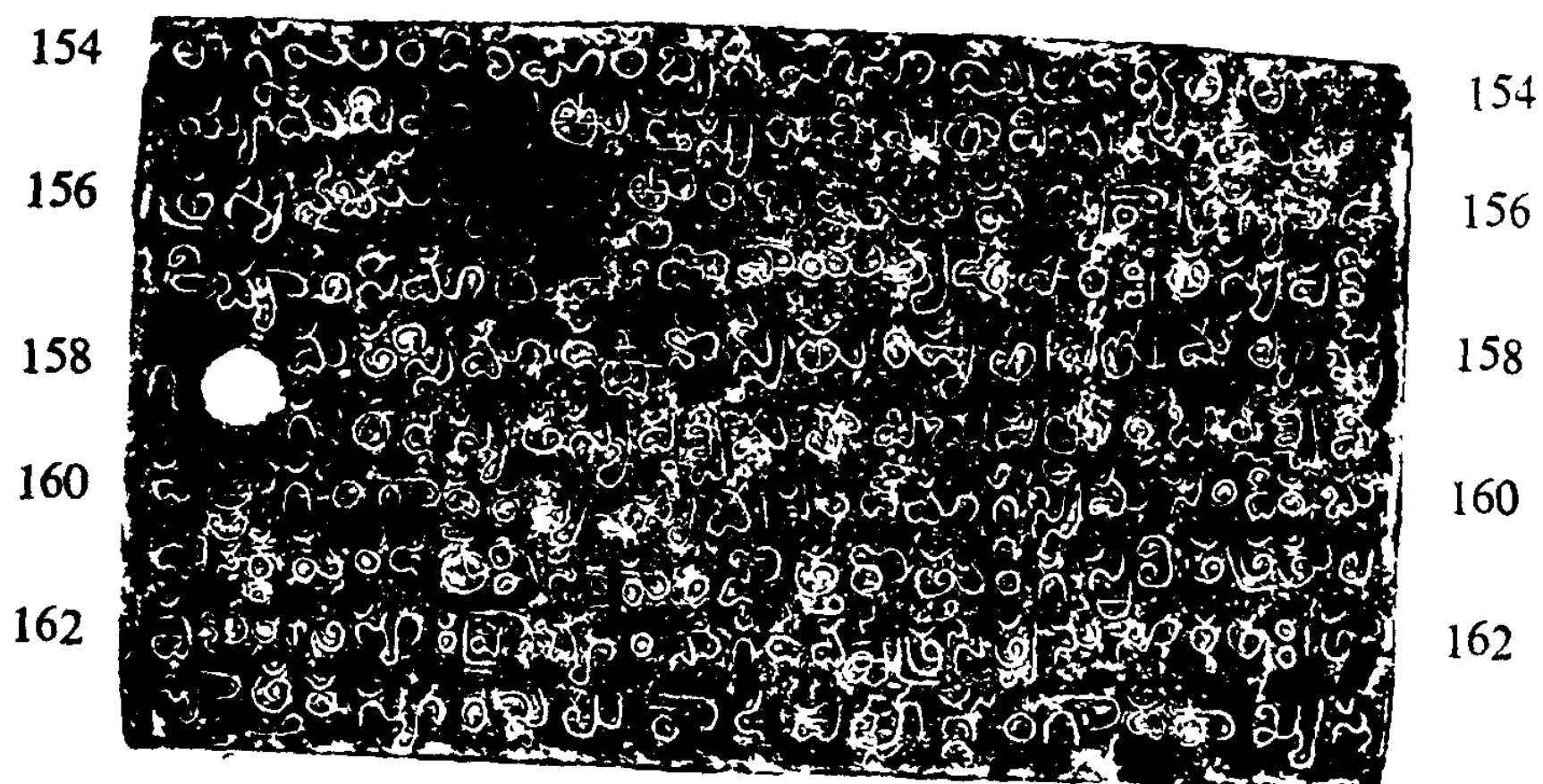
² This is a half verse.

PENTAPADU GRANT OF CHODA BHAKTIRAJA, ŚAKA 1265—PLATE III

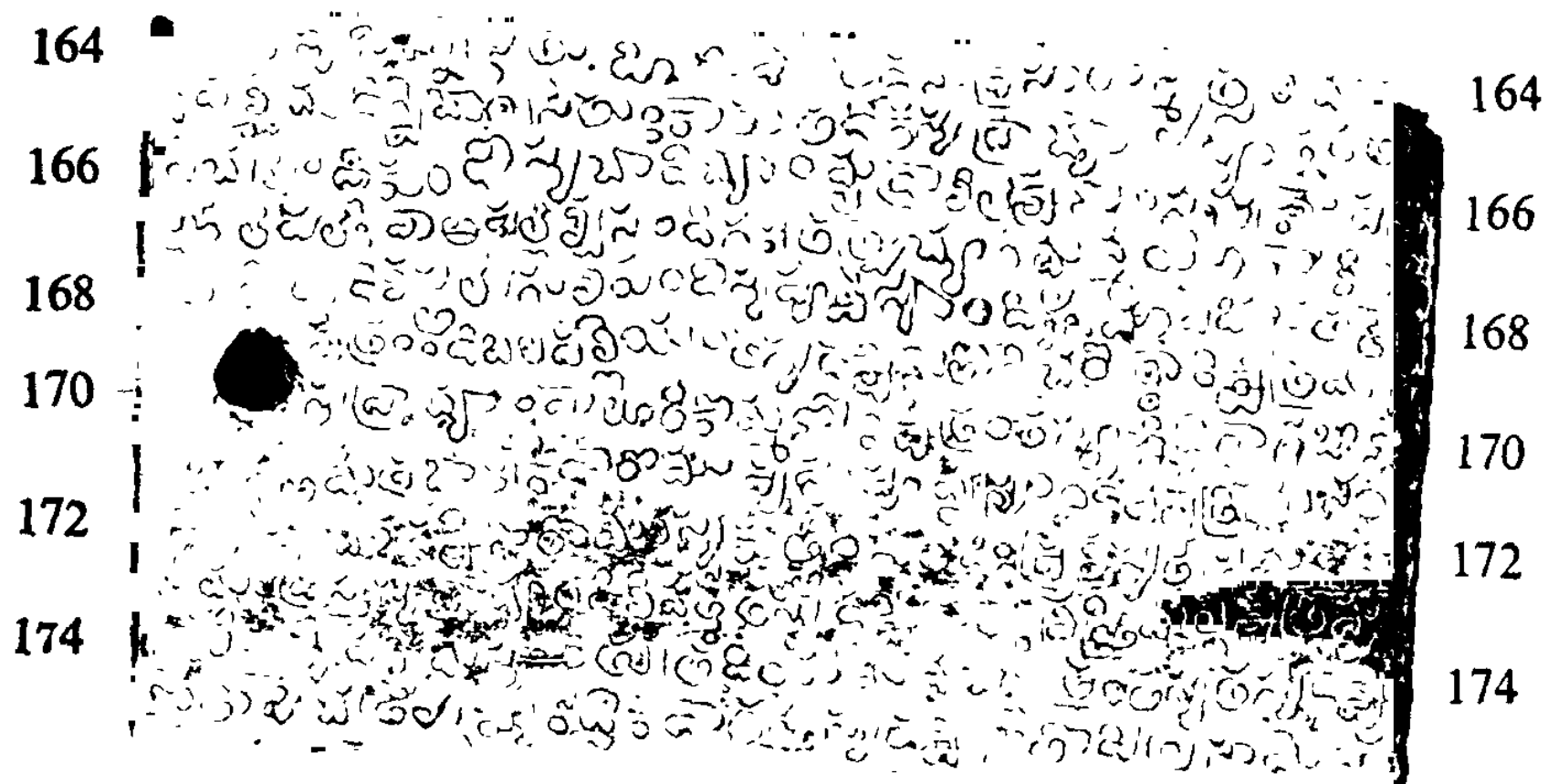
vii, a



vii, b

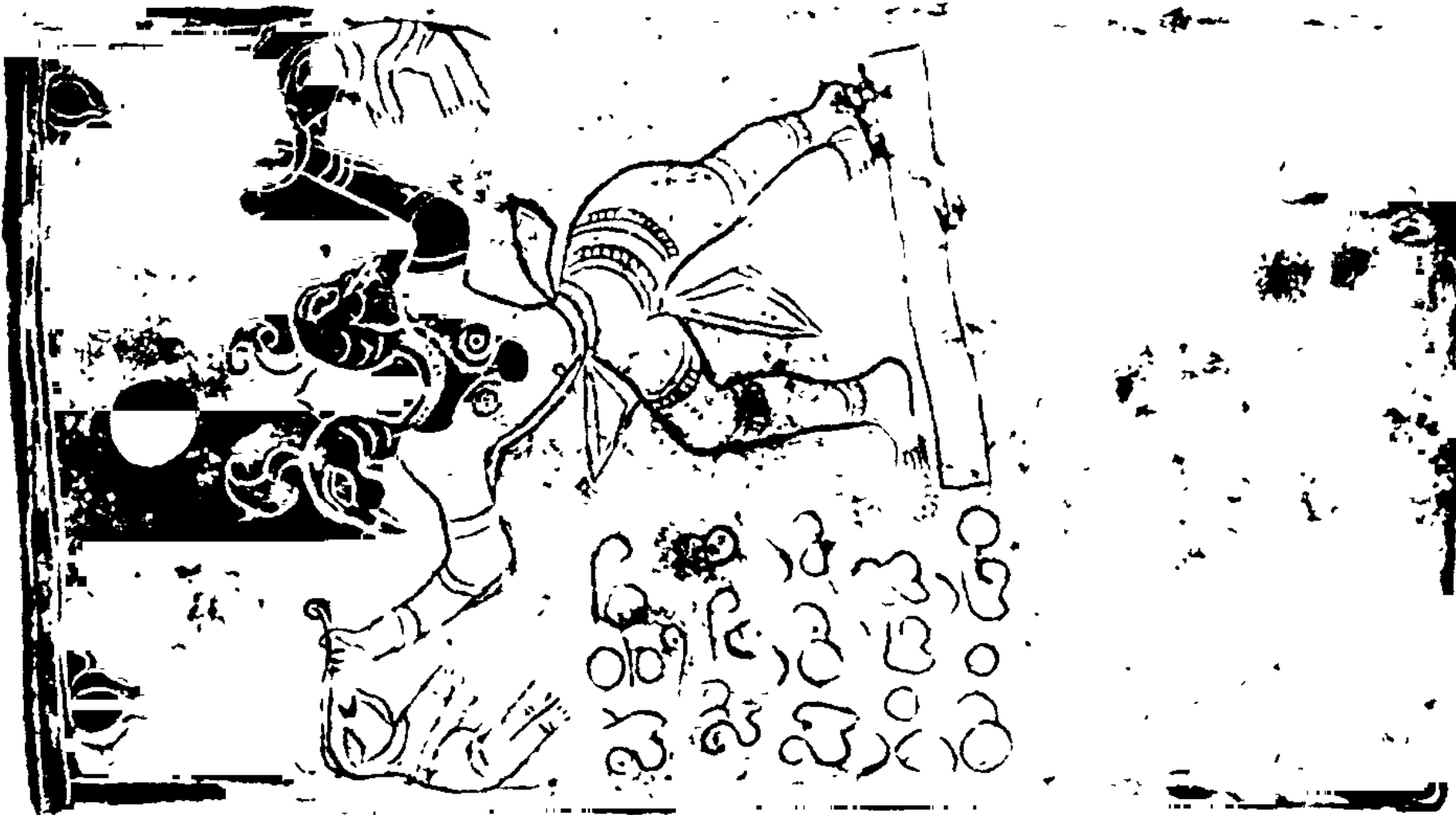


viii, a



Scale : One-fourth

176 ವಿಂಶತಿಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಬಿಡುವುದುಂಟು 176
 178 ಗಾಂಧಾರಪುರಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 178
 180 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 180
 182 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 182
 184 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 184



192 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 192
 194 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 194
 196 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 196
 198 ಒಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳೊಳಗೆಪ್ರಾಂಶುಗಳಿಗೊಂದುಪ್ರಾಂಶು 198

- 167 r=Jōlepallēḥ Pāṛrapallēś=cha saṁdhi-gaḥ | tat-prāchyām mṛiṇmayōr(yō) rāśis=ta-
 168 d-udichī-diśa=sthalē [| 94*] Gulikumṭō='sya pūrvasyām diśi sīmā babhūva tat |
 169 kshētram¹ Dibalapallīyam tasya dakṣiṇatō='pi cha [| 95*] Koṭṭhāri-kshētram=ēta-
 170 sya prāchyām Pālūri-Kommaṇōḥ [| *] kshētram tasy=āgni-dig-bhāgē bāṇa-
 171 chārairtatmaprabhāḥ² [| 96*] Kēdārō='mushya pū³ pūrvasyām Dēva-kshētriya-
 nam(sam)-
 172 di(dhi)-[ga*]ḥ | stambhō dakṣiṇatō='musya(shya) Kurram-kumṭaḥ praśasyatē [| 97*]
 Samaya-
 173 samudras=tasya prāchyām diśi vartma tasya dakṣiṇataḥ | Śastrimalla-kshētrē mṛi-
 174 d-rāśis=tasya paśchimasyām tu [| 98*] Tadiyam=ēva cha kshētram tasya⁴ tasya dakṣi-
 175 ṇatō='pi cha | Tall-ākhyā-redḍi-kēdāras=tasya dakṣiṇato=' pi [cha*][| 99*] Lasāmika(?)-ta-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 176 ṭakasya prāchyas=sētur=amushya cha | dakṣiṇasyām Darśapaṇṇō-
 177 r=mārga-saṁdhau mṛidaś=cha yaḥ [| 100*] Ā-chamdr-ārkam=amī viprā
 178 Gaṁgādharapuram śubham(bham) | putra-pautra-prapautr-ādi-samta-
 179 tyā='nubhavamtv=idam(dam) || [101*] Bhānu-vaṁśa-pradīpasya Bhakti-bhū-
 180 ⁵pasya śāsanam(nam) | bhūyād=ā-chamdra-tār-ārkkam
 181 bhūmāv=udadhi-sīmani || [102*] Samtatir=vardhatām=asya satām
 182 samtōsha-kāriṇī | pālayatv=akhilām pṛithvīm chatur-arṇa-
 183 va-mēkhalām(lām) || [103*] Sāmānyō='yam dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇām kālē
 184 kālē pālaniyyō(yō) bhavadbhiḥ | sarvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pāṛthivēmdrān
 185 bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachamdraḥ || [104*]

Ninth Plate⁶

- 186 Bhaktirā-
 187 jugāri
 188 birudu
 189 Gaṁḍabhē-
 190 rumḍam [|*]

¹ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* here.

² Read °chārē tama°.

³ This letter is redundant.

⁴ This word is redundant.

⁵ The number 8 is engraved near the ring-hole between this and the next line.

⁶ Against the writing giving the title of the donor is engraved the figure of the mythical man-bird Gaṁḍabhērūḍa.

Tenth Plate¹

- 191 **Ānarhd-ābdē** Pausha-kṛishṇa-dvādaśyām Makar-āyanē | Gaṁgā-
 192 dharapurē pūrvvaṁ dāpayitvā dvij-ōttamaiḥ [| 105*] Dvaṁ bhāgau Bhāra-
 193 ti-nāmnē vidushē Bhakti-bhūpatiḥ | sa paśchād=Uttanāmpū-
 194 ṇim grāma-grāsāya dattavān [| 106*] Gaṁgādharapurē bhā-
 195 gāsh=shaṭ-shashtīś=cha tatō='bhavan | Gaṁgādharapurē bhā-
 196 ga-yugmī Bhārati-kōvidaḥ [| 107*] Bam(Ba)hṛi(hvṛi)cha=sarvva-śāstra-jñāḥ
 197 Ko(Kau)mḍinyas=sudhiyām varah | dakshinasyām=ath=ājñē(gnē)yyā-
 198 m prāchyām ch=aiva yathā-kramam(mam) [| 108*] Veyyēṇur=Jammi-guḍḍa-
 199 ś=cha Kāśekumṭas=cha sīma-bhūḥ [| 109*]².

¹ This forms the post-script to the grant.

² This is a half verse.

No. 44—PALIAD PLATES OF BHIMADEVA I, V.S. 1112

(1 Plate)

A. L. BASHAM, LONDON

(Received on 30. 8. 1958)

This set of plates was discovered at **Paliad**, a village in Eastern Saurashtra, just off the main road from Wadhwan to Bhavnagar, about ten miles north-west of Botad and about the same distance south-west of Ranpur. The plates, deposited in the Rajkot Museum, were sent in 1955 to the Government Epigraphist for India, Cotacamund, for examination.¹ The inscription is edited below from inked impressions and photographs received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of two plates, each measuring 9" long, 5.4" broad and .1" thick. They are held together by a ring (about 1.75" in diameter) passing through holes (about .5" in diameter) made about the centre of the lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second. No seal is attached to the plates which, together with the ring, weigh 133 *tolas*. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and the writing is fairly well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D. and generally resemble those of records like the Palanpur plates² of Bhīmadēva I and the Kadi plates³ of Mūlarāja. No special remarks are called for in respect of orthography.

The date of the inscription (line 1) is given as **V.S. 1112, Chaitra śu. 15**. It is further stated in line 4 that there was a **lunar eclipse** on the said date. These details correspond to the **2nd April, 1056 A.D.**

The grant was issued when *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* was residing at **Akāsikā-grāma** (lines 1-2). Bhīmadēva is evidently the first king of that name of the Chaulukya family of Gujarat, who ruled in c. 1024-1066 A.D. The present record does not add any new information of historical or chronological importance.

The grant is addressed (lines 2-4) to the king's officials, the Brāhmaṇas and the people of the 116 villages attached to the city of **Vāyaḍa**. Its object (lines 4-8) is to record a grant made by the king in favour of the Jain monastery situated at the said city. The grant consisted of a piece of land measuring two *halas* and belonging to a merchant named Sādāka, together with another plot measuring two *Kalasikāvāpas*⁴, which was attached to the said land of Sādāka and was separated from the border of Guḍuhulā by a *charī* (pasture land).⁵

The position of the merchant Sādāka in the transaction is not altogether clear. Since the peasants are told that they must now pay their dues direct to the monastery, it seems that he was not the occupant of the land, but, until the issue of the grant, was the landlord and intermediary between the cultivators and the king. Evidently he was now deprived of his rights over the land in question : but the grant gives no evidence of the means whereby this was done. Possibly Sādāka died without leaving heirs ; or he may have had his land confiscated for an offence

¹ The plates are registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, No. A 15, and are briefly noticed *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

² Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff. and Plates.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff. and Plates.

⁴ *Kalasikā-dvaya-vāpa* = *Kalasikā-vāpa-dvaya* means a plot of land sufficient for sowing two *Kalasikās* of seed. *Kalasikāvāpa* reminds us of *Drūṇavāpa* known from many records.

⁵ The word *charī* in this sense is not found in standard Sanskrit Dictionaries, but is common in this sense in Hindi.

of some sort : or the land was resumed by the king and transferred to the temple with the payment of compensation to the merchant. We are inclined to support the last suggestion, since the transfer takes place on the occasion of an eclipse. At such a time the king, anxious to ward off evil influences by a work of piety, might well have commandeered part of Sādāka's estate in return for compensation. Moreover, if Sādāka were dead or had forfeited his property on account of a crime, this, we might expect, would have been mentioned in the grant.

Lines 8-12 give the boundaries of the gift land as follows : in the east—the field belonging to *Kalyapāla* Kēsarin ; in the south—the royal pasture land ; in the west—the field belonging to the merchant Bhābhala ; and in the north—the road leading to the village of **Pālavāḍa**. Lines 11-15 state that the grant made in favour of the Jain monastery should be protected by the descendants of the king and others. This is followed (lines 15-16) by an imprecatory verse.

The writer of the grant was Vaṭeśvara who was the son of *Kāyastha* Kāñchana (lines 16-17). This Vaṭeśvara, son of Kāñchana, was also the writer of a copper-plate grant of Bhīmadēva, dated in the year 93 of the Śuīha era, corresponding to V. S. 1093.¹ The *dūtaka* was the *Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika* Bhōgāditya who is also known from the Palanpur plates referred to above. The record ends with the sign-manual of Bhīmadēva.

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, *Ākāśikā-grāma*, whence the grant was issued, and Guḍuhulā mentioned in connection with the gift land, cannot be identified. *Vāyaḍa* may be the same as modern Botad referred to above. *Pālavāḍa* is evidently modern Paliad where the plates were discovered.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Siddham³ **Vikrama-samvat 1112 Chaitra-sudi 15** ady=ēha **Ākāśikā-grām-āvāsē samasta-**
- 2 rāj-āvali-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-srī-**Bhīmadēvaḥ** || **Vāyaḍ-ādhishtāna-prati-**
- 3 **va(ba)ddha-vō(shō)ḍaś-ōttara-grāma-śat-āntaḥ-pāti-samasta-rājapurushān** Vrā(Brā)[hma] ṇ-ōtta[rān] ja-
- 4 **napadāms=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samviditam yathā adya Sōma-grahana-parvapi** char-āchara-
- 5 guru[m] Sarvajñam abhyarchya **Vāyaḍ-ādhishtāniya-vasatikāyai** atr=aiva Vāyaḍ-ā[dh]i-**shthānē**
- 6 [cha]rī-kshētr-āntaritayā Guḍuhulā-pāli-samlagnayā vaṇika(ṇik)-Sādāka-bhūmī-sam[va(ba)-**dhya]**-
- 7 mānaya kalasikā-dvaya-vāpa-bhuvā sah=āsy=aiva Sādākasya satkā⁴ hala-dvayasya 2
- 8 bhūḥ śāsana(nē)n=ōdaka-pūrvam=asmābhiḥ pradatt=ā'syās=cha bhūmēḥ pūrvasyām diśi **Kalya-**
- 9 pāla-Kēsari-satkaṁ kshētram dakṣiṇasyām cha rājakiyā chari | **paśchimā-**

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 110 ff.; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1464.

² From impressions and photographs.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *avagraha* sign after this.

१ मम संवत् ११२ दिने बुधवारि तिथि शुक्ल मास कृत्तिका राश्यावाप्त समस्त
 २ यो ज्ञावलीदिनादित मंदाग्राह्यादिनां भौतिकादि वशी कथं विधि धन प्रति
 ३ वत्तवोऽष्टोत्तरस्यामशनीतुष्ट्यादि सप्तम्य ग्राह्युपचारवाच्यो वृत्रातुज
 ४ नपदसुखावयनो बुधतुष्ट्यादि सप्तम्य ग्राह्युपचारवाच्यो वृत्रातुज
 ५ सुखं सर्वं नृणां तं वायदावेष्टोनीतवय किराये प्रविवकायदा तेषां न
 ६ कथं विधि तेषां बुधतुष्ट्यादि सप्तम्य ग्राह्युपचारवाच्यो वृत्रातुज
 ७ नपदसुखावयनो बुधतुष्ट्यादि सप्तम्य ग्राह्युपचारवाच्यो वृत्रातुज
 ८ यो ज्ञावलीदिनादित मंदाग्राह्यादिनां भौतिकादि वशी कथं विधि धन प्रति

10 या वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ॥ १ ॥
 12 योऽतिरुद्धायाऽपि पलं किं न सुवाच्यं तत्रैव
 14 यथादीपमानस्य गौरी न कश्चिदपि भूयते
 16 इवास्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं
 18 यथा ह्यस्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं
 20 यथा ह्यस्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं
 22 यथा ह्यस्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं
 24 यथा ह्यस्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं
 26 यथा ह्यस्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं
 28 यथा ह्यस्मिन्महाकाये संप्रपन्नं तत्सर्वं नित्यं

Second Plate

- 10 yāṃ cha vāpiya(ja)ka-Bhābhaliyaṃ kshētram=uttarasyāṃ cha **Pālavāḍa-grāma-mā-**
 11 rgga iti chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakshitāṃ bhuvam=ētām=avagamyā ētan-nivāsi-janapadai-
 12 r=yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi sarvvam=ājñā-[śrava]ṇa-vidhēyai,
 13 r=bhūtv=ā'syai vasatikāyai samupanētavyaṃ sāmānyaṃ ch=aitat=punya-phalaṃ matv=
 ā'[sma]-
 14 d-vamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōkṭribhir=asmat-pradatta-dharma-dāyō='yam=anu-
 maritavyaḥ
 15 pālanīyaś=cha || uktaṃ cha ||¹ bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Shashtir=varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō
 tishṭhati
 16 bhūmidah | āchchēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam(kē) vasēt || likhitam=idam
 Kāyastha-
 17 Kāmchana-suta-Vaṭṭēvarēṇa | Dūtako='tra mahāsāmdhivigrahika-śrī-Bhōgāditya i[ti]²
 [||*]
 18 śrī-Bhimadēvasya ||

¹ The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.² The *akāra* *ti* looks like a symbol. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 173, note 13.

No. 45—STRAY PLATE FROM NANANA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 5. 9. 1958)

Sometime ago I received for examination an old photograph of the inscribed face of a copper plate from the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. There are marks of two ring holes on the photograph and it appears that the inscription was originally engraved on the inner side of two copper plates strung on two rings as is the case with the copper-plate grants of many of the West Indian ruling families. The plate is stated to have been found at the village of Nānāpā about three miles from the Bhagwanpura station on the Western Railway. Bhagwanpura is 27 miles from Marwar Junction. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March 1937*, pp. 3, 9 (No. 6).¹ There are, however, some minor errors and inaccuracies in the notices.

In July 1958, Dr. Dasharath Sharma of the Delhi University was good enough to send me a copy of his article on the same inscription published without illustration in the Hindi periodical *Marubhārati*, Vol. VI, No. 2, July 1958, pp. 2-4. This aroused my interest in the record and I checked Dr. Sharma's transcript with the photograph of the epigraph in my possession. It was found that, while the preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory and some letters here and there are undecipherable on the photograph, there are some palpable errors in Dr. Sharma's transcript and that most of the many lacunae in it could be filled up with confidence. A number of errors were also noticed by me in the introductory part of Dr. Sharma's paper. Dr. Sharma takes the document to be a charter issued by Chāhamāna Ālhaṇa of Nāḍōl in V. S. 1205. But this belief is absolutely unwarranted since, as a matter of fact, the epigraph contains a large number of small documents only one of which records a gift of the said ruler. Dr. Sharma reads *vyavamsika-lhaḍiyā* in line 1 and *dramaka* in line 9 and regards the three words as the names of particular coins, the first to be identified in his opinion with *Pāvisā* (equal to 5 cowrie shells), the second with *Lōhaḍiyā* (equal to 20 *Pāvisās*) and the third with the well-known *Dramma* (equal to 20 *Lōhaḍiyās*) also mentioned elsewhere in the record under study. But the first of the two passages in question clearly reads *tathā vaṁ(vām)śika-lhaḍiyāka*, 'and the flute-player [named] Lhaḍiyāka'. The word read as *dramaka* is again certainly *stama(ba)ka* meaning 'a bunch [of flowers]'. Dr. Sharma also thinks of the possibility of the word *pada* in lines 1 and 3 signifying a class of coins. The suggestion is, however, impossible in view of the adjectives *shōḍaśama* (i.e. sixteenth) and *saptarā(da)śama* (i.e. seventeenth) qualifying the word respectively in lines 1 and 3. It may be pointed out that, though Dr. Sharma failed to read *saptadaśama* in line 3, he has read *shōḍaśama* correctly in line 2. Among other errors of omission and commission in Dr. Sharma's reading and interpretation of the record, mention may also be made of his reference to 'the *Kumara-drōṇa* of wheat belonging to Śōbhikā' as occurring in line 15 of the record and the suggestion that *Kumara-drōṇa* may have been a bigger measure of capacity than *Drōṇa*. As will be seen below, this is all imaginary and unwarranted.

The fragmentary inscription is written in Nāgarī characters of the twelfth century. But it is not engraved by a single person. There are many records of different dates, which were

¹ For three other copper-plate grants from Nānāpā, see *ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 9, Nos. 7-9; cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. A 79.

apparently engraved in groups by several persons on different occasions. The various documents engraved on the plate record donations made by both royal and private personages in favour of a religious institution apparently situated at Nādōl (cf. *ady=ēha śri-Naḍūlē* in lines 19-20). Among the donors of non-monarchical rank, some were no doubt members of the Chāhamāna royal family of Nādōl. As our analysis of the different documents would show, it was probably the authorities of the said religious institution that were responsible for the preparation of the document. Since **Ālhaṇadēva** was the donor of only one of the many grants recorded in our epigraph, it is impossible to assign the entire charter to him. The nature of the epigraph somewhat resembles that of the well-known Sironkhurd (Siyāḍōṇī) inscription.¹

The god Tripurushadēva or his temple is often mentioned in the inscription as the recipient of favour. Among other beneficiaries, mention is also made of the god Chandalēśvara, whose temple seems to have stood near that of Tripurushadēva, and of the goddess Gaurī whose shrine lay within the Chandalēśvara temple. The deities Tripurushadēva, Chandalēśvara and Gaurī are also known from another Nānāṇā copper-plate inscription² dated V. S. 1220, Āshāḍha-sudi 11, Thursday (July 2, 1164 A.D.). This record speaks of the restoration of the village of Nān-dānā (modern Nānāṇā) in V. S. 1219 and the grant of the village of Chāhvōḍi by the Nādōl Chāhamāna ruler Ālhaṇa in favour of the temple of Tripurushadēva as well as of the same ruler's grant of Bhīṭalavāṭaka (Bhīṭalavāṭaka) to the temple of Chandalēśvara and of four *Drammas* per month to the shrine of Gaurī built inside the Chandalēśvara temple by his queen Śaṅkarādēvī. The god Tripurushadēva is also known from the Nānāṇā copper-plate inscription³ of V. S. 1212, Śrāvaṇa-sudi 5, Monday (July 24, 1156 A.D.) referring to the shrine of Lākhaṇēśvara built inside the temple of Tripurushadēva by Lākhaṇadēvī, daughter of Chāhamāna Kuntapāla, probably a member of the Nādōl branch of the Chāhamāna family. The localities called Nāndānā and Bhīṭalavāṭaka are also mentioned in the inscription under study.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, its orthography and vocabulary being considerably influenced by Prakrit or the local dialect. The language is extremely corrupt in some of the records. The nature of Prakrit influence can be guessed from the use of words like *māṇṇī*, i.e. 'a songstress', in lines 1-7, etc.; *vāriḡa* (once written correctly as *vāriḡa* in line 4), i.e. 'a temple superintendent', in lines 5, 6, etc.; *sū(su)ravāla* (probably, 'one who sets songs or musical instruments to tune') and *pāṇavika* (i.e. 'a drum-player') in line 7; *dōyaraka* (i.e. 'the singer who repeats part of a song after it has been once sung') in lines 7-8, etc. We have also spellings like *Jasōdhavalēna* for *Yaśōdhavalēna* and *trīṭiyāyām* for *trīṭiyāyām* in line 9 and forms like *ma(mē)hariṇā* used as Third Person instrumental singular from the word *mēhari* (recognised as *mēharī* in Prakrit) in the feminine.

There are **several dates** in the document, although many of the transactions recorded are **undated**. The first of the dates, occurring in line 9, is **V.S. 1173, Kārttika-vadi 3**, and the second is quoted in lines 12-13 as **V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10**. On both these dates *Mahārājādhirāja Āsārāja* of the Nādōl branch of the Chāhamāna family made certain grants in favour of a religious institution at Nādōl, to which reference has been made above. Line 19 quotes the date **V.S. 1122, Kārttika-vadi 5, Saturday**, when *Mahārājaputra Kumāra Sāhaṇapāla* made a grant. Line 23 mentions **V.S. 1205, Bhādra-vadi 5, Friday**, as the date of a grant made by Chāhamāna **Ālhaṇadēva** of Nādōl. The importance of these dates will be discussed in the analysis of the contents of the various records in the epigraph. Besides the above dated records relating to grants made by kings and princes, there are several other grants of royal and private personages, which are undated.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 19, note 7 p. 159.

² *An. Rep. Raj. Mus.*, op. cit., pp. 4-5, 9, No. 9; *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. A 79.

³ *An. Rep. Raj. Mus.*, op. cit., pp. 3-4, 9, No. 8.

From the ductus of the writing, the inscription can be divided into different **sections** engraved on different dates. In most of the cases, a section contains more than one transaction. Some of these transactions relate to arrangements (*sthiti*) and not gifts actually. The sections are analysed below one by one.

Section I (lines 1-2). There are three transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that the sixteenth *pada* was allotted to the *vilāsinī* Vijalā, the daughter of Padmāvatī, with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other unnamed *vilāsinīs* (*aparābhik samam*). The word *pada* here seems to mean 'a share' or 'a quarter of the standard land measure'. An account of 15 other *padas* appears to be lost with the earlier part of the record on the missing first plate. The word *vilāsinī* is also used in line 4 apparently in the sense of a *Dēvadāsī*. Probably the word *gaṇikā* (line 2) and *mēhari* (lines 1, 7, etc.) are also used in a similar sense. The name of the deity to whom Vijalā was attached seems to have been mentioned in the missing first plate of the set. It may have been the god Tripurusha mentioned in the following sentence. The name of the donor of the *pada* to Vijalā is not known from the extant part of the record.

(b) The next sentence states that, in the same way (*tathā*), the flute-player named Lhaḍiyāka (i.e. Lhaḍiyā) was allotted to Tripurusha which was the name of the deity. The expression *tripurusha* has been used here and in many other places in the record in the plural. But, in line 21, the same deity is mentioned as Tripurushadēva in the singular. It was therefore the name of a single deity, probably a combined image of the Trimūrti of Brahman, Vishṇu and Śiva.¹

(c) The last sentence of the section speaks of the arrangement, according to which a *mēhari*, whose name cannot be fully deciphered, was to receive annually five *Drōṇas* of wheat out of the collections made on behalf of the deity (*dēvakiy-ādāna-madhyāt*) from the *Nandāṇa-grāmīya-bhōga*, no doubt a free-holding comprising a part or the whole of the village of Nandāṇa (modern Nānāṇa) under the enjoyment of the deity. This deity seems to be no other than Tripurusha mentioned in the previous sentence. We have already noted that the word *mēhari*, literally 'a songstress', seems to have been used to indicate a *Dēvadāsī*.

Section II (lines 2-8). There are four transactions referred to in this section.

(a) The first sentence records the allotment of the seventeenth *pada* to a *gaṇikā*'s daughter with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other *gaṇikās*. As indicated above, the word *gaṇikā*, like *vilāsinī* and *mēhari* in Section I, probably means 'a *Dēvadāsī*'. The *gaṇikā*'s name was Gōchhiṇī, though her daughter's name cannot be deciphered.

(b) The second sentence records the grant of the village of Bhiṇṭalavādā. The village is stated to have been given to Tripurusha, though it was actually meant for the deity Chandalēśvara. This probably suggests that the shrine of Chandalēśvara lay in the neighbourhood of the Tripurusha temple. The expression *atr=aiva* used in connection with Bhiṇṭalavādā seems to suggest that the village lay in the vicinity of the temple situated at Nādōl. The following sentence further states that the income or produce of the said village should have to be collected by the *Vārikas* attached to the god Tripurusha as a part of their own collections and that the expenses for the training, food, etc., of the *vilāsinīs* attached to the god Chandalēśvara as well as any other expenditure made for the said god should have to be met from the collections or income of the god Tripurusha. It is clear that the management of the affairs of the god Chandalēśvara was entrusted to the *Vārikas* of Tripurusha. As we have elsewhere seen, the *Vārikas* were the superintendents of a temple like the

¹ For the deity or deities called 'the Tripurushas', see also the Karimnagar inscription of Pratāparudra I (Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Vol. II, p. 175). For a Tripurusha temple at Anhilwada, see Tawney's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, pp. 25, etc. In the composite Trimūrti images of Gujarat, Sūrya-nārāyaṇa was often represented in Vishṇu's place (Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 300, 381).

Pāṇḍās of today.¹ The last sentence of this subsection seems to say that the king and the *Vārikas* should have to look after the permanent one-fourth share belonging to Tripurusha.

(c) The next transaction in lines 6-18 records that an *araghaṭṭa* or a machine for drawing water from a well, called Nārāvattaka and situated in the village of Dēvanandita which was under the possession of the chief priest of the temple (*maṭha-pati*) of Tripurusha, was granted for the maintenance of the worship of Chandalēśvara. It appears that two persons named Śilapati and Śrīpāla, who were probably engaged in working the *araghaṭṭa* at Dēvanandita-grāma, were allotted to the said god along with a number of persons living probably at the locality where the temple stood (i.e. Nāḍōl). These were the songstresses Viṅgaḍā, Sitaḍī, Prēmali, Ratani, Śrīyādēvi and Āśādēvi; the *Suravāla* (a person responsible for setting songs or musical instruments to tune) Jasarā; the drum-player (*Pāṇavika*) Śrīpāla; the *Dōyaraka* (a singer who had to repeat parts of a song after they had been once sung) Vadiyāka (i.e. Vadiyā); the *Mridaṅga*-player Mahīpatiyāka (i.e. Mahīpatiyā); and the flute-player Risiyāka (i.e. Risiyā), the son of Gōvinda.

(d) The last sentence of the subsection states that a *mēhari*, whose name is not mentioned, was allotted five *Drōṇas* [of wheat] out of Kumara's *Drōṇas* [of wheat] at the *araghaṭṭa* at Bhiṇṭalavādā-grāma. It appears that Kumara was the lessee of the *araghaṭṭa*, who used to pay the annual rent for it to the temple in wheat. This transaction is also referred to in Section IV (b) in lines 15-16 below, where the name of the *mēhari* is given as Śōbhikā.

From the grant of the village of Bhiṇṭalavādā, it appears that most of the transactions recorded above were made by the contemporary Chāhamāna ruler of Nāḍōl. The name of this ruler seems to be lost with the first plate of the set. But he may have been Āśārāja mentioned below. The god-Chandalēśvara was apparently installed by the queen Chandaladēvi mentioned below in line 10 which also mentions Āśārāja. It is not improbable that Chandaladēvi was a queen of Āśārāja.

It should, however, be noted that the Nānānā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D., referred to above, speaks of the grant of Bhiṇṭalavātaka by king Ālhaṇa to the Chandalēśvara temple. It is not impossible that Bhiṇṭalavādā or Bhiṇṭalavātaka was originally granted to the temple by Āśārāja but the grant was later renewed by his son Ālhaṇa.

Section III (lines 9-10). There are two transactions recorded in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that one Yaśōdhavala made a gift of one load of lotuses and one hundred bunches [of flowers] at a place called Āhumala. It is difficult to determine whether the transaction refers to a daily supply of the flowers and whether *Āhumala* is a modification of *Āhavamalla*, a well-known personal name which occurs in Section VI, b. The identity of the donor is uncertain, though he may have been a member of the Chāhamāna royal family of Nāḍōl. The deity who received the grant is not mentioned, but may probably be Chandalēśvara.

(b) The second sentence of this section states that, in **V.S. 1173, Kārttika-vadi 3, Mahārājādhirāja Āśārāja** made certain gifts (the names of which cannot be fully deciphered but may be those of a few localities) in favour of the *maṭha*. This *maṭha* may refer to the shrine of Chandalēśvara, which is mentioned in line 10 below (Section IV, a).

The date may correspond to the **11th September 1116 A.D.** The only other date for Āśārāja's reign so far known is V.S. 1167, Chaitra-sudi 1, corresponding to the 12th March 1111 A.D.² Another date for Āśārāja's reign is found in Section IV (b) below.

Section IV (lines 10-16). This section also speaks of two transactions.

(a) The sentence constituting this sub-section is difficult to understand owing to certain errors of the scribe and the engraver. The first part refers to the 100 leaves allowed out of each load of

¹ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 164, note 1.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 182.

leaves by the royal officials (probably the customs officials of Nādōl ; cf. Section VI, b) to be enjoyed by the goddess Gaurī installed in the shrine (*maṭha*) of Chandalēśvara caused to be made by *Mahārājñī* Chandaladēvī. A passage in line 11 immediately after this reference is unintelligible. After this there is reference to six persons who are stated to have paid annually 100 *Drammas*, i.e. the coins of that name. The concluding part seems to say that the merchants, who were willing to give, would have to divide the third share of the leaves and wheat probably received as collections on behalf of the Chandalēśvara or Tripurusha temple. It appears that either Chandalēśvara would have to receive one-third of the collection of leaves and wheat made on behalf of the Tripurusha temple or Gaurī would have to receive a similar share out of the collection of the Chandalēśvara shrine (cf. Section V below).

We have seen above, that the Nānāpā copper-plate inscription of 1164 A.D. refers to the installation of the goddess Gaurī in the Chandalēśvara temple by Śaṅkarādēvī who was a queen of Ālhaṇa, son of Āsārāja. If the present transaction has to be referred to Āsārāja's reign, we have to suggest that the goddess was installed by Śaṅkarādēvī during her father-in-law's rule.

(b) This subsection records a regular grant of *Mahārājādhirāja Āsārāja* made in V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10, in favour of the *mēhari* Śōbhikā on the occasion of the king's visit to her house. The gift consisted of the village of *Piñchchhavallī* which was granted in its entirety as far as its ascertained boundaries. It is stated that no one was allowed to disturb the *mēhari*'s possession of the land as long as the earth and the mountains would endure. It is further stipulated that, so long as the *mēhari* Śōbhikā would be allowed to enjoy the gift village, the five *Drōṇas* allotted to her previously out of Kumara's *Drōṇas* of wheat (cf. Section II, d) should be enjoyed by the god Tripurusha and, in case there was nobody to protect [the *mēhari*'s enjoyment of] the village, the allotment of Kumara's *Drōṇas* to her should again revert to her.

The date V.S. 1171, Pausa-vadi 10, may correspond to the 23rd November 1114 A.D. This is the third known date for Āsārāja's reign. The two others in V.S. 1167 and 1173 have been referred to above (cf. Section III, b).

Section V (line 17-18). There is only one transaction recorded in this section.

The first sentence states that the village of *Sālayī* was allotted to the *maṭha* together with its entire income. The passage *upari-śāsana-madhyē* used in this connection connects this grant with the one recorded above (Section IV, b). It appears that *Piñchchhavallī-grāma*, allotted to Śōbhikā, belonged to the *maṭha* and that therefore the latter had to be compensated by making the gift of another village in its favour. The following sentence seems to suggest that the *maṭha* referred to was the shrine of Chandalēśvara since it is stated here that two-thirds of the village would be enjoyed by the *maṭha* (apparently of the god Chandalēśvara) and one-third by the god Tripurusha. The third and last sentence of the section states that the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, i.e. the king, should act in accordance with the said arrangement.

Section VI (lines 18-19). There are two transactions in this section.

(a) The first sentence states that *Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapāla* (Ratnapāla) gave away one *Nōriyā* together with his relations. To which god the persons, who were probably to work as temple servants, were allotted is not stated. There is no date mentioned in connection with this grant. But we know that V. S. 1176, Jyēshṭha-vadi 8, Thursday (22nd April 1120 A.D.) fell within Ratnapāla's reign.¹ Between Āsārāja and Ratnapāla who was the son of an elder brother and predecessor of Āsārāja, we have two inscriptions of Āsārāja's son *Mahārājādhirāja Kaṭudēva* or *Kaṭukārāja*, one of which is dated in V.S. 1172 (1115-16 A.D.).²

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 200.

² See *ibid.*, Nos. 189 and 1460. The date of the second inscription has been read as *Samvat 31* which Bhandarkar refers to the *Simha-samvat* of V.S. 1170=1113 A.D. and equates with V.S. 1200=1143 A.D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 34). But *Kaṭukārāja* could not have ruled in 1143 A.D. Moreover the *Simha-samvat* is not known to have been used outside Kathiawar (cf. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prāchīnalipimālā*, pp. 181-82).

(b) The second sentence records the monthly grant of 6 *Drōṇas* probably of wheat by one Āhavamalla at the *maṇḍapikā* (customs office) at **Naḍūla** (Nāḍōl). The identity of Āhavamalla is unknown though he may have been the lessee of the *maṇḍapikā*. The deity, in whose favour the grant was made, is also not mentioned.

Section VII (lines 19-22). Only one transaction is recorded in this section.

The section records the grant of two *kuṭumbikas* (agriculturist householders) named Sōhiya and Āsāicha, formerly living at the village of Nandāṇā (modern Nānāṇā), together with their sons and grandsons so long as they lived. The gift was made at **Naḍūla** (Nāḍōl), according to the arrangement based on a charter, in favour of the god Tripurusha by *Mahārājaputra Kumāra Sāhaṇapāla* in **V.S. 1192, Kārttika-vadi 5, Saturday (28th September, 1135 A.D.)**. The passage *ady=ēha śrī-Naḍūlē* seems to suggest that the temple of Tripurusha stood at Nāḍōl. This Sāhaṇapāla was probably a co-uterine brother of Sahajapāla who was the son of Ratnapāla's successor Rāyapāla (known dates between V. S. 1189=1132 A.D. and V.S. 1200=1143 A.D.)¹ from the queen Padmalladevī and is known from an undated inscription.² Three deities named after the mother and her two sons are mentioned in line 22 (Section VIII, c). The second sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

Section VIII (lines 22-24). There are four transactions recorded in this section.

(a) It is stated in the first sentence that Tripurusha's car could be always utilised by the deities Padmalēśvara, Sāhaṇapālēśvara, Sahajapālēśvara and others. Padmalēśvara was apparently named after Padmalladēvī, queen of Rāyapāla, and Sāhaṇapālēśvara and Sahajapālēśvara after her two sons. They appear to have been installed in shrines within or near the Tripurusha temple.

(b) This subsection records the grant of the *kuṭum* (i.e. *kuṭumbikas*) Kikāu, Madanapāla and Mahanasiha (i.e. Mathanasiniha) who were formerly living in the village of **Nandāṇā**. The gift was made in favour of Tripurusha by a charter by *Mahārāja Ālhaṇadēva* in **V.S. 1205, Bhādra-vadi 5, Friday (6th August 1148 A.D. taking the year to be current)**. Ālhaṇa or Alhaṇa, the son of Āśārāja and successor of Rāyapāla, is known from two records of his reign, one dated in V.S. 1209, Māgha-vadi 14, Saturday (24th January, 1153 A.D.)³ and the other in V.S. 1218, Śrāvaṇa-vadi 14, Sunday (12th August, 1162 A.D.?).⁴ The next sentence states that the arrangement should not be nullified by anybody.

(c) Some passages in the next sentence cannot be deciphered. But it seems to mention the grant of one or more persons by the same king Ālhaṇadēva (*tath=ānēna*). The grant was probably made in favour of the same god Tripurusha.

(d) This sentence, the last of the epigraph under study, states that one Saḍa made a gift of two persons named Gōsā and Lōbha. The grant seems to have been made in favour of Tripurusha.

The above analysis of the contents of the inscription under study exhibits some interesting information about certain customs relating to religious institutions, which were prevalent in Rajasthan during the early medieval period. The gift of persons (apparently as slaves) in favour of temples is one such custom.

The **geographical** names mentioned in the record are Naḍūla, i.e. modern Nāḍōl in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan, and such villages as Nandāṇā- or Nāndānā-grāma, Bhiṭtalavāḍā-grāma, Dēvanandita-grāma, Āhumala, Piñchchhavallī-grāma and Sālayī-grāma. Of these, Nandāṇā- or Nāndānā-grāma is certainly the modern village of Nānāṇā where the plate was found. The other localities appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Nāḍōl or Nānāṇā.

¹ See Bhandarkār's List, p. 382.

² Ibid., No. 1505, p. 382, note 7.

³ Ibid., No. 287.

⁴ Ibid., No. 311.

TEXT¹

- 1 vilāsini(nyāḥ) Pa[dm]āvati(tī)-sutā[yāḥ*] Vijalāyā='parābhiḥ² samam shōḍasamam padam
pradatta[m](ttam) | tathā vam(vām)śika-Lhaḍiyākas=Tri[purushā]ṇā[m] pradattaḥ ||
mēhari- Śi. . .³
- 2 [n]ikāyāḥ varsham prati dēvakīya-ā(y-ā)dāna-madhyāt gōdhūmānām drōṇāḥ paṁcha Nam-
dāṇā⁴-grāmiya-bhōgāt dātavyā[h*] | gaṇikā-[G]ōchhiṇi(ṇi)-sut[āyā]ḥ . . .⁵
- 3 nam⁶ aparābhiḥ saptadarā(śa)mam padam pradattam || tathā atr=aiva **Bhirṇṭalavāḍā-**
grāmaḥ śrī-Chaṁdalēśvaradēv-ātha(rtham) Tripurushāṇām pradattaḥ ||
- 4 asmād=grāmād=utpattis=Tripurushāṇām satka-vārikaiḥ samādāya svīy-ādānasy=aika[t]vē-
(tvam) [cha*] vidhāya śrī-Cha[m]dalēśvariya-vi[l]āsini[nām] vidyā-[viśa]-
- 5 cha(ya)-bhaktak-ādikaṁ(kam) aparam=api yat=kiṁchid=dēvasya kriyatē bhaṭṭāraka-puraḥ-
sara-vārigai(kai)s=Tripurushāṇām sa(sva)kiy-ādānēna [cha] kārayitavyas=Tri⁷purushāṇām
cha[turtha]⁸
6. sthāyī bhaṭṭārakēna varigai(kai)ś=cha sarvadā drasṭavyaḥ || tathā śrī-Chaṁdalēśvara-
pūjan-ārtham Tripurushāṇām satka-maṭha-patēḥ **Dēvanarṇḍita-grāmō** Nārāvāṭṭaka-
nāma(mā)
- 7 araghaṭṭas=tatra . . .⁹ pati-Śrīpāla-samanvita[h*] pradattaḥ || atra mēhari-Vimṇāḍā |¹⁰ Śīṭaḍi |
Prēmali | Ratani | Śriyādēvi | Āsa(śā)dēvi(vi) | sū(su)ravāla-Jasarā | pāṇavika-Śrīpālaḥ [dō]-
- 8 yaraka-Vaḍiyākāḥ | mārda[m*]gika-Mahi(hi)patiyākāḥ | vam(vām)śika[h*] Gōvimda-suta-Risi-
yākāḥ | **Bhirṇṭalavāḍā-grāmiya** araghaṭṭē Kumara-drōṇānām madhyād=ādī(dā)ya
mēharim¹¹ [drōṇāḥ] drō¹² paṁcha¹³ dātavyā[h*] ||
- 9 śrī-Jasō¹⁴dhavalēna Āhumalē sya(śa)ta[pa]tra-[bha]rā(rah) 1 stamakam¹⁵ 100 pradattam-
(ttam) || Samvat 1173 Kārtti[ka]-vadi [3] tri(tri)tiyāyām mahārājādhirāja-śrī-¹⁶
Āsa(śā)[rā]-
- 10 jēna ka lōliyā¹⁶ maṭhasya pradattāḥ || mahārājñi-śrī-Chaṁdaladēvyā śrī-
Chaṁdalēśvaramadhyē kārītā¹⁷ Gō(Gau)ryāḥ rājakulēna bharakam prati dāpita-patrā-

¹ From a photograph.² Read: *Vijalāyāḥ aparābhiḥ* or *Vijalāyā aparābhiḥ*.³ The name of the *mēhari* cannot be fully deciphered.The name is elsewhere spelt many times as *Namdānā*.⁴ The intended reading seems to have been *amukāyāḥ samam*.⁵ This letter may be a mistake for *mam* for *samam*. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.⁷ Read *kārayitavyam Tri*^o.⁸ *Chaturtha* seems to mean *chaturth-āṁśa*.⁹ The reading of the two damaged *aksharas* here may be *Śīla*.¹⁰ This *daṇḍa* and some others in this line and in the next are unnecessary.¹¹ Better read *mēhari-Śōbhikāyai*. Cf. lines 13-16.¹² Better read *paṁcha drō* 5 in which *drō* is a contraction of *drōṇāḥ*.¹³ Read *Yasō*^o.¹⁴ Read *stapakāni* or *stapaka-śatam=ēkaṇi*.¹⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.¹⁶ The objects granted, mentioned here, are difficult to determine. They may, however, have been localities.¹⁷ Read *Chāmdaladēvyā kārītē Chāmdalēśvara-maṭhe*.

STRAY PLATE FROM NANANA

[illegible]

(from a Photograph)

- 11 *pām śata[m*]* | *śatam=ēkam(kam)* || *gumḍakūrvāyātavaḍhātāmōttāmōvahanigata¹* | *Ṭuliyā-*
| *tṭhahalaharā-* | *Vālaharā-* | *Visala-* | *Vāsai-ādi(khyaiḥ)* *shaḍbhiḥ janaiḥ sarvadā varshaṁ*
prati dra[mmā]-
- 12 *pām śatam=ēkam* *dadadbhir=amkatō dra²* 100 *śatā(tam)* *tat-patra-gōdhūnā(mā)nām tri(tri)-*
tīya-bhāgam(gaḥ) *vānibhir³=dātukāmaiḥ karttavyaḥ* || *anyadā Samvat 1171 Pausa-*
vadi 10 daśa- ||⁴
- 13 *myām mahārājādhirāja-śrī-⁵Āsa(śā)rājēnā(na)* *ma(mē)hari-Śōbbikāyāḥ satka-griha-*
nirikshaṇāya gatēn=āsyāḥ Pimchchhavallī-grāmaḥ sva-sīmā-
- 14 *paryantō vijñāta-maryādaḥ pra[s]ādīkṛitō=⁶syāḥ* *vum(bhum)jayaṁtyāḥ ru(bhu)mjāpayam-*
tyāḥ⁷ kēn=āpi kshiti-kshitidhara-kālam yāvat paripamthanā na kā[ryā]* ||
- 15 *aparam=agrē mēhari-Śō(Śō)bbikāyāḥ diyamāna-Kumara-drōṇiya-gōdhūtā(mā)nām paṁcha*
drōṇāḥ yāvad=ēshām grāmam bhumjayati⁸ tāva[t]* *Tripurushai-*
- 16 *r=bhōktavyā[h*]* [**]* *atha kadā[chi*]d=vidhi-vaśād=grāmam=ēnam kō=pi na pālayati tadā*
bhūyō=pi yujyamāna-Kumara-drōṇāḥ maharīṇā⁹ bhē(bhō)ktavyā[h]* ||
- 17 *upari-śāsana-[ma]dhyē sarv-ādāya-sahitaḥ Sālayī-grāmō maṭhasy=āyattaḥ kṛitas=tan-*
madhyāt dvau bhāgō(gau) maṭhasya tṛitīy-āśās=Tripurushāṇām pradattō(ttah |) anayā
sthē(sthi)tyā
- 18 *bhaṭṭārakēṇa varttanīyam(yam)* || [*puna*][*r**]=*mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Ratana¹⁰pālēna* [*Nō*]-
riyā[kah]* *sa-kuṭumba[h*]* *pradataḥ(ttah)* | *śrī-Naḍūṭiya-mamḍapik[ā]yām śrī¹¹-Ā[hava]-*
- 19 *mallēna¹²māsam prati drō¹³* 6 *shaṭ yāvatayām¹⁴* | *amishām paripamthanā kv=āpi*
na kāryā || *Samvat 1192 Kārttika-vadi 5 Śanāv=ady=ēha śrī-Naḍū-*
- 20 *lō mahārājaputra-kumyara-¹⁵śrī-Sāhanapālādēvaḥ śāsanam prayachha(chchha)ti yathā |*
agrē Namdāṇā-grāmō vasamān-āsina-¹⁶ku-
- 21 *ṭummi(mbi)ka-Sōhiya-¹⁷Āsāichau sa-putra-pautr-ādikau yāvat jīvan tāvat śāsana-sthityām-*
(tyā) śrī-Tripuru[sha]dēvāya prada-*
- 22 *ttah(ttah) [**]* kēn=āpi na lōpanīyaḥ* || *śrī-Tripurushīya-rathaḥ śrī-Padmalēśvara-*
Sāhanapālēśvara-Sahajapālēśvar-ādi-dēvānām sādhyāḥ sarvadā ||

¹ The meaning of this passage is doubtful. Possibly it ends with a personal name. The following *daṇḍa* and others occurring later in the line are wrongly incised.

² This is an abbreviation of the word *dramma*.

³ The intended reading is *v=āmśbhi^o*.

⁴ These *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁶ Better read *bhōjayantyāḥ*.

⁷ Read *bhōjayati*.

⁸ Read *mēharyā*.

⁹ Read *Ratna^o*.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

¹¹ The word *gōdhūmānām* would suit the context; but the traces of the letters do not support this reading.

¹² This is an abbreviation of the word *drōṇāḥ*.

¹³ Read *dātavyāḥ*.

¹⁴ Read *kumāra*.

¹⁵ Better read *vasantau*.

23 **Saṁvāna**¹ 1205 **Bhādra-vadi 5 Śudrēḥ(krō)** || mahārāja-śrī²-**Āhaṇadēvēna** [pr]āk-
(prāṇ)-**Namdāṇā**-[gr]āmiya-kuṭum³ | Kikāu-Madanapāla- |⁴ **Mahaṇasīhai**⁵ ady=ai[va]
śrī-Tṛi(Tri)purushāṇām śāsanēna pra- |⁶

24 dattau(ttāḥ) | kēn=āpi ka[d]āchit na lōpanīyō(yāḥ) || tath=ā'nēna Sāleipatrā . . .⁷ **Simdā-**
sutāḥ [pra]data(ttāḥ) | tathā Gōsā-Lōbhau Sadēna [pra]dattau [|*] [kēn=āpi na lōpanīya]m=
iti || tha⁷||

¹ Read *Saṁvat*.

² *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

³ This is a contraction of *kuṭumbika* and the following *daṇḍa* is an indication of the abbreviation.

⁴ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ Better read *°sinhāḥ*.

⁶ The names of the persons cannot be definitely determined.

⁷ This letter is an indication of the completion of the document.

No. 46—FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 21.11.1958)

In the course of the excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the well-known Buddhist site of **Nagarjunikonda**, a monastic establishment with a four-winged monastery, a *Stūpa* and a *Chaitya-griha* was completely exposed in the year 1955-56 at the site marked V-6. The discovery was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology, 1955-56—A Review*, p. 24. In this connection, reference was made to the discovery of a stone slab, bearing the representation of the Buddha's feet and a small inscription engraved on it, near the entrance of the *Stūpa*.¹ According to the said notice, the inscription records that 'the sacred feet were of Buddha and were designed and consecrated by or for the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon in a *Vihāra* described as *Dharaṇa-vihāra* situated on the *Praveṇī*'.² It is further observed that the *Mahāvihāravāsins* are described as 'adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes which constitute the eighth *śāsana* (*abbhuta*) of the *navaṅga* promulgated by Buddha'. Unfortunately the statements regarding the contents of the epigraph are full of errors. They are apparently based on a defective transcript of the record. There is really no mention in the inscription of a Buddhist monastery called *Dharaṇa-vihāra*, no description of the *Mahāvihāravāsins* of the Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda school of Ceylon as experts in reading the marks on human bodies and preparing horoscopes and no reference to the eighth *śāsana* of the Buddha.

Similar footprint slabs, sometimes uninscribed and sometimes bearing inscriptions, have been discovered at various early Buddhist sites including those of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda. It is well known that, in early Buddhist art, the Buddha was generally represented by symbols and one of the most popular symbols was his feet.³ A Nagarjunikonda slab of this kind is called a *patipadā* (*pratipadā*) in the inscription it bears, while the expressions by which it is indicated in the Amaravati inscriptions are *paduka* (or *pātuka*)-*paṭa* (*pādukā-paṭa*) and *patuka* (*pādulā*).⁴ The Nagarjunikonda slab under study bears the representation of the two soles of two feet placed side by side with that of the Bodhi tree in railing, flanked by two human figures, on one side. The most prominent symbol engraved on each of the soles is the *chakra*. Behind this are an *aṅkuśa*, a *Nāga* symbol, a *triratna* on *chakra* and a pair of fish with a *śaṅkha* nearby, while in front of it are two *Nāga* symbols, a *svastika*, a *śrīvatsa* and a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* with a *śaṅkha* near it. The five toes in front of the above bear respectively a *stambha*, an *aṅkuśa*, another indeterminable symbol, a pair of fish and a *triratna* on *chakra*.⁵ The inscription under study is engraved in a rectangular space touching the toes of the feet.

¹ See op. cit., Plate XXXIX, C.

² Macron over *e* and *o* to indicate the length of the vowels has not been used in this article.

³ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31.

⁴ See above, Vol. XX, p. 37.

⁵ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 510 ff., 520 ff.; Burgess, *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvātī*, pp. 97 ff. and Plates XLIII, 14; LII, 6 and 8; LIII, 1; *MAI*, No. 54, Plate XIXa; Marshall, *Sāñchī*, Plates LXXXVIII, 22b, 75b; LXXXVII, 69a; LXXXII, 42b; Allan, *Catalogue of Coins (Ancient India)*, pp. c, ci, cl, 131, 158-69, 273, etc.

There are only three lines of writing covering an area about 13½ inches in length and about 2 inches in height. The first line is slightly bigger than the second owing to the incision of the auspicious word *sidham* in the left margin, while the third line is smaller than the second. The letters, excepting conjuncts as well as *ā*, *k* and *r* and the letters with vowel-marks added to the top or the bottom, are less than half an inch in height. The **characters** are similar to those of the epigraphs incised during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the **middle of the third century A.D.** Among the few points of palaeographical interest noticed in the record, mention may be made of the fact that the medial *i* is of the ordinary short type and not of the elongated ornamental form generally found in the Ikshvāku records. This was apparently due to the narrow space available for engraving the epigraph. In the passage *Tambapāṇi-dīpa-pasādakanam* in line 1, the second *n* is of the usual type but the first one exhibits a somewhat earlier form. The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit and its **orthography** resembles that of the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta's time. The modification of the surd to the sonant is noticed in the word *saṃghāḍā* or *saṃghāḍa* (*saṃghāṭā* or *saṃghāṭa*) in line 3. Medial *i* and *n* have been generally used in the record for medial *ī* and *ṇ*.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *sidham* which is followed by the only sentence in which the record is written. The **object** of the epigraph is to record the installation of the pair of the Lord's (i.e. Buddha's) feet in the *Vihāra* or Buddhist monastery which has now been exposed by the excavations at Site V-6 at Nagarjunikonda. The language of the passage is *vihāre bhagavāto pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatiṭhapito* (line 3). The intended reading apparently being *pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatiṭhapitā* or *pāda-saṃghāḍo nipatiṭhapito*. The expression used to indicate the feet of the lord is *pāda-saṃghāḍā* or *pāda-saṃghāḍa* which reminds us of Pali *aṭṭhi-saṃghāṭa*, used in the sense of 'the joint (i.e. bone-coupling)' according to scholars.¹ The word is the same as Sanskrit *saṃghāṭikā*, meaning 'a pair, a couple'. Thus *pāda-saṃghāṭa* means 'the pair of feet' obviously referring to the representation of the feet near which the epigraph is incised. The participle *nipatiṭhapita* has been used in the sense of *patiṭhapita* (*pratiṭhāpita*, installed). The purpose behind the installation of the Lord's feet in the monastery is stated to have been the prayer (*athanā*, *arthanā*) for the welfare and happiness of all beings (*sava-satānam hita-sukh-athanāya*). But the person responsible for the installation is not mentioned in the record.

The *Vihāra* or monastery in which the Lord's feet were installed is stated to have belonged to certain *Āchāriyas* or Buddhist teachers who are endowed with a number of interesting epithets. These epithets are *Therīya*, *Vibhaja-vāda*, *Kasmira-Gaṃdhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tambapāṇidīpa-pasādaka*, *Mahāvihāravāsin*, *Navamga-Sathu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visarada* and *Ariya-raṃsa-paveni-dhara*. Among these epithets, the third stating that the said teachers converted to the Buddhist faith² the peoples of Kāsmīra, Gaṃdhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmrāparṇī-dvīpa is most interesting since it reminds us of the passage . . . *tarāj-āchāriyānam*³ *Kasmira-Gaṃdhāra-Chīna-Chilāta-Tosali-Avarānta-Vaṃga-Vanavāsi-Yavana-Damila-Palura-Tāmrāparṇī-dvīpa-pasādakānam Theriyānam Tambapāṇnakānam suparigahe Siripavate Vijayapuriya puva-disābhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriya Chetiya-gharam sa-paṭa-saṃtharam sa-chetiyaṃ sava-niyutam kārītam uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya* occurring in another inscription⁴ from Nagarjunikonda. The passage states how an *upāsikā* (female lay worshipper of the Buddha) named Bodhisiri was responsible

¹ See Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *saṃghāṭo*. The intended reading does not appear to be *saṃghāḍāni*.

² The word *pasādaka* means literally 'causing serenity or happiness' and figuratively 'converting to the Buddhist faith'. The *Mahāraṃsa* uses the expression *dīpa-ppasādako thero* to indicate 'the monk who converted the Island (Ceylon)'. See Childers, op. cit., s.v.

³ Vogel suggests the restoration *bhadanta-rāj-āchāriyānam* here. But the intended reading appears to be *Achāntarāj-āchāriyānam* occurring in a similar context, in another Nagarjunikonda inscription (*Nagarjunikonda Souvenir*, ed. Rama Rao, pp. 44-45) and probably meaning 'the teachers of the Achāntarāja school'.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 22.

for the construction of a *Chaitya-griha* in the monastery on the Little Dharmagiri in the Sripārvata range to the east of the city of Vijayapurī for the acceptance of certain Āchāryas or Buddhist teachers who are stated *inter alia* to have belonged to the Tāmraparṇa or Tāmraparṇī country, i.e. Ceylon (*Tambapannaka*), and converted to the Buddhist faith the peoples of Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Chīna, Kirāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila, Palura and Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa. Although the list of countries in the present epigraph contain only five out of the twelve names of the other inscription probably due to the shortage of space, the teachers mentioned in the two records may be the same. In that case, the Buddhist teachers referred to in our inscription were of Ceylonese origin.

The epithet *theriyānam* applied to *āchariyānam* in both the inscriptions is interesting. The word *theriyā* in the masculine plural used in the *Mahāvamsa* has been taken to mean 'the fraternities of the *Theravādins*'.¹ Vogel, who edited the other Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above, derived the word *theriya* from *thera*, 'a monk, an elder'. According to him, *theriya* is primarily an adjective meaning 'belonging to the *theras* or monks' from which comes the substantive sense of 'a fraternity or community [of monks]',² while N. Dutt commenting on Vogel's views was inclined to interpret the word *theriyānam* as 'of the nuns' and took all the epithets in the feminine gender.³ But the epithet *Mahāvihāra-vāsīnam* (of those dwelling in the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery) used in our record is in the masculine and shows that Dutt's interpretation is wrong. This Mahāvihāra seems to be identical with the Buddhist monastery of that name mentioned in several other Nagarjunikonda inscriptions⁴ referring to 'the Mahāchaitya in the Mahāvihāra' and indicating the location of the monastery in the Nagarjunikonda valley. As it is difficult to believe that the Great Monastery at the Ikshvāku capital accommodated nuns, this fact also appears to go against Dutt's suggestion.

The epithet *Vibhaja-vāda* (*Vibhajja-vāda*) indicates that the teachers in question belonged to the Vibhajja-vāda school. Vibhajja-vāda is the doctrine of analysis or the religion of logic or reason and is identical with the Theravāda or doctrine of the Elders, which was the original teaching of the Buddhist Church.⁵ Thus our inscription mentions the teachers both as *Theriya* (i.e. *Thera-vādin*) and as *Vibhaja-vāda* (i.e. *Vibhajja-vādin*).

The remaining two epithets refer to the learning of the Buddhist teachers. One of them says that they were experts in determining the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstri, i.e. the Buddha (*navamga-Sathu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visarada=nav-āṅga-Śāstri-śāsan-ārtha-vyañjana-viniśchaya-viśārada*). Pali *Satthu-sāsana* (Sanskrit *Śāstri-śāsana*) is often used in literature to indicate *Buddha-śāsana*, i.e. the doctrine or teachings of the Buddha, one of the Lord's popular names being *Satthā* (Sanskrit *Śāstri*). The nine divisions of the Buddhist scripture are *Sutta* (sermons in prose), *Geyya* (sermons in prose and verse), *Veyyākaraṇa* (explanation or commentary), *Gāthā* (scriptures in stanzas), *Udāna* (pithy sayings), *Itivuttaka* (short speeches of the Buddha), *Jātaka* (stories of the Buddha's former births), *Abbhuta-dhamma* (stories of miracles)

¹ Cf. Childers, op. cit., s.v.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 23, 29. He took the *Āchariyas* as different from 'the fraternities [of monks] of Tambapanna (Ceylon)'.

³ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. VII, pp. 633 ff.

⁴ Cf. Above, Vol. XX, p. 19 (Āyaka pillar inscription B5, line 5), p. 22 (second apsidal temple inscription F, line 3); Vol. XXI, p. 66 (pillar inscription M 2, line 3). It is doubtful if the Mahāvihāra-vāsins mentioned in our record can be regarded as a subset of the Theravādin-Vibhajjavādin community (cf. *MAI*, No. 71, p. 36).

⁵ See P.T.S. *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v.

and *Vedalla* (teachings in the form of questions and answers). The other epithet says that the teachers knew the traditions of the different classes of Buddhist recluses by heart (*ariya-vamsa-paveni-dhara*=*ārya-vamśa-praveṇi-dhara*). The expression *paveni-dhara* may be compared with *dhamma-dhara*, *vinaya-dhara*, *mātikā-dhara*, etc., of the Pali literature¹ as well as *vinaya-dhara* and *mahā-vinaya-dhara* of the Amaravati inscriptions² and *Digha-Majjhima-nikāya-dhara* in a Nagarjunikonda inscription.³ According to Buddhist scripture, there are four classes of recluses (*ariya-vamsa*, literally 'noble family'), viz. those who are contented with the robes presented to them, those who are contented with the food presented to them, those who are contented with the bedding presented to them, and those who delight in meditation.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Kaśmīra is still known by its ancient name. Gandhāra (the Rawalpindi-Peshawar region), Vanavāsa (the district round Banavāsi in the North Kanara District) and Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa or the Isle of Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon) are well-known. By Yavana, possibly the old Greek settlement in the Kabul valley was meant.⁴

TEXT⁵

- 1 Sidham [|*] āchariyanam Theriyānam Vibhaja-vādānam **Kasmira-Gandhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tāmbaparnnidipa-pasādakanam**
- 2 Mahāvihāra-vāsinam nava[m]ga-Sathu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visaradanam ariya-va[m]sa-paveni-dharanam
- 3 vihāre Bhagavato pāda-saṃghāḍā nipatiṭhapito⁶ sava-satānam hita-sukh-athanāya ti |⁷

TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! The pair of feet of the Lord (i.e. the Buddha) has been installed, with the prayer for the welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriyas (i.e. Thera-vādins) (*and*) Vibhajja-vādas (i.e. Vibhajja-vādins) ; who caused delight to (i.e. converted to the Buddhist doctrine) (*the people of*) **Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa** and **Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa** ; who are the residents of the Great Monastery ; who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstrī (i.e. the Buddha) ; (*and*) who know the traditions of the (*four*) classes of (*Buddhist*) recluses by heart.

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, s.v.

² Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 37, No. 8 ; p. 102, No. 25.

³ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 17, 29.

⁴ See *Successors of the Sāvāhanas*, p. 31.

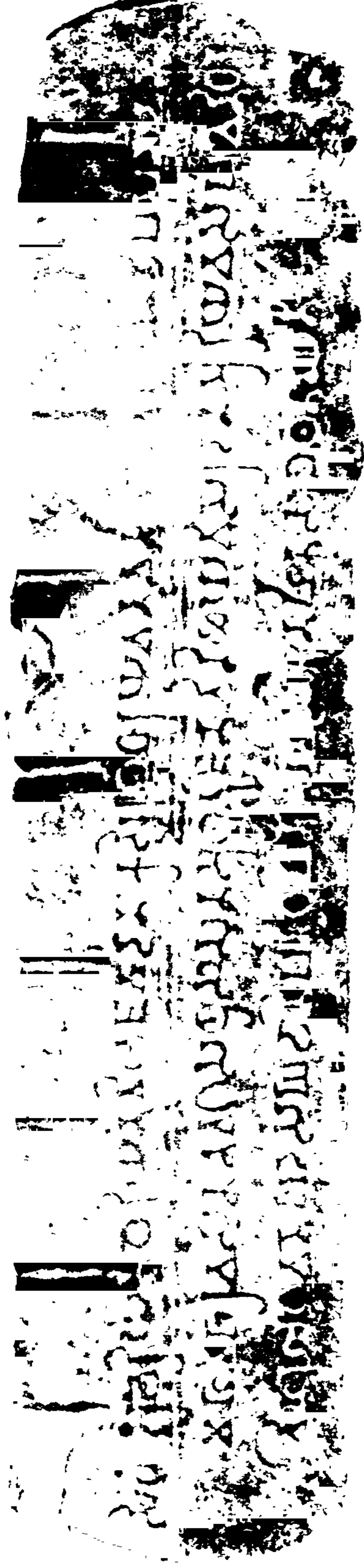
⁵ From impressions.

⁶ The intended reading is either *saṃghāḍā nipatiṭhapitā* or *saṃghāḍo nipatiṭhapito*.

⁷ The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal line.

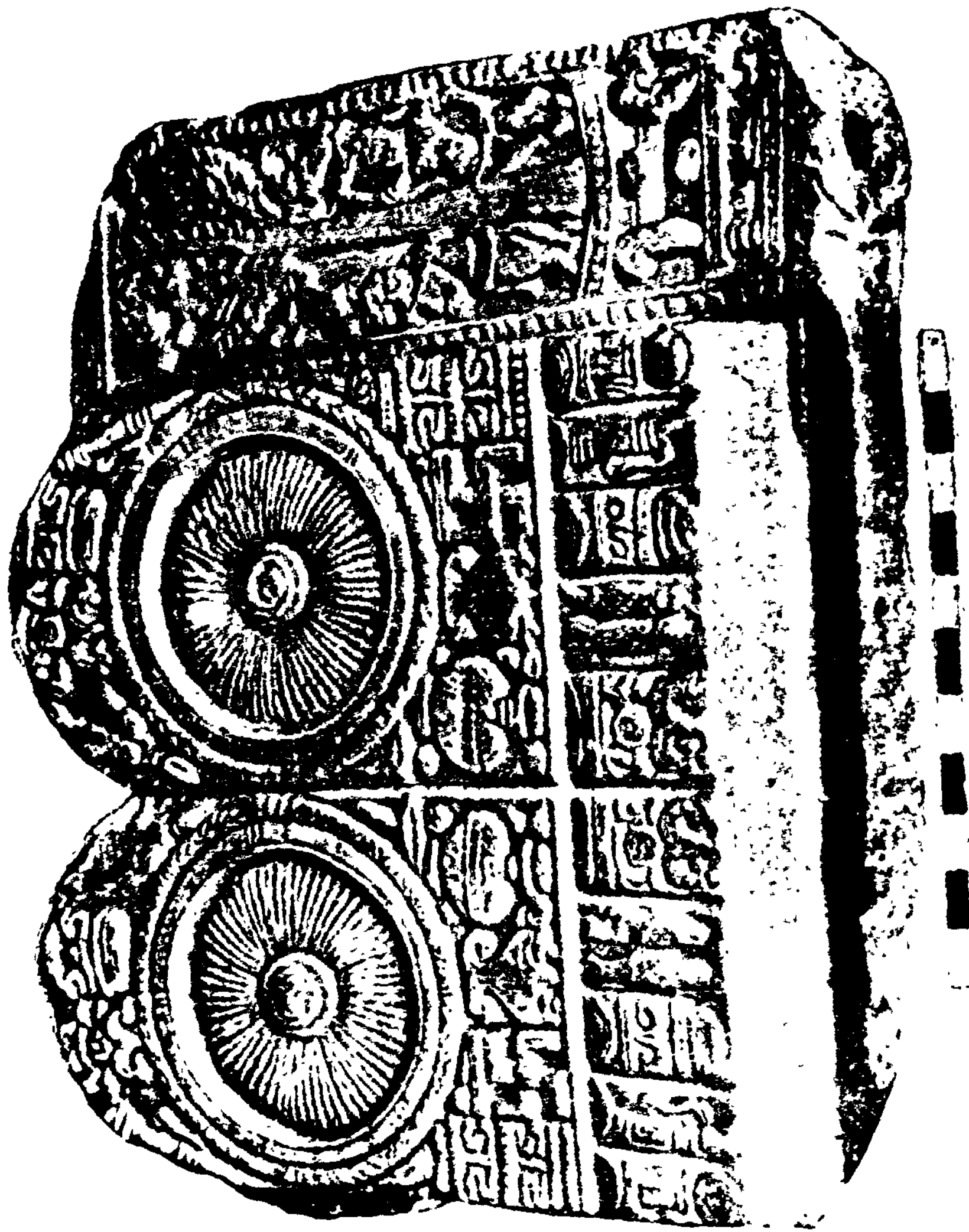
FOOTPRINT SLAB INSCRIPTION FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA

A



Scale : Two-thirds

B



(from a Photograph)

NO. 47—NOTES ON SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION

No. 1

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 22.11.1957)

Drs. M. G. Dikshit and D. C. Sircar have edited the Sēnakapāt inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff. This inscription records the construction of a Śiva temple and some grants of land in favour of the god installed therein and some Śaiva ascetics connected therewith, by Durgarakshita, son of Dēvarakshita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī king Nannarāja, the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. In the course of the description of Dēvarakshita there occurs a stanza (verse 7) which the editors have read as follows :—

*Yō Vindhya-dkūrdhri(r-ddha)ratvaṁ Vara[dā]-taṭa-parihatā(ta)m cha samprāpya |
samprāptavān-iha Yaśōbhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātim(tim) ||*

The editors have taken this verse to mean that Dēvarakshita obtained (apparently from king Nannarāja) the governorship of the Vindhyan territory (*Vindhya-dhūr-dharatva*) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (*Varadā-taṭa-parihata*) and that he became well-known as *Yaśōbhāṇḍāgāra* (literally, 'a store-house of fame').¹

The editors' reading and interpretation of this verse are open to several objections. I have in my possession two excellent impressions of this record which Dr. M. G. Dikshit placed at my disposal when he consulted me about the reading and interpretation of this verse. On referring to them I find that the reading *Varadā-taṭa-parihatām(tam)* adopted by the editors is very doubtful. *Varadā* is indeed fairly clear, but the next two *aksharas* are indistinct, the second being mutilated in the crack which has divided the stone into two parts. Still, in view of the mention of the *Varadā*, it is not unlikely that the following two *aksharas* were intended to be *taṭa* (or rather, *kaṭa*).² The next four *aksharas*, however, are certainly not *parihatām*. The first has a clear curve at the top of its vertical and must be read as *pha*. The second *akshara* can hardly be read as *ri*. It is clearly *li*; see the form of *la* in °*ōtpalad*° in line 1. The reading is, therefore, *Varadā-taṭa* (or, rather *kaṭa*)-*phalihatām*. This, however, does not yield a good sense. The writer or the engraver has evidently committed some mistake here as in some other places in this record. Perhaps, the intended reading is *Varadā-taṭa-phaṇihatām cha samprāpya*. Dikshit and Sircar, who read *Varadā-taṭa-parihatām*, had to change it into *Varadā-taṭa-parihatam* to make it qualify *Vindhya-dhūr-dharatvam*. But the use of *cha* after this word clearly shows that Dēvarakshita had not one, but two attainments, which made him well-known as *Yaśōbhāṇḍāgāra* (a store-house of fame).³ Besides, mere appointment to the Vindhya region, even though it may have extended to the banks of the *Varadā*, would not make a man 'a store-house of fame'.³ I think, therefore, that the intended reading of this verse is as follows :—

*Yō Vindhya-durdharatvaṁ Varadā-taṭa-phaṇihatām cha samprāpya |
samprāptavān-iha Yaśōbhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātim ||*

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 32.

² Cf. *Bēnnākaṭa* mentioned in the Tiroḍi plates (above, Vol. XXII, p. 172).

³ [See below, p. 255.—Ed.]

‘ Having become irresistible like the Vindhya mountain and having exterminated a Nāga [king] (*Phaṇin*) of Varadātata, [Dēvarakshita] became well-known as a store-house of fame ’.¹

From the mention of the river Varadā in the description of Dēvarakshita, who was a minister of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī king Nannarāja, the editors have conjectured that Nannarāja’s dominions included the area about the Chanda District. They further say that this inference is supported by the inscription from Bhāṇḍak situated on the bank of the Wardhā in the Chanda District, which describes Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Sūrya-ghōsha, an ancient king of that area.² This conjecture also is equally baseless. There is not an iota of evidence to show that the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī kings were ever ruling over the Chanda District, or, for the matter of that, over any part of Vidarbha. The inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin did not originally belong to Bhāṇḍak. Cunningham, who had noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum, conjectured that it must have come from Bhāṇḍak, because he was told at Bhāṇḍak that ‘ an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nagpur during the time of the Rājā about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Saheb.’³ As the inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin records the restoration of a Buddhist temple and as there are extensive Buddhist remains at Bhāṇḍak, Cunningham conjectured that the inscription must have been brought from that place. The Nagpur Museum has no accurate information about the provenance of several stone records which were brought there from time to time from various places in the former Central Provinces and Berar. There was evidently no mention of Bhāṇḍak as the provenance of the inscription in the records of the Museum ; for Kielhorn, who has edited it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, was informed that it had been brought there from Ratanpur.⁴ I discussed this question in detail in my article on the Mallār plates of Śivagupta and showed that the inscription must have been found somewhere in Chhattisgarh.⁵ My conjecture later received confirmation from a statement of Vinayakarao Aurangabadkar, who was deputed by Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, to search for and report on the inscriptions in Chhattisgarh. In my article on the Sōmavarṁśī kings of Southern Kosala published in this journal several years ago, I drew attention to the statements in Aurangabadkar’s report,⁶ an extract of which had been supplied to me by my friend Dr. Y. K. Deshpande who found it deposited in the India Office Library, London. As I pointed out at the time, Aurangabadkar states that ‘ the slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity’. Dikshit and Sircar are not inclined to believe the testimony of Aurangabadkar. They say, ‘ Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśīs existed at Āraṅg, its identification with the Bhāṇḍak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāṇḍak as the provenance of the record’. As this matter is of considerable importance for the history of the Pāṇḍuvarṁśī dynasty, I propose to examine this criticism in some detail.

At the instance of Jenkins, Aurangabadkar visited several places in Chhattisgarh and submitted a report in Mōḍī characters which is still preserved in the India Office Library (MSS., Marathi D,

¹ Besides, the next stanza (verse 8) states that Dēvarakshita obtained from king Nannarāja a number of *vishayas* or districts. Verse 7 is, therefore, probably devoted to the description of his exploits.

² Above, Vol. XXXI, p 34.

³ *ASI*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1905, p. 618.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227 note 2.

46).¹ About the inscription in question he says, 'I give below a copy of the Sanskrit writing on a slab attached to a great temple at Āraṅg (i.e., Āraṅg)'. [Here follows a transcript of the inscription.] 'The inscription states that there was a king named Sūryaghōsha.... One of his relatives died by a fall from an upper storey. As a result of grief consequent on this, he became indifferent to worldly matters and built a large structure for a sage. Thereafter flourished Udayana, who was said to have belonged to the Pāṇḍava family..... His fourth son Bhavadēva was, like him, meritorious, brave and righteous. He built a Jaina temple. He belonged to the Jaina faith.'²

The relevant extracts from Aurangabadkar's report given above leave no doubt that the record whose contents he summarised therein was identical with the inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin.³ This record is incised in acute-angled characters. It is creditable to Aurangabadkar that he could grasp the contents of it fairly correctly, though from the mention of Jina in verses 1 and 37 he was misled into supposing that it was a Jaina record.

The foregoing account of Aurangabadkar's report would show that the doubts about the importance of his testimony are wholly unjustified and that there was no "speculation" on my part when I stated, on the authority of his report, that Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's epigraph originally came from Āraṅg. Aurangabadkar was an employee of Richard Jenkins who was Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. He, therefore, saw the inscription in question *in situ* at Āraṅg more than fifty years before Cunningham noticed it deposited in the Nagpur Museum.⁴ Aurangabadkar's statement is thus much more reliable than Cunningham's conjecture. In fact it clinches the issue and proves incontrovertibly that the record came from Āraṅg. As for Stevenson's evidence, it comes to nothing. He merely states that the inscription was found at Nagpur.⁵ He does not connect it with Bhāndak or any other place.

Apart from the testimony of Aurangabadkar, there are other reasons why the record could not have belonged to Bhāndak. Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, who restored the dilapidated temple of the Buddha, was a cousin of the great-grandfather of Śivagupta Bālārjuna,⁶ who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, cannot be referred to a period later than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Sūryaghōsha, who originally built the temple of

¹ Through the good offices of Dr. H. N. Randle, who was then in charge of the India Office Library, I obtained several years ago photostat copies of some portion of this report relating to some inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. See *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 501, note 1. Jenkins sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a report about these inscriptions which was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV.

² See the actual words of Aurangabadkar :

‘या आरिग्याचे महादेवालयचे दगडावर संस्कृत अक्षर लिहिले त्याची नक्कल.....सूर्यघोष नामे राजा पृथ्वीपति.....त्याचा कोन्ही एक आप्त माडीवरून पडून मेला.त्याचे शोकास्तव बंराग्य आंगीं आनून ऋषीच स्थान मोठ बांधल.याचे वंशीचा राजा उदयेन नामक.याजला पांडववंशीचा म्हणत होते..... याचा चवथा पुत्र भवदेव नामक.हाही त्यासारखा गुणवान, प्रतापवान सदाचारसंपन्न.....या राजान जेनाच मंदिर बांधलें.हा जैनधर्मी होता.....’

³ [See below, p. 256.—Ed.]

⁴ Cunningham noticed the inscription in the Nagpur Museum sometime before 1873. See his *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

⁵ See *JBRAS*, Vol. I, 1841-44, pp. 148-49. Owing to a wrong reading of verse 5 of this inscription Stevenson supposed that Sūryaghōsha, who built the temple of the Buddha, was ruling over Orissa. See *JRAS*, 1905, p. 617, note 1.

⁶ See the genealogical table in my 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahākōśala' (*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f.).

the Buddha, is said to have flourished long before Udayana,¹ the grandfather of Bhavadēva. He cannot therefore be later than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. In this period, the Chanda District and the surrounding territory were included in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas. Several inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka king Paravarasena II, who flourished in this period, have been found in this region. No king named Sūryaghōṣha could have ruled over this territory in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.² There was, however, another king of this name ruling in Chhattisgarh in this period, viz., Śūra, whose descendant Bhīmasēna II's copper plate inscription dated in G. 182 (501-02 A.D.) was discovered at Āraṅg itself.³ Śūra (often written as Śūra) and Sūrya are synonyms in Sanskrit, both meaning 'the sun'.⁴ This also proves the correctness of Aurangabadkar's statement that the inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin was originally at Āraṅg.

The question still remains: What was that record which, as Cunningham's informants told him, was removed from Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur? In the absence of reliable information on the point, I previously⁴ conjectured that it may have been the Nagpur Museum *prasasti* of the rulers of Mālwa. Here also Aurangabadkar comes to our aid. He has given elsewhere a transcript of the so-called Sītābalḍī inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI, edited by Kielhorn in this journal, Vol. III, pp. 301 f. Cunningham found this record at Sītābalḍī, a suburb of Nāgpur; but it did not evidently belong to that place originally; for Sītābalḍī or Nāgpur was not in existence in the time of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty. About four years ago, Dr. Deshpande showed me the transcript of an inscription which Aurangabadkar had found near the old caves at Bhāṇḍak and asked me if it had been published anywhere. I at once identified it with the aforementioned inscription of Vikramāditya VI. This is, therefore, the inscription which, as Cunningham was told at Bhāṇḍak, had been removed by Major Wilkison from the Wijason Caves of Bhāṇḍak to Nagpur.⁵

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that Bhavadēva Raṇakēsarin's epigraph originally belonged to Āraṅg. Dēvarakshita, the minister of Nannarāja, may have raided the country up to the bank of the Wārdhā, but that does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvamśis were ruling over the region round Chāṇḍā.⁶

¹ Cf. *Gachchhati bhūyasi kālē bhūmipatiḥ*.....*Udayana-nāmā samutpannaḥ* in Bhavadēva's inscription, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 626.

² [See below, p. 256.—Ed.]

³ This has already been pointed out in my aforementioned article on the three ancient dynasties of Mahākōśala.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 117.

No. 2

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.2.1958)

Prof. V. V. Mirashi has offered above, pp. 251 ff., his views on the reading and interpretation of verse 7 of the Sēnakapāt inscription with reference to his theories that no portion of the Marāṭhī-speaking area formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvamśis of Kōsala and that the Bhāṇḍak inscription was brought to the Nagpur Museum not from Bhāṇḍak in the Chanda District but from Āraṅg in the Raipur District. We do not think that he has succeeded in proving the point to the satisfaction of scholars.

He suggests the reading *Vindhya-dhūrdhri(dur-ddha)ratvaṁ* and *Varadā-taṭa(or kaṭa)-Phaṇi-hatām* in the stanza which was read by us as follows :—

Yō Vindhya-dhūrdhri(rddha)ratvaṁ Varadā-taṭa-parihatām(tum) cha samprāpya |

samprāptavān iha Yaśōbhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm(tim) ||

Both his readings and emendations appear to us doubtful and unacceptable. But his arguments in favour of the suggestions are more dubious. He thinks that Dēvarakṣita, whose exploits are described in the stanza, performed two feats according to its first half as indicated by the word *cha* therein, viz., irresistibility like the Vindhyas and the extermination of the Phaṇin or Nāga king of the Varadā valley, and that the said two achievements led to his celebrity as *Yaśōbhāṇḍāgāra*, 'the store-house of fame'. Not only are Prof. Mirashi's reading, emendation and interpretation of *Vindhya-durddharatvaṁ* and *Varadā-taṭa-Phaṇi-hatām* farfetched and unsatisfactory, his objections against our interpretation of the stanza appear to be based on misunderstanding. We understood the stanza as follows : *Yah Varadā-taṭa-parihatām Vindhya-dhūr-dharatvaṁ samprāpya, iha Yaśōbhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyātīm cha samprāptavān* in which *cha* does not offer any difficulty at all. There is also no difficulty if his achievement recorded in the first half of the verse is regarded as the cause of Dēvarakṣita's celebrity as 'the store-house of fame', since the implication is that he conquered the Vindhyan region as far as the banks of the Varadā on behalf of his master who made him the governor of that newly annexed territory and conferred on him the title of *Yaśōbhāṇḍāgāra*. We do not find any difficulty if, according to verse 8 of the record, Dēvarakṣita received from his master a few other *vishayas* either for governing or as fiefs, although the *vishayas* referred to in these stanzas may have been actually comprised in the Vindhyan tract mentioned in verse 7. In any case, even according to Prof. Mirashi's suggestion, Dēvarakṣita, a general of the Pāṇḍuvamśi king Nanda, became famous after having killed a Nāga king of the Varadā valley. He, therefore, admits Pāṇḍuvamśi association with the valley of the Varadā. But in his opinion, Dēvarakṣita merely raided the country upto the banks of the Varadā and this fact does not prove that the Pāṇḍuvamśis were ruling over the region around Chāṇḍā. That the reference is only to a raid and not to the occupation of the Varadā valley by the Pāṇḍuvamśi general is, however, purely a matter of opinion. Even if, therefore, Prof. Mirashi's doubtful reading, emendation and interpretation of verse 7 of the Sēnakapāt inscription are accepted, they do not prove that the Varadā valley lay outside the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvamśis.

In this connection, Prof. Mirashi has offered a number of suggestions such as that the Vākāṭakas were in occupation of the Chāṇḍā region in the beginning of the fifth century, that Sūryaghōṣha

mentioned in the Bhāṇḍak inscription ruled in that very period, that this Sūryaghōṣha has to be identified with Śūra, the ancestor of Bhīmasēna II of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription, and that the said inscription of Bhīmasēna is dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A.D.). All these suggestions are mere speculations and are, therefore, absolutely unwarranted. There is no clear evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chāṇḍā region in the beginning of the fifth century. If one suggests that the Vākāṭakas conquered the area from Sūryaghōṣha, it would be at least as good a conjecture as any of Prof. Mirashi's. The exact period when Sūryaghōṣha of the Bhāṇḍak inscription flourished is impossible to determine with the evidence at our disposal. The identification of Sūryaghōṣha with Śūra is no better than fantastic. The date of the Āraṅg inscription of Bhīmasēna II is very clearly and certainly the Gupta year 282 (601-02 A.D.).

The main object of Prof. Mirashi's note is to reiterate his contention that the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, now in the Nagpur Museum, was really brought to the Museum from Āraṅg and not from Bhāṇḍak, a theory associated with another conjecture that no Marāṭhī-speaking territory formed a part of the dominions of the Pāṇḍu-varṣas.¹ This he has tried to prove on the basis of the evidence of Aurangabadkar who is supposed to have noticed the same inscription in a temple at Āraṅg. It has, however, been forgotten that, in the Mahāmāyī temple at Āraṅg, there is an inscription of the same Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, which has been noticed in Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 110, No. 183. This Āraṅg inscription is damaged and has not been fully deciphered. But it is interesting to note that the name of Raṇakēśarin occurs in line 13 of both the Bhāṇḍak inscription in the Nagpur Museum and the Āraṅg Mahāmāyī temple inscription. This shows that the two inscriptions had similar, if not exactly the same, contents. Aurangabadkar, therefore, must have noticed this inscription at Āraṅg. It appears that the old king named Sūryaghōṣha built one temple at Bhāṇḍak and another at Āraṅg and that both of them were repaired by Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin. Bhavadēva's interest in the temples built by Sūryaghōṣha can be easily explained if the latter was an ancestor of the former's mother.

Prof. Mirashi is eager to show, in support of his theories, that some other inscription brought to the Nagpur Museum by Wilkinson was confused by Cunningham with Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's record. Formerly he suggested that it was the Nagpur Museum *prasasti* of the Paramāras that was brought from Bhāṇḍak. But now he says that this suggestion was offered in the absence of reliable information. Now, on the authority of Aurangabadkar, he suggests that it was the Sītābalḍī inscription of Vikramāditya VI, and not the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin, that was brought from Bhāṇḍak to the Nagpur Museum. But this is as clearly unwarranted as the older suggestion. According to local information available to Cunningham at Bhāṇḍak, which Prof. Mirashi has himself quoted, the inscribed stone taken away by Wilkinson was a long red slab.² This description suits the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Raṇakēśarin in the Nagpur Museum very well and not the Sītābalḍī inscription of Vikramāditya VI even in the least. Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's Bhāṇḍak inscription measures four feet and ten inches in length and one foot and eleven inches in height, although the number of missing syllables at the end of the lines show beyond doubt that the original length of the slab was not less than six feet and a half.³ On the other hand, the Sītābalḍī inscription of Vikramāditya VI is engraved on an elaborately sculptured pillar and the writing covers an area about two feet in length and eleven inches in height.⁴ It is impossible to believe that the villagers of Bhāṇḍak could have referred to this pillar inscription as an epigraph on a long red slab of stone.

It is difficult to believe that Sītābalḍī did not exist before Vikramāditya VI. Even if Vikramāditya's epigraph was brought there from Bhāṇḍak, Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin's inscription could also have been brought to the Nagpur Museum from the same place.

No. 48—INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBLI

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 10.9.1958)

The subjoined inscription¹ was copied by me on the 24th December 1946 at **Hombli**, a village in the Hangal Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The village is situated at a distance of about 10 miles to the north east of Hangal, the headquarters of the Taluk. The inscribed slab is lying in a field called Kālī Hakkala (Survey No. 19).

The inscription is written in **two sections**, called here A and B, which are engraved side by side on the same slab and occupy a rectangular space measuring 2'10" by 11'5" with a small gap of 2'5" between them. Section A is enclosed by three straight lines, only the left side having no such line, while section B is enclosed by such lines on all the four sides. The writing of A covers an area about 1'4.5" by 10" while that of B about 1'2" by 10". There are only 5 lines of writing in either of the sections, so that the whole inscription is written in 10 lines. A piece of stone has been chipped off from Section B resulting in the loss of a few letters in lines 6-8. But the preservation of the writing on A is quite satisfactory.

As will be seen below, both the sections of the inscription record the death of a hero in a fight and as such the slab may be called a herostone (*vīragal*). But it does not contain any sculptures depicting a fighting scene and the death of the hero, which are usually found on such inscribed slabs.

The **characters** of the record are Kannaḍa-Telugu of the 8th century A. D. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Initial *a* occurs in lines 1, 7 and 8. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* which are found in lines 3 and 5 respectively. Final *l* is met with in lines 3 and 8 and final *n* in lines 5 and 10. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the reduplication of a consonant following *r* is found only in some cases.

The **language** of the inscription is Kannaḍa and the text is written in prose. The dative suffix *akke* in lines 5 and 10, the conjunctive suffix *um* in lines 2 and 9, and the verbal form *eridu* in lines 4 and 5 and *ēridan* in lines 5 and 10 are some of the early features of the Kannaḍa language.

Section A records the death of Bādugiltigāmuṇḍa of (i.e. son or servant of) Kargāmuṇḍa after having pierced and won [the fight] against Mādamma of Nareyaṅgal when **Mārakke-arasa** was governing **Banavāsi Twelve thousand**. The object of section B is to record the death of Animēṇṭi,² son of [Pri]yamēṇṭi of Kargāmuṇḍa in a fight which is apparently the same as referred to in Section A.

The record is **not dated** nor is the reigning king to whom it should be referred mentioned. But the mention of Mārakke-arasa as the governor of Banavāsi 12,000 throws some light on the question. Now a record³ from Naregal, about 2½ miles from Hombli, refers itself to the reign of a king named Dōra and mentions a certain Mārakka-arasa as governing the Banavāsi 12,000 province, evidently as a feudatory of the king.³ This Dōra has been identified with the Rāshṭra-kūṭa king Dhruva who was the son of Kṛishṇa I and ruled from 780-94 A.D.⁴ The characters of this Naregal inscription are exactly similar to those of our record. And the object of that inscription is also to record the death of a person named Dommarakāḍava[m] on the occasion of a cattle-raid.

¹ It is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47. App. B, Nos. 221 and 222.

² The expression *mēṇṭi* in Kannaḍa means 'chief or headman'. But it appears to have been affixed to the proper name here. In the case of his father Priyamēṇṭi, it may be taken as a proper name or to mean 'a dear or beloved chief' and, in the latter case, he might be identified with Bādugilti-gāmuṇḍa of Section A.

³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 161-63.

⁴ Ibid., p. 163. Fleet's statement that he was the successor of Kṛishṇa I has to be modified in as much as Gōvinda II, elder brother of Dhruva, also ruled for a few years (775-780 A. D.).

There can be no doubt that Mārakke-arasa of our record is identical with the Mārakka-arasa¹ of the Naregal inscription. It is possible that the same fight is referred to in both the inscriptions. The same Mārakka-arasa figures in an inscription from Siḍēnūr in the Hirekerur Taluk of the Dharwar District.² In this record also he is stated to have been governing the Banavāsi-nāḍu as a subordinate of Dhōrapparasa, i.e. Dhruva. In yet another record from Kachavi³ in the Hirekerur Taluk, belonging to the reign of Dhōra-Dhāravarsha, i.e. Dhruva, a certain Māra is introduced as administering the Banavāsi 12,000 province. He is apparently the same as Mārakka-arasa. Therefore the inscription under study may be assigned to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva. In this connection, two records from Nūlgēri⁴ in the Hirekerur Taluk may be noticed. One of them refers itself to the reign of a king Gōndra under whom a certain Mārake-arasa was governing Banavāsi 12,000. Gōndra may be the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda II or III. The other record belongs to the time of Kannara, possibly Kṛṣṇa I, and mentions his feudatory Mārakersa as administering the nāḍu which may be taken to represent Banavāsi-nāḍu. Mārakersa may be the same as Mārakka-arasa. Unfortunately the records are not illustrated. If, however, the identification of the kings mentioned in them with Kṛṣṇa I and Gōvinda II is accepted, it follows that the Mārakka-arasa was the governor of the Banavāsi province from their time onwards. And, so far as I know, Mārakka-arasa is the earliest known governor of the Banavāsi 12,000 province under the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁵ The Kachavi record informs us that he had a son named Kattyara from his senior queen Appa-Vineti and the Siḍēnūr inscription apparently refers to the same queen as Binaēti-Abbe who is stated to have been administering the village (i.e. Siḍēnūr).

Only one **geographical** name occurs in the record, viz. Nareyaṁgal which is the modern Naregal situated about 2½ miles from Hombli, the findspot of the inscription. Nareyaṁgal is also mentioned in the Naregal inscription referred to above.

TEXT*

Section A

- 1 Svasti śrī-Mārakke-arasar-Banavā-
- 2 si-pannirchchā(rchchhā)siranum=āḷe Nareyagam-⁷
- 3 lla Mādammana eda(di)roḷ Kargā-
- 4 muṇḍara Bādugilti-gāmuṇḍann=e-
- 5 riḍu geldu sa(sva)rggāla[ya*]kke ēṛidan [l*]

Section B

- 6 Śrī Kargāmuṇḍara [Priya]*mēṇṭi-
- 7 ya⁹ maga[m] Aṇimēṇṭi . .¹⁰ le-
- 8 gadoḷ atavita¹¹ kōl[ā] .¹² la-
- 9 m=ēḷe kondu tānuṁ sa(sva)-
- 10 rggāla[ya*]kk=ēṛidan [l*]

¹ The slight difference in the spelling of the name may be attributed to scribal error. Its form in the Naregal record seems to be correct.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, App. D., B. K. No. 94.

³ *Prog. Kan. Res. Bomb. State*, 1947-52, p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵ Prabhūtarsha Gōvindarasa under whom one Rājādityarasa was governing Banavāsi-Maṇḍala according to an inscription at Māvāli in the Sorab Taluk of the Shimoga District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10) has been identified with Gōvinda III (794-814 A. D.), son and successor of Dhruva. Cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 16. Similarly Prabhūtarsha Gōvindarasa under whom one Eleyammarasa was the governor of Banavāsi-nāḍu as stated in another record from the same place (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 9) may be identified with Gōvinda III.

* From the impressions.

⁷ Read *Nareyamga*.

⁸ There is some trace of a subscript of *r* of this lost *akshara* which may be restored as *pri*.

⁹ See above, p. 257, note 2.

¹⁰ Two *aksharas* lost here may be suggested to be *ā kā* from the context.

¹¹ This expression may mean 'here and there'.

¹² One *akshara* is lost here, which may be resorted as *ha* from the context.

INSCRIPTION FROM HOMBILI

Section A

Section B



6

8

10

2

4

Scale : One-fourth

No. 49—INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT AJANTA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.11.1958)

An inscription was recently discovered on the pedestal of the huge Buddha image in the shrine inside **Cave IV at Ajantā** in the Aurangabad District of Bombay State. Before the discovery of this record, it was generally believed that the cave bears no epigraphic records and therefore its age was a subject of speculation.

The inscription is a **votive record** written in two lines only. The writing covers an area about 5 feet 6 inches long and about 4½ inches high. Individual letters are about 1 inch in height although conjuncts and consonants with vowel-marks are bigger in size. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some of the letters are damaged here and there, while six letters are totally lost about the middle of line 2.

The **characters** of the inscription closely resemble those of the epigraph¹ of the time of the Vākātaka king Harishēṇa in Cave XVI at Ajantā and of the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription² at the village of Jaṅglā about fifteen miles from Fardapur near Ajantā, which mentions king Dēvasēna of the Vākātaka dynasty. It has, however, to be pointed out that our inscription exhibits a form of *th* which is slightly later than that of the letter as found in the Vākātaka inscriptions. While in the Vākātaka records, a separate curve is attached to the inner side of the bottom, the present inscription exhibits a loop instead of the separate curve as in records like the Pipardula plates³ of king Narēndra of Śarabhapura, who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century A. D.⁴ Since the Vākātaka kings Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa flourished about the second half of the fifth century A. D., our inscription, which is slightly later than their records, may be assigned to the **first half of the sixth century**.

It may be pointed out, in connection with the date of the record, that the earlier writers on the history of the Vākātakas entertained a wrong view in regard to the chronology of that dynasty. Some of these writers assigned the reigns of king Dēvasēna and his son and successor Harishēṇa to c. 475-500 A. D. and c. 500-20 A. D. respectively.⁵ But they mixed up the Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura and Vatsagulma branches of the family and wrongly made Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa

¹ *ASWI*, Vol. I, pp. 53, 128 ff. and Plate LVI; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 ff. and Plate facing p. 143; etc.

² *ASWI*, op. cit. pp. 138 ff. and Plate IX.

³ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 145, text line 8; cf. his Kurud plates above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 264, text line 13, and Maitraka Drōṇasimha's Bhamodra Mohota plates of 502 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 18, text-line 2). It may be noticed in this connection that the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja, which use the same type of looped *th* (cf. lines 2, 6), have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 4th century A.D. (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 144; Vol. XXVI, p. 339; *The Classical Age*, p. 191). I have now no doubt, however, that the palaeography of the record is not earlier than the beginning of the 6th century.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 267.

⁵ *ASWI*, op. cit. p. 128.

of the Vatsagulma branch the successors of their contemporaries of the Nāndivardhana-Pravarapura branch. Another group of scholars assigned Pravarasēna II of the Nāndivardhana-Pravarapura branch, who was supposed to have been a predecessor of Dēvasēna and Harishēna, to the eighth century A. D. on the basis of the identification of his maternal grandfather Dēvagupta with Ādityasēna's son of that name ruling over Magadha about 680-700 A. D.¹ It is, however, now known that the two branches of the royal family sprang from Vindyaśakti's son Pravarasēna I, the end of whose reign is referred to in the historical section of the Purāṇas, which was compiled when the Gupta empire was confined to Bihar and Eastern U. P., i.e. about the second quarter of the fourth century A. D. We now also know that the maternal grandfather of Pravarasēna II of Nāndivardhana-Pravarapura was not Dēvagupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty but the Imperial Gupta monarch Chandragupta II who ruled in the period 376-413 A. D. In the Vatsagulma branch, Pravarasēna I was followed by : (1) his son Sarvasēna ; (2-3) his sons Vindhyaśakti II and Prithivishēna ; (4) Pravarasēna II, son of Prithivishēna ; (5) his son whose name is lost ; (6) his son Dēvasēna ; and (7) Dēvasēna's son Harishēna. In the other house, Pravarasēna I was followed on the throne by : (1) his grandson Rudrasēna I, son of Gautamīputra ; (2) his son Prithvishēna I ; (3) his son Rudrasēna II ; (4-6) his queen Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II, and sons Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II ; (7) Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna ; and (8) his son Prithvishēna II.²

Since Sarvasēna began to rule about the second quarter of the fourth century, it is difficult to believe that the reign of his grandson's great-grandson Harishēna extended beyond 500 A.D. Harishēna's father Dēvasēna again was the sixth in descent from Pravarasēna I exactly as Pravarasēna II of the other branch, who was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II (376-413 A. D.) and could not have ended his reign much later than the middle of the fifth century A. D. Since, however, Gautamīputra of the other branch apparently predeceased his father and did not rule, Narēndrasēna, son and successor of Pravarasēna II of that branch, may be regarded as a contemporary of Dēvasēna of Vatsagulma. Even then the rule of Dēvasēna and Harishēna should have to be attributed to a period before the close of the fifth century.³

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit** and its **orthography** resembles that of the contemporary Vākāṭaka inscriptions. Consonants following *r* have often been reduplicated. There are some orthographical errors. The **object** of the inscription is to record that the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was the gift of a person who was 'the owner of the monastery', i.e. who built Cave IV at Ajaṇṭā.

The epigraph begins with a damaged *Siddham* symbol and this is followed by the two sentences in which the record is written. The first sentence states that the object on which the inscription is incised (i.e. the Buddha image) was the *dēya-dharma* or gift of a person named Māthura who was the son of Abhayānandin and Skandavasū and belonged to the Kārvaṭiyā *gōtra*. Apparently Abhayānandin was the name of Māthura's father and Skandavasū that of his mother, although female names like Skandavasū are not often met with.⁴ The Kārvaṭiyā *gōtra* is not known from ancient Indian literature. Māthura is further described as the *Vihārasvāmin* or 'the owner of the monastery'. The monastery referred to is undoubtedly Cave IV at Ajaṇṭā, in which the image of the Buddha bearing the inscription under study is enshrined.

The second sentence, with which the inscription ends, states, in the usual Mahāyāna style, that the merit accruing to the pious act of Māthura was meant for the attainment of the supreme knowledge by all beings including his parents and others.

¹ See *CII*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 15.

² For the dates of these Vākāṭaka kings, see *The Classical Age*, pp. 177 ff.

³ It does not appear to be a single name reading Abhayānandiskandavasū. It is also doubtful whether we can suggest Abhayānandin *alias* Skandavasū.

The passage indicating the persons for whose supreme knowledge the pious act is stated to have been made reads : *mātā-pitrōs tāt-āmbāyās=ch=āgr-ānvavāya-su s=sarvva-satrā(ttvā)nāñ-ch=ānuttara-jñāñā(n-ā)vāptayē*. The expression *tāt-āmbāyāḥ* in the singular may of course mean 'the *āmbā* (i.e. mother) of [one's] *tāta* (i.e. father)', that is to say, 'one's father's mother'. There are, however, words of common use in Sanskrit to indicate one's father's mother and *tāt-āmbā* is not such an expression. It is, therefore, not improbable that the expression has been used in the inscription to convey a special meaning such as that of one's father's step-mother or aunt. The expression *agr-ānvavāya-su* is incomplete as about six *aksharas* of the line are lost after *su*. We may possibly suggest *agr-ānvavāya-suhṛidām*, 'of the prominent friends of the family [of Māthura, the donor of the image]'. There is space for another word between *su[hṛidām]* and °*s=sarvva*° and we are inclined to restore the damaged section as °*suhṛidāmś=ch=ātmanas=sarvva*°, the word *ātmanah* meaning 'of one's own'. Thus Māthura seems to have installed the Buddha image in the *Vihāra* or Buddhist monastery (i.e. Cave IV at Ajantā), which he caused to be built, for the attainment of supreme knowledge, leading to *Nirvāṇa*, by all beings including his parents, his father's mother, step-mother or aunt, the prominent friends of his family and his own self.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the welcome light it throws on the controversy about the age of Cave IV at Ajantā. The difference of opinion amongst scholars is due to the fact that, in the absence of any inscription in the said Cave, they had so long to depend entirely on the less specific evidence such as that of architectural and sculptural style. Besides the absence of inscriptions in many of the caves, another fact contributing to the confusion regarding the dates of the Ajantā caves is the wrong date assigned by earlier writers to kings Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa of the Vākātaka family, during whose rule respectively the Ghaṭōtkacha Cave and Cave XVI at Ajantā were excavated. This point has already been discussed above.

A number of writers on the subject are inclined to assign Cave IV at Ajantā to a date between the sixth and eighth centuries A. D.¹ They divide twentynine caves at Ajantā into two broad groups, the first of which is called Early or Hīnayāna and Caves VIII-XIII are included in it by some scholars. This group of caves is assigned to the period between the second century B.C. and the second or third century A. D. The second group, called Later or Mahāyāna and supposed to be removed from the other by a considerable period of time, is subdivided into two sub-groups. To the first of these two are assigned Caves XIV-XX believed to have been excavated in the sixth century due to Cave XVI bearing an inscription mentioning Vākātaka Harishēṇa whose reign was assigned to the age in question, while Caves VI-VII of the same class are attributed to a date between 450 and 550 A. D. Caves I-V and XXI-XXIX, constituting the second sub-group of the Later or Mahāyāna group and assigned to the period between 500 and 650 A. D. or between the sixth or seventh and the seventh or eighth centuries A.D., are called 'the latest Caves at Ajantā' and 'the most ornate group of the whole series'. According to these scholars, therefore, Cave IV, the largest *Vihāra* at Ajantā, belongs to the latest group of Ajantā Caves which may be as late as the seventh or eighth century A. D. There is, however, another view, according to which Cave IV is the earliest Mahāyāna *Vihāra* at Ajantā and 'was probably excavated in the third century A.D. or still earlier' though 'the decorative work may have been done at a later date'.² But the inscription under study now shows that the cave was excavated about the first half of the sixth century A. D.

¹ J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, 1880, pp. 80 ff.; J. Burgess *ASWI*, Vol. IV (*Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, 1876-79), pp. 43 ff.; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., pp. 188 ff.; A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 28, 76 96; etc. There is difference among scholars as regards the date of individual caves.

² G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part III, Text, 1946, p. 7.

TEXT¹

- 1 [Siddham]* [||*] dēya-dharmuṃ=yam vihāra-svāminō=bhayanandi-Skandavasū-putrasya Mā-
thurasya Kārvaṭiy[ā]-sagōtrasya [||*] yad=atra puṇyam
- 2 tad=bhavatu mātā-pitrōs=tāt-āmbāyās=ch=āgr-ānva[vājya-su * s=sarva-sarvā-
(ttvā)nāñ=ch=ā[nu]ttara-jñāpā(n-ā)vāptayē t[ī](iti ||)

AL

INSCRIPTION IN CAVE IV AT AJANTA

Left Half



2

2

Right Half



2

2

Scale One fourth

No. 50—RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(2 Plates)

DEBALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.10.1958)

In 1958, while camping at Ratnagiri (lat. 20° 38' 30" ; long. 86° 21') in the Cuttack District, Orissa, in connection with the excavation of the Buddhist remains at the hill-top, I came to know that a copper plate lying with a villager had been removed to Puri by a Police Officer. An enquiry revealed that the plate is now in the possession of Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma of Puri. Though it has not yet been possible for me to examine this plate in original, it appears almost certain that it is none other than the one already published by Narayana Tripathi in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, 1930, pp. 206-210 and Plate.¹

In the hope that the remaining two plates (the Sōmavamśī charters being *triphali-tāmraśāsanas*) might still be available at Ratnagiri itself, I proceeded to make enquiries of the local people and succeeded in locating one of the plates (the third of the complete set) with Shri Raghunath Jena, ex-zamindar of the village. A further search brought to light the second plate in the series, which was lying in the possession of a local gentleman named Dasu Mallik. These two plates, together with the one previously published, complete the charter. It was reported to me that all the three plates, originally strung together on a ring (now lost), had been found in an earthen pot by the late Shri Sanatana Mallik, father of the above-mentioned Dasu Mallik, about fifty years back in the south-eastern part of a mound, locally known as Rāṇipukhuri (literally 'the queen's tank'), situated at the top of the hill at Ratnagiri.²

Both the plates edited here are well-preserved and measure 14 inches in length, the widths of the second and third plates being respectively 8·9 and 8·7 inches. They have a ring-hole, .8 inch in diameter, at the centre of the left margin. A portion was cut off from both the plates evidently for testing the metal. The second plate (i.e. the first of the set available to me), weighing 3 seers and 13 tolas, is inscribed on both the sides, while the third, which weighs 2 seers and 56½ tolas and has a raised rim, is engraved only on one side. The second plate contains eighteen lines of writing on the obverse as well as on the reverse and the third only fourteen lines, the average number of letters per line being thirtythree. The letters are nicely and boldly engraved and have the average height of .4 inch.

The palaeography of the charter resembles that of the Orissan inscriptions of about the twelfth century. The top horizontal line of the letters has a triangular hook below on the left side. The consonants *p* and *y* are often undistinguishable ; so also are *ch* and *r*. The medial sign of *u* closely resembles that of subscript *v*.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose, though the influence of the local language is noticed in the word *Aṭṭhāṛisa* for *Ashṭāvimśa* (line 33) as well as in the words indicating taxes, viz. *chittōla*, *andhāruā*, *pratyandhāruā*, *antarāvaḍḍi*, *rinta-kāvaḍḍi* and *vasāvaki* (lines 38 and 39).

As regards orthography, apart from obvious scribal mistakes, the following features may be mentioned : the use of *sh* for *s* in *Kōshala* (line 19) and *Tōshalī* (line 33), of *s* for *sh* in *saṭa* (line

¹ [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]

² The excavations at this mound revealed two full-fledged monasteries.

66), of *s* for *ś* in *Kāsyapa* (line 42), of *m* for final *m* in *valliyaṃ* (line 30), *aṅgulaṃ* (line 58), etc., and of the *avagraha* sign in some cases as *yath=ā'smābhi* (line 36) and *Sūnāsirō=rthavān* (line 62); the reduplication of the consonant following the *rēpha* in some cases as in *kīrtti* (lines 22, 30 and 61); etc.

The charter was issued from *Yayātinagara* by *Paramamāhēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Sōmakulatilaka Trikalīṅgādhipati Karṇadēva alias Mahāśiva-gupta* on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Āsvina* in his sixth regnal year. Its object was to record the grant of the village of *Kōṇā* which was within the *Brahmō-Aṭṭhāvisa khaṇḍa* (sub-division) of *Uttara-Tōsalī* to *Rāṇī Karpūraśrī* who was the daughter of the son of *Udayamatī* and the daughter of *Mahārīmā-Huṇadēvī*¹ and who belonged to the *Kāsyapa gōtra* having three *pravaras*. The mention of the names of her mother and grandmother instead of her father and grandfather is rather unusual. She hailed from the *Mahāvihāra* of *Salōṇapura* in *Utkala-dēśa*, which seems to have been a Buddhist monastery. In that case, she was a Buddhist, though she claimed a Brahmanical *gōtra*. Her title *Rāṇī* is equally enigmatic. It is not clear if she was the wife of some *Rāṇaka* or was one of the secondary queens.²

The list of persons addressed regarding the grant is identical with that of the *Narasinghpur* (*Balihari*) plates³ of *Udyōtakēśarin* and comprises officials and dignitaries like *samāhartri* (collector of taxes), *sannidhātri* (receiver of stolen goods or an officer who introduces people of court), *niyuktādhikārika*, *dāṇḍapāśika* (police officer), *piśunavētrika* (one who canes the wicked), *avarōdhajana* (inmates of the seraglio), *rājñī* (chief queen), *rāṇaka* (subordinate chief), *rājaputra* (prince), *rājavallabha* (persons enjoying royal favour) and *bhōgijana* (village-headman), besides the rural folk.

The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, over and above the common ones found in most grants, were *hastidaṇḍa*, *varabalivardda*, *chittōla*, *andhāruā*, *pratyandhāruā*, *adattā*, *padātijīvyā*, *antarāvaddi*, *rintakāvaddi*, *vasāvaki*, *vishayālī*, *āhi-daṇḍa*, *hala-daṇḍa*, *bandha-daṇḍa*, *vandāpanā* and *viṇayavandāpanā*. Most of these occur in the *Narasinghpur* plates of *Udyōtakēśarin* and the *Kelga* plates,⁴ though the exact significance of these still remains to be determined. *Hasti-daṇḍa*, *vara-balivardda* and *hala-daṇḍa* may mean taxes on the maintenance of elephants, superior bulls and ploughs. The *āhi-daṇḍa* might have been a tax imposed on snake-charmers who earned their livelihood by the exhibition of snakes. *Padāti-jīvyā*, *vandāpanā* and *viṇaya-vandāpanā* may respectively indicate subsistence for the infantry, tribute to the king and such tribute paid after the king obtained a victory.

Karṇadēva's minister for peace and war (*sandhivigrahin*) was *Kṛishṇadēva* who apparently superseded the members of the *Datta* family who had held that post up to the reign of *Udyōtakēśarin*. *Mahākshapatalin* (chief accounts-officer) *Chhittalladēva* was responsible for getting the charter written and it was engraved on the plates by *Śaṅkhuka*.

The inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the later *Sōmavamśis*. It furnishes for the first time the names of the three immediate successors of *Udyōtakēśarin*, namely, *Janamējaya*, his son *Purañjaya*, and his brother *Karṇa*. Of these, *Karṇa* is no doubt the same as the *Utkalēśa Karṇakēśarin* mentioned in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, though the suffix *kēśarin* is absent in his own record.⁵ In verse 45 of the third *Parichchhēda* of this work, we are

¹ See p. 267, note 3. The name is not a pure Sanskrit one. This may be due to her *Hūṇa* origin.

² [See below, pp. 272-73.—Ed.]

³ *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321 ff.

⁵ The evidence of the *Rāmacharita* commentary and the *Mādalī Pāñjī* shows that the name-ending *kēśarin* became associated with the later *Sōmavamśis* following *Udyōtakēśarin*, though their own official records do not show this.

told that Rāmapāla (c. 1077-1120 A.D.) favoured the vanquished king of Utkala, who belonged to the lineage of Bhava's ornament (i.e. the dynasty of the moon or the Sōma-varṇśa), and rescued the world from the terror of Kalinga after having killed those robbers of that place,¹ most probably led by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.² Rāmapāla accomplished this towards the later part of his reign following the consolidation of his empire after his victory over the Kaivarta king Bhīma, most probably about the beginning of the twelfth century. The commentary on verse 5 of the second *Parichchhēda* supplies the name of this *Utkalēśa* as Karṇakēśarin who was defeated by Jayasimha, the feudatory ruler of Daṇḍabhukti under Rāmapāla.³

King **Janamējaya**, son of Udyōtakēśarin, succeeded his father. In verse 13 he is stated to have threatened or surpassed the Nāga king in bearing the weight of the earth. If this verse has any political significance, the Nāga king must have been the Chhindaka-Nāga Sōmēśvara I (c. 1069-1097 A.D.) of Bastar, who is known to have come into conflict with the king of Udra.⁴

Purañjaya, son of Janamējaya and grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, is praised in the inscription in high-sounding words. We are told that even the kings of **Gauḍa**, **Ḍāhala**, **Kaliṅga** and **Vaṅga** were afraid of his prowess. This is a vague eulogy. The contemporary ruler of Gauḍa was Rāmapāla and the contemporary Kalachuri king of Ḍāhala most probably Yaśaḥkarṇa. The ruler of Kalinga was either Rājārāja I (1070-78 A.D.) or his son Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). The king of Vaṅga was no doubt the Yādava king Hārivarman.

Karṇadēva, brother of Purañjaya and another grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, succeeded his brother. Like other members of his family, he was a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara. His *viruda* Mahāśivagupta proves that the alternate assumption of the names Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta was a regular feature in the dynasty. That the *praśasti* praises him only in vague terms shows that he was not a powerful ruler, though he was maintaining his independent existence in Utkala till his sixth regnal year, as his assumption of imperial titles like *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and also the grant of land in Uttara-Tōsalī testify.

Among the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Kōṇā and Brahmō-Atṭhāvīsa are not readily identifiable.⁵ Uttara-Tōsalī roughly corresponded to the modern Balasore District with parts of the Cuttack and Midnapur Districts. Yayāuinagara, whence the order conveying the gift was issued, is modern Jājpur, the capital of Utkala under the later Sōmavamśis. Salōṇapura, evidently identical with Salōṇapur-āddivāsa in Uttara-Tōsalī mentioned in the Nuelpur plate⁶ of the Bhauma king Śubhākara, may be the modern Solampur (lat. 20° 52' ; long. 86° 21') on the bank of the Vaitaraṇī, about 2 miles from Jājpur, a town in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of the Balasore District. The village has yielded a rich crop of Buddhist images of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon, such as Lōkēśvara, Jambhala and Vajrasattva.

¹ Cf. *Bhava-bhūṣaṇa-santati-bhuvam=anujagrāha jītam=Utkala-tram yah jagad=avatīśma samastam Kalingatas=tān=niśācharān=nighnan.*

² This refers to the earlier invasion of Chōḍagaṅga before his permanent conquest of Utkala.

³ Cf. *Simha iti Daṇḍabhukti-bhūpatir=adbhuta-prabhāv-ākara-kamala-mukula-tulit-Ōtkalēśa-Karṇakēśari-saridvallabha-Kumbhasambhavō Jayasimhaḥ.*

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 26.

⁵ It may be mentioned that about 3 miles from Ratnagiri there is a village called Anikōṇā which is reminiscent of Kōṇā. The village Brahmapur, 1½ miles north-east of Ratnagiri, recalls the first part of the name Brahmō-Atṭhāvīsa.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 2 f.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 9, 13 *Upajōti* ; verses 10, 12, 17 *Āryā* ; verses 11, 15 *Ratnōddhatā* ; verse 14 *Vaṣṭha* ; verse 16 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 18-20, 22-27, 30-32 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 21 *Indravajrā* ; verse 28 *Śālinī* ; verse 29 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Second Plate, First Side

- 19* Bhaṭair=avasṭavdha(bdha)m=idam narēndrai rāṣṭradvayam **Kōsha(sa)lam=Utkalañ=**
cha | a-kaṇṭakam sādhayataḥ samantādbhū(d=bhu)ja-dva-
20 yam yaeya kṛit-ārtham=āsīt || [9*] Tasya tataḥ sukṛita-phalam saphalīkṛita-lōka-lōchanas-
tanayah | sama-
21 jañi guṇ-aika-sīmā śrīmān=**U[d*]dyōtakēsari** nṛipatiḥ || [10*] Bhakti-du(dū)ra-nata-kuntala-
skhalan-mallikā-kusu-
22 ma-dāma-rājayaḥ | dhaukayanta iva kīrtti(rtti)-santatīr=yam=praṇēmur=abhitō mahī-
bhujah || [11*] Tanayas=tasya na-
23 masyan-narēndra-maulī-indranīla-maṇi-madhupaiḥ [|*] śṛiṅgārita-pada-padmaḥ samajani
Janamējayō nṛipatiḥ || [12*]
24 Kṛipāṇa-dhārā-dhara-dhauta-vau(vai)ri-bhūpāla-kāntā-ma(mṛi)ganābhi-pankaḥ | vasun-
dharā-bhāra-mahā-dhurī(rī)ṇa-dōḥ-kāṇḍa-
25 nirbha[r*]tsita-Nāgarājah³ || [13*] Tatas=tanu(nū)jō manuj-ōttamō=bhavat **Purañjayō**
vairi-purañ-jayō nṛipah [|*] namat-kshi-
26 tīs-ārchchita-pāda-pankajah sphurat-Sunāsīra-samāna-vikramah || [14*] **Gauḍa-Dāhala-**
Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-jā bhūbhu-
27 jō bhujā-nivārit-ārayah | tē=pi yasya bhujā-sāra-śaṅkayā kampamānam=anīsam=manō
dadhu-
28 ḥ || [15*] Tasy=ānujō nija-bhuj-ārjjita-śaurya-sūrya-prauḍha-prabhā-śamita-śatru-yaśah-
śaśāṅka-
29 ḥ | śrī-**Karṇadēva**-nṛipatiḥ kshitipāla-mauli-samlīna-ratna-chaya-chumvi(mbi)ta-pāda-
pīṭhaḥ || [16*] Tri-bhuva-
30 na-kuṭīra-paṭalē sarpati nijakīya-kīrtti-valli(II=ī)yam(yam) | yasya samunnati-bhājam
bhujā-yuga-niḥśrī(śrē)ṇi-
31 kām śritvā || [17*] svasti | śrī-**Yayātinagarāta(rāt)** | paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭā-
raka-mahārājādhi-
32 rāja-paramēśvara-**Sōma-kula-tilaka-Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati-śrī-Mahāśivaguptarāja-**
dēvah
33 kuśalī | **Uttara-Tōsha(sa)liya-Vra(Bra)hmō(hmē?)**-**Aṭṭhāvīsa⁴-khaṇḍa-śam⁵-**
Kōpā-grāmah | Atastati⁶-khaṇḍīya-Vrā(Brā)hma-

¹ From the original plates and their impressions. [See below, pp. 269-70.—Ed.]

² The numberings of the lines and verses are respectively in continuation of those of the first plate. While that plate ends with the name of the king Yayāti, the second plate begins with the eulogy of that ruler and continues the genealogy down to his son Udyōtakēsarin in verses identical with the corresponding ones occurring in the Narasinghpur plates of the latter (*JBORS*, Vol. XVII. pp. 1 ff.).

³ The reference is probably to both Vāsuki and a king of the Nāga dynasty.

⁴ Correctly *Aṣṭāvimśa*. [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]

⁵ *Sam* is a contraction of *sambaddha*.

⁶ [See below, p. 273.—Ed.]

RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA—PLATE I

५३

[illegible]

Scale: Two-thirds

- 34 nān=āpu(pū)jya |¹ samāhartri-sannidhātri- | niyuktādhikārika- | dāṇḍapāsika- | piśuna-
vētrik-āvarōdha-
- 35 [ja]²na- | rājñī- | rāṇaka- | rājaputra- | rājavallabha- | bhōgi-jana-pramukha-nivāsi-samasta-
janapadān=a-
- 36 [nu]nayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatām(tām) | yath=a'smābhir=
ayañ=grāmaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

- 37 sa-jala-sthalaḥ | sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ | s-āmra-madhūka-prabhṛiti-nānā-vṛikshaḥ | sa-nidhiḥ
s-ōpanidhi-
- 38 ḥ | hastidaṇḍa- | vara-va(ba)līvardda- | chittōla- | andhāruā- | pratyandhāruā- |
adattā- | padāti-jīvyā- | a-
- 39 ntarāvaḍḍi- | rintakāvaḍḍi- | vasāvakī- | vishayālī- | āhi-daṇḍa- | hala-daṇḍa- |
va(ba)ndha-daṇḍa- | vandāpanā-
- 40 | vijayavandāpanā-prabhṛiti-nānā-mārggaṇī-samēta-bhavishyat-kara-sahitaḥ | sa-khaṇḍa
pālīyaḥ |
- 41 sarvva-vādhā-varjjitaḥ | sarvv-ōparikara-dāna-sahitaḥ | chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnaḥ |
Utkaladēśīya-śrī-
- 42 Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra-vinirggatāyai | Kāśya(śya)pa-sagōtrāyai | try-ārsha-pravarā
yai | Udayama-
- 43 tī-nāmanyāḥ paṭtryai | Mahāīmā³-Hūṇadēvi(vī)-nāmanyāḥ paṭtryai | rāñī-śrī-Karppūraśrī-
nāmnau(mnyai) | salī-
- 44 la-dhārā-purassaram(ram) | ā-chand[r*]ārka-kshiti-sama-kāl-ōpabhōg-ārtham | mātā
pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu-
- 45 nya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē | tāmra-śāsanēn=ākarikṛitya | sampradatta ity=avagatya |
samuchi-
- 46 ta-kara-bhāga-bhōgam=upanayadbhi[r*]=bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam=īti |
bhāvibhiś=cha bhūpati-
- 47 bhir=ddattir=iyam=asmadiyā | dharmma-gauravād=asmad-anurōvā(dhā)ch=cha sva-dattir-
iv=ānupālaniyā || tathā
- 48 ch=ōktan=dharmmaśāstrē || Va(Ba)hubhi[r*]=va-udhā dattā rājamaṇḍa Sagar-ādibhiḥ
yasya yasya yadā bhū-
- 49 miḥ ta(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [18*] Mā bhūd=a-phala-śāṅkā vaḥ para-datt *
pārthivāḥ | sva-dattāt phala-
- 50 m=ānantyaṁ paradat[t*]-ānupālānē | [19*] Shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdat
bhūmidah | ākshēptā
- 51 ch=ānumantā cha dvau tau naraka-gāminau || [20*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamam sū(su)
varṇṇam bhūr=Vvaishṇavī Sūrya-sū(su)tā-

¹ The *danda* here and in most of the cases in this line and the lines below is superfluous.

² The first *akshara* in lines 35-36 is cut off.

³ The name may also be read *Mahāchīmā*. [See below, p. 272.—Ed.]

- 52 4=cha gāvah | yah kānchanam gān=cha mahiñ=cha dadyāt |¹ dattās-trayas=tēna bhavanṭi
lōkāḥ || [21*] Āsphōṭa[ya]-²
- 53 nti pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhaviṣhyati || [22*]
Bhū[mim]
- 54 yah pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇānau niyataṁ
svargga-gāmi[nau] || [23*]

Third Plate

- 55 Taḍāgānām sahasrēṇa vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na śu-
56 dhyati || [24*] Harati hārayēd=yas=tu mandavu(bu)ddhis=tamō-vṛitaḥ | su-va(ba)ddhō
dārupaiḥ pāsais=triya(tīrya)g-yōnir
- 57 sa gachchhati || [25*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā(ttām vā) yō harētta(t=tu) vasundharā[m*] |
sa viśṭhāyām kṛinū[r*]=bhūtyā(tvā) pitṛibhiḥ saha
- 58 pachyatē || [26*] Gām=ēkā[m*] svarṇam=ēkāñ=cha bhūmēr=apy=a[r*]ddham=aṅgulam(lam) |
haran [na*]rakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhū-
- 59 ta-sa[m*]plavaḥ(vam) || [27*] Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētu[r*]=nnṛirpā(pā)ṇām kālē kālē
pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ | sa[r*]vvān=ētāna(tān)
- 60 bhāvinaḥ pārviv-ēnd[r*]ān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [28*] Iti kamala-dal-
ām vū(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[m*]
- 61 4riyam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā
na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kī[r*]ttayō
- 62 vilōpyāḥ |(|) [29*] Pahrī³ṇḍa-maṇḍal-āgrēṇa khaṇḍitair=ahitair=ayam(yam) | Sūnāsirō-
'rthavān puthyī⁴ pātrē ya-
- 63 tra vasundharā ||⁵ [30*] Yasya vu(bu)ddhi-va(ba)lāl=Lakshmīr=ēka-patn=iva tarsthi(t-sthi)tā
[|*] sa śrīmān Kṛishṇadēvō=bhū[d*]=bhūpa-
- 64 tēḥ sandhivigrahī || [31*] Mahākṣapaṭali śrīmāna(mān) vīraś=Chittalladēvakah |
sō=llikhat
- 65 khal-ānanda-nāśanas=tāmra-śāsanam(nam) || [32*] paramamāhēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-
mahārājādhi-
- 66 rāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Karṇparājadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē | saṭa
(shashṭha)-samva(samva)tsarē | A-
- 67 4[v*]ina-śudi-dvādaśyār(śyām) | aṅkē samvata(samvat) 6⁶ Āśvina-śudi 12
Svarṇa-vithi-prativa(ba)ddha-śu'nnāhi-vijñā(?)ni-
- 68 Śaṅkhukēna tāmra-śāsanam=idam=utkirṇam=iti [|*]

¹ The *danḍa* is unnecessary. Read *dadyād*.

² An *akshara* at the end of each of lines 52-54 is cut off.

³ The first letter may also be read as *ya* and the second as *jri* or *ju*.

⁴ The first letter may also be read as *ya* and the second as *thyā*.

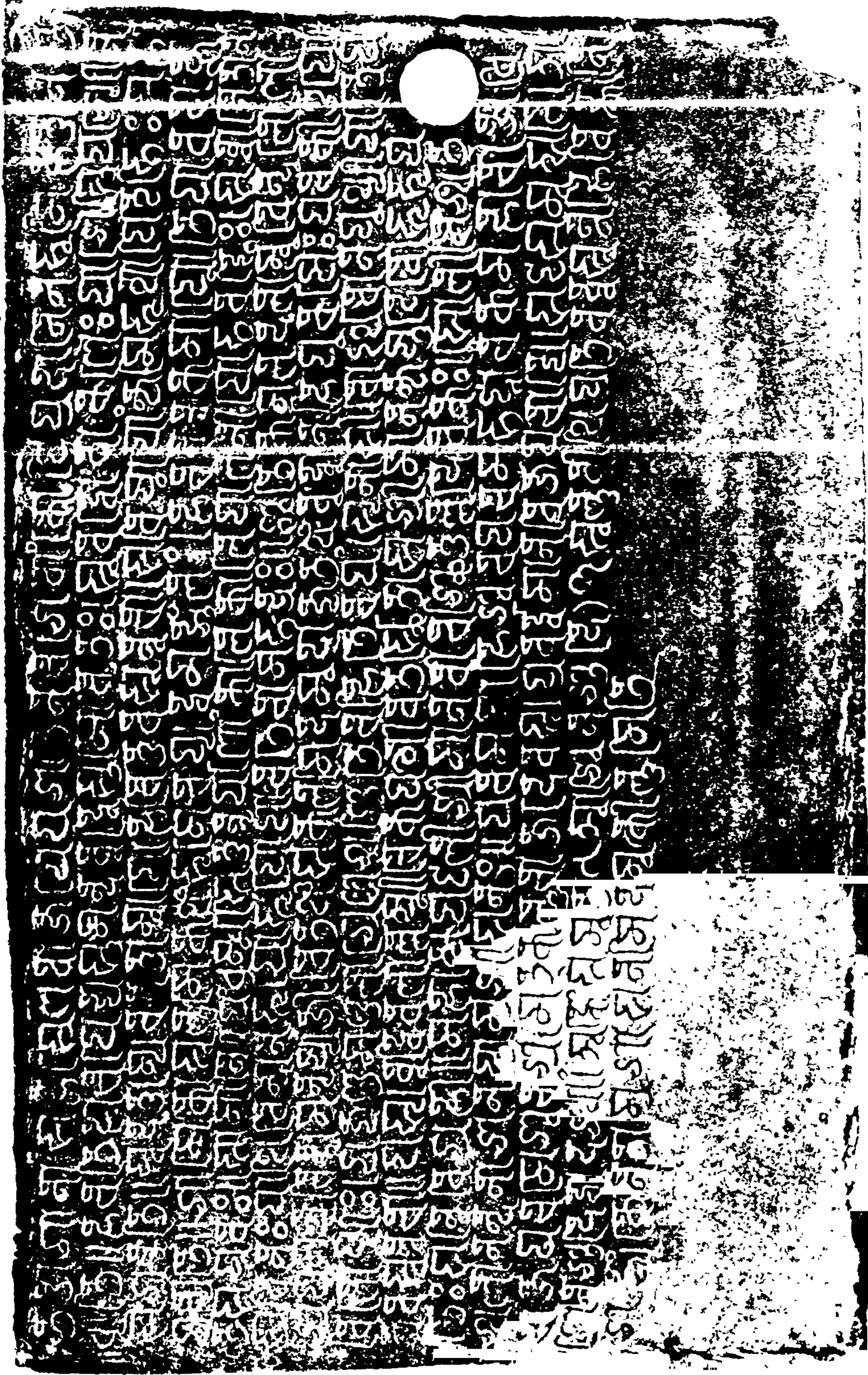
⁵ [See below, p. 272.—Ed.]

⁶ [The figure looks more like 5.—Ed.]

⁷ The reading may also be *sva*.

RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA--PLATE II

iii, a



56

58

60

62

64

66

68

56

58

60

62

64

66

68

Scale : Two-thirds

RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA—PLATE III

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥

Scale : Two-thirds

No. 51—NOTE ON RATNAGIRI PLATES OF SOMAVAMSI KARNA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.12.1958)

In her article on this inscription published above, pp. 263 ff., Mrs. Mitra has correctly surmised that the first plate of the set of the Ratnagiri plates of the Sōmavamśī king Karna, which was published by Narayana Tripathi in *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 206 ff. and Plate, was secured by Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sarma of Puri. Sometime ago, I received the plate, stated to have been lying in the possession of one Panchanana Sandi of Ratnagiri, from Pandit Ratha Sarma for examination.¹ The writing, as expected, is only on the inner side of the plate. The eight stanzas constituting the epigraphic text are the same as verses 1-8 of the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates of Udyōtakēśarin² published by Binayak Misra in *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. Unfortunately they have not been quite correctly read and interpreted either by Tripathi or by Misra. I am, therefore, re-editing the said part of the inscription below.

TEXT³

[Metres : verses 1, 3-7 *Śūrdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 8 *Vasantatilaka*.]

- 1 Siddham⁴ [*] Jyōtsnā-śāli-samṛiddhi-bhūḥ kumudinī-hās-aika-sampādanā-dhūrttō Dhūrjjati-mauli-sau-
- 2 dha-vasatiḥ pīyūsha-dhārā-griham(ham) | Tār-āntaḥ-pura-nāyakō Rati-patēḥ śastr-aika-sā(śā)ṇ-ōpalaḥ Kshī-
- 3 rōd-ārṇṇava-nandanō virja(ja)yatē dēvaḥ Sudhādīdhitīḥ || [1*] Asy=ānvayē mahati sāndra-tamaḥ-kalaṅka-vi-
- 4 chchhāya-dig-valaya-mārjjana-kūrchchakasya | utpēdirē sakala-sad-guṇa-jaṇma-kandāḥ kund-āvadāta⁴ya-
- 5 śasō jarga(ga)tībhujaś=tē [2*] Rāj=ābhūj=Janamējayō='tha nripatir-jjātō Yayātis=tataḥ śrīmā-
- 6 n=Bhīmarathō='bhavat=tad-anu cha kshmā-chakra-rakshā-maṇiḥ | ashtāsv=ēva dig-antarēshu vijaya-stambh-āva-

¹ Pandit Ratha Sarma wanted that, in case the inscription was unpublished, I should write a paper on the epigraph and insert his name in it as that of the joint author as had been often done by me previously in his case and in the case of others who made new inscriptions available to me. It was, however, found to be a published record.

² The correct form of the name is *Udyōtakēśarin*.

³ From the original plate and impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 7 li-[hu](chchha)ḍmanā hṛich-chhalyāni diśā-bhujām=api samārōpyanta yaiḥ visphuṭam¹
|| [3*] Tasmād=**Dharmmarathō** manō-
- 8 ratha-phalam Śitāmsu-vamśa-śrī(śri)yō nistrimś-aika-sakhā śikhā-manir=abhūn=niḥśēsha-
bhūmī-bhujām(jām) | ya-
- 9 smin=dig-vijay-āvatāra(ri)ṇi pū(pu)rā vidvēshi-bhu(bhū)mībhujah prātishṭhanta dig-
antaram tadanu cha
- 10 sphītās=chamu(mū)-rēṇavaḥ || [4*] **Sēt-ūpānta-van-āntarē Himavataḥ** paryyanta-bhū-
śī(sī)mani **Prāgambhōdhi-ta-**
- 11 ṭī-vanēsha(shu) kaṭakē **Pūrvvētarakshmābhṛitaḥ** | yasy=ōttāmyad-arāti-rāja-yuvatī-
niśvāsa-jhañjh-ā-
- 12 nila-vyāsaṅga-svanad-antarāla-mukharair=ggītam yaśaḥ kīchakaiḥ || [5*] **Bhrātā tasya**
va(ba)bhūva [bhūta]lapatē-
- 13 r=Bhūtēsa-tulya-prabhaḥ prakhyātam kshiti-bhūshaṇam **Naghusa²** ity=urvīpatīnām
patiḥ | yad-[d]ōr-daṇḍa-bhu-
- 14 jaṅgamēna vilasan-nistrimśa(śa)-jihvā-bhṛitā pītās=tē paripanti(nthi)-pārthiva-chamū-
kaṇṭh-āntarē mārutā-
- 15 ḥ || [6*] Atr=āstē kari-va(vṛi)ndam=unmadam=iha prauḍhō=sti pañchānanaḥ santy=ētāsu³
jagad-druhō giri-darī-ku-
- 16 mbhīshu kumbhīnāsāḥ(sāḥ) | snēhād=ity=abhidhāya v[ri]ddha-Śavarī-varggēṇa va(ba)ddh-
āśrupā yad-vairi-pramadā-janō vana-
- 17 bhuvah sañchāram=adhyāpitaḥ || [7*] Tasy=ānujō nata-sa[ma*]sta-sapatna-mauli-
ratnātsumātsalita⁴-pāda-sarō-
- 18 [ja-rō]⁵chiḥ | vidyā-nidhiḥ pratinidhir=Mmadhusū(sū)danasya jātō=⁵tha viśva-vijayī
nṛpatir=**Yayātiḥ** || [8*]

The first of the eight stanzas introduces the Moon-god, the mythical progenitor of the Sōma-vamśis. Verse 2 refers to the kings born in the family of the said god and the next stanza (verse 3) mentions three early Sōmavamśī kings, viz. **Janamējaya** (i.e. Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya I), his son **Yayāti** (i.e. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti I) and his successor **Bhīmaratha** (alias Mahābhavagupta II). In this enumeration, the regular succession of the kings has been indicated since the second ruler was the son and successor of the first and the third the son and successor of the second. We know that Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya I was the first imperial ruler of the family, very little being known about his father Śivagupta and nothing at all about the latter's ancestors. Verse 4 speaks of king **Dharmmaratha** (Mahāśivagupta II), son and successor of Bhīmaratha, while verse 5 refers to his conventional *dig-vijaya* with reference to the *chakravarti-kshētra* bounded by the Sētū (i.e. Sētubandha Rāmēśvara) in the south, the Himavat in the north, the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east and the Western Mountain (i.e. the mythical Sun-set Mountain) in the west. Verses 6-7 vaguely describe the exploits of Dharmmaratha's [younger] brother and

¹ Read *yair=visphuṭam*.

² The correct form of the name is *Nakusha*.

³ There is a defective mark in the plate after this letter.

⁴ Read *ratn-āmbu-sammūlita*.

⁵ These two letters are cut off.

successor Naghusha (Nahusha, probably called Mahābhavagupta III). Verse 8 mentions Yayāti (i.e. Chaṇḍihara Yayāti III Māhāsivagupta III) as the *anuja* of Naghusha (Nahusha), the word *anuja* being used here in the sense of a younger cousin, since the Brahmēśvara temple (Bhubaneswar) inscription¹ represents Chaṇḍihara as the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravira and great-grandson of Janamējaya I Mahābhavagupta I.

The following stanza (verse 9) on the obverse of the second plate of the set suggests that this Yayāti, who was the father of Udyōtakēśarin, established his rule over both the Kōsala and Utkala countries, although his predecessors were very probably rulers of Kōsala only. When the early Sōmavamśis were ruling over Kōsala, Utkala was under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍi-mahādēvī was ruling over Utkala at least down to the year 187 of the Bhauma-Kara era, probably corresponding to 1018 A.D., and she is known to have been succeeded on the throne by two other rulers, viz. her step-mother Vakula-mahādēvī and her aunt Dharmamahādēvī. One of the predecessors of Daṇḍi-mahādēvī was Prithvī-mahādēvī who was the daughter of the Sōmavamśi king Svabhāvatunga of Kōsala (i.e. Yayāti I Māhāsivagupta I) and was ruling in the Bhauma-Kara year 158 corresponding probably to 989 A.D. Another fact of chronological importance is that Naghusha (Nahusha or Mahābhavagupta III) seems to be the same as the ruler named Indraratha defeated by Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) as well as the king of the same name who belonged to the family of the Moon and was captured by the generals of Rājendra-chōla I at Ādinagara (i.e. Yayātinagara) sometime before 1023 A.D.² It is not impossible that verse 9 of the inscription really refers to the subjugation of the Kōsala and Utkala countries by the Chōla army among others and to their reconquest by Yayāti III. It seems that, while Naghusha (Nahusha) was struggling with the Chōla occupants of Kōsala, Yayāti III, who was probably related to the Bhauma-Karas either through his mother or by marriage and may have been passing his days at the Bhauma-Kara court,³ was fighting with the Chōlas in Utkala and that ultimately Yayāti III succeeded in consolidating his position in both the countries, his cousin Naghusha (Nahusha) having died (or killed by the Chōlas) in the meantime. Yayāti III thus ruled about the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. (c. 1025-55 A.D.).

Besides the importance of the Ratnagiri plates discussed by Mrs. Mitra, there are a few points requiring elucidation. Udyōtakēśarin, son and successor of Yayāti III, ruled about the third quarter of the eleventh century (c. 1055-80 A.D.). The Kelga plates suggest that he made over Kōsala to a prince named Abhimanyu and was himself ruling over Utkala,⁴ while the inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōḍas indicate that the successors of Udyōtakēśarin in Utkala had nothing to do with Kōsala which passed into the possession of the rulers of the Telugu-Chōḍa dynasty.⁵ Karṇa or Karṇakēśarin, grandson of Udyōtakēśarin, seems to have ended his rule over Utkala before the conquest of that country by the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga probably before 1112 A.D.⁶ The issue of the present charter from Yayātinagara is thus interesting. The city of Yayātinagara (modern Binka in the former Sonapur State in ancient Kōsala), built by and named after Yayāti I, was originally the capital of the Sōmavamśis of Kōsala. It appears that, after the expansion of Sōmavamśi power over Utkala, their capital in Utkala was also given the name

¹ Cf. *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIII, p. 69, text lines 7-8 (verse 7).

² See *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 209 ff.

³ Cf. verse 7 of the Brahmēśvara temple inscription which refers to a Sōmavamśi prince who was staying away from the country when Dharmaratha died without leaving an issue.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 323-24.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 286 ff.

⁶ Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 212.

Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, probably after Yayāti III who seems to have been the first Sōmavamśī king of Utkala. This new 'city of Yayāti' seems to be the modern Jāipur (possibly a corruption of *Yayātipura*) which was previously the capital of the Bhauma-Karas, the predecessors of the Sōmavamśīs in Utkala.¹

Another interesting fact is that the lady Karpūrasrī, the donee of the grant, is described as a *Rānī* or queen and as the daughter of a woman and the granddaughter of another woman. I am inclined to take the word *pautrī* in this context in the sense of 'the daughter's daughter'. The absence of any reference to Karpūrasrī's father and grandfather and her representation as the daughter and granddaughter of females appear to suggest that she was born of a harlot. There are other instances of similar representation of a harlot in inscriptions. Thus the Mahākūṭṣvara (Badami) temple inscription² of the time of Chālukya Vijayāditya records the donations of the harlot Vinā-poṭi described as the daughter of Kuchi-poṭi and granddaughter of Revamañchal and the heart's darling (*prāṇa-vallabhe*) of king Vijayāditya Satyāśrya. Similarly, an inscription³ of the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva in the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal records the donation of Bādi-poḍḍi described as the daughter of Gōyinda-poḍḍi who was a harlot (i.e. *Dēvadāsī*) of the temple of the queen Lōka-mahādēvī. These inscriptions are in the Kannaḍa language in which the word *poṭi*, *poḍḍi* or *boḍḍi* means 'a harlot'.⁴

If Karpūrasrī, apparently one of the secondary queens or concubines of the Sōmavamśī king Karṇa, was a harlot's daughter, there are a few points to be explained. The first of these is that whether the word *dēvī* suffixed to her mother's name should have to be taken to indicate the latter's status as a queen. We have, however, inscriptions mentioning harlots with names ending in *dēvī*.⁵ Even if Karpūrasrī's mother was the secondary queen or concubine of some ruler, we may think that she was originally a harlot but was later married to or associated with a king while Karpūrasrī had been born before her mother was associated with the ruler. I read the name of Karpūrasrī's mother as *Mahārī Māhūnadēvī*, the epithet *mahārī* being undoubtedly the same as Oriya *māhārī* (Prakrit *mēharī*) meaning a songstress or dancing girl or a *Dēvadāsī* or harlot. She had, therefore, nothing to do with the Hūṇa people as suggested by Mrs. Mitra. Secondly, Karpūrasrī is described as *Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra-vinirgatā*, i.e. hailing from Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra. The *Dēvadāsīs* are, however, associated with Brahmanical temples and not with Buddhist monasteries. It is thus impossible to believe that the harlots in question were residents of the monastery at Salōṇapura. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that *Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra* has been used in the inscription as the name of the locality where the harlots lived. Probably the entire area under the possession of the Salōṇapura monastery or the village or township around it was known under the name of Salōṇapura-mahāvihāra. This is not improbable in view of the fact that the names of the town of Bihār (i.e. Bihār-sharif) and the Bihar State are both essentially derived from the word *vihāra* meaning a Buddhist monastery originally standing at the site or in the vicinity of the modern town of Bihār called Bihār-sharif by the Muhamadans. It is of course uncertain whether the harlots in question were attached to any temple situated in the said locality. The third point to be noticed in this connection is that Karpūrasrī is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. This appears to have been the *gōtra* of one of her direct female ancestors, who first took to the profession of a harlot.⁶

¹ *JIH*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 273 ff. The city seems to be called Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 125.

⁴ A Telugu inscription from Vēlpūru in the Sattenepalli Taluk of the Guntur District, dated Śaka 1131, mentions Kasadi Sūramadēvī, concubine (*bhōga-stri*) of the Kōṭa chief Kētarāja, and her mother Amara-sāni who was a harlot (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 249).

⁵ See above, p. 244, text line 7.

⁶ According to a Bengali saying, one having no *gōtra* can claim the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. Cf. also Brough, *Gōtrapravaramaṇjarī*, p. 171.

King Karṇa's *Sandhivigrahin* Kṛṣṇadēva, who was probably the *dūtaka* of the charter, has been described in the following two stanzas (verses 30-31) :

Yajda(d-da)ṇḍa-maṇḍal-āgrēṇa khaṇḍitair=ahitair=ayam(yam) |

Sū(Su)nāsīrō=rthavān puthvī(prithyāḥ) pātrē ya(ch=ā)tra vasundharā ||

Yasya vu(bu)ddhi-va(ba)lāl=Lakshmīr=ēka-patnī-va(vra)ta-rsthi(sthi)tā [|]*

sa śrīmān Kṛṣṇadēvō=bhū[d]=bhūpatēḥ sandhivigrahī ||*

The meaning of the first of the two stanzas, as it is found in the record, is rather obscure. But the author's idea seems to be that king Karṇa was made the lord of the earth in the real sense by the various kings killed by his minister Kṛṣṇadēva and that the earth, including the territories of those rulers, came into the possession of a better master.

Vāhēru and Maṅgaka, who engraved the Balijhari (Narsingpur) plates, are described in that record as *Suvarṇa-vīthi-vijñānin*, i.e. an artisan who lived in a locality called *Suvarṇavīthi*, probably meaning 'the goldsmiths' quarters' literally. But, in the present inscription, the engraver Śaṅkhuka is called *Svarṇa-vīthi-Svannahi* (or *Sunnahi*)-vi[jñā]nin. It is not improbable that *Svannahi* or *Sunnahi* was the name of an area in *Svarṇavīthi* or *Suvarṇavīthi*.

The passage referring to the gift village in lines 33-34 may be read as *Uttara Tjsha(sa)-liya-vrajmē(sic. rājyē?) Atthāvīsa-khaṇḍa-saṁ[baddha*]-Kōṇā-grāmaḥ | Atastati-khaṇḍiya-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇān=āpūjya*, etc. It is difficult to understand why, when the gift village was situated in one *khaṇḍa* or subdivision, the Brāhmaṇas honoured in connection with its grant should be represented as living in another *khaṇḍa*. I think it possible that the intended reading for *Atastatikhaṇḍiya°* is *atas=tat-khaṇḍiya°*.

In this connection, reference may be made to another inscription of king Karṇadēva of the Sōmavamśa of Orissa, which I had an opportunity of examining recently. Among the epigraphs copied by me at the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, in December 1957, there is a fragmentary inscription engraved on the back of an image of the Sun-god.¹ The characters of the record resemble those of the Ratnagiri plates and its language is Sanskrit. Mr. P. Acharya informed me that the inscribed image had been secured from the village of *Gandhibedha* in the Balasore District of Orissa. The left half of the inscription is broken away and lost while the letters of the extant part of the writing have been deliberately rubbed off by means of chiselling. In spite, however, of this attempt to cancel the writing, the first two lines of the extant part of the record can be read as follows :

1 dhirāja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-Tṛi(Tri)

2 śrī-Karṇarājadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vi

Before °*dhirāja* at the beginning of line 1, the *Siddham* symbol followed by the letters *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā°* must have broken off. The letters lost at the beginning of the second line, following *Tṛi(Tri)°* at the end of line 1, must have been °*kalingādhipati*, *Trikalingādhipati* being a well-known title of the Sōmavamśī kings. The number of lost letters in line 1 suggests that there was another expression between °*kalingādhipati* in the lost part and °*śrī-Karṇa°* in the extant portion of line 2. This lost word seems to be *paramarājēśvara*, an epithet of king Karṇa found in line 31 of the Ratnagiri plates, in which, however, the said epithet occurs before *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. But, if it is supposed to have been engraved in the same position in the lost part of line 1 of the Gandhibedha inscription, the gap between the lost °*kalingādhipati* and the extant °*śrī-Karṇa°* in line 2 becomes bigger. Although the Ratnagiri

¹ This is No. B 394 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58.

plates show that king Karṇa's second name was Mahāśivagupta and presumably he was also called Yayāti, it is doubtful if we can bring in these names to fill up the big gap created in the lost part of line 2 as a result of *paramamāhēvara* being read in the lost part of line 1.

After *vi*^o at the end of line 2, °*jayarājyē...samva(samva)tsarē*, etc., or °*jaya-rājya-samva(samva)-tsarē*...must have been engraved at the beginning of line 3, which is now lost. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, the year of king Karṇa's reign, that must have been mentioned here, cannot be determined.

No. 52—VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 13. 12. 1958)

This is an **incomplete set**¹ of ten plates which were obtained for examination nearly quarter of a century ago from an advocate of Bapatla in the Guntur District. The first plate of the set, which apparently contained about ten lines of writing on the inner side of it, is lost. It is stated that the advocate secured the plates from one of his clients. But the original provenance of the inscription is not known. The record was published by the late Raja Saheb L. H. Jagadeb of Tekkali in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 94 ff. (without illustration). But his treatment of the subject is quite unsatisfactory.

The plates measure about 14 inches in length and 7 inches in height (except the eighth plate which is only 6 inches high). They have raised rims and their borders are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. There is a ring-hole (about 1 inch in diameter) in the plates at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the left margin. The ring, which held the plates together originally, and the seal that may have been affixed to it are both lost. The total weight of the ten plates is 1367 *tolas*.

The plates bear writing on both the sides. But the record is a palimpsest, being engraved on an earlier grant which, with the exception of the concluding lines in Sanskrit verse, was almost completely beaten in. The names of certain donees of this earlier charter together with their *gōtras* can be read with some confidence. The numbers of the plates in the original document, which were incised in the left margin on their obverse, were not beaten in. The concluding lines of the original grant show that it was also a record of Kapilēśvara, the donor of the record that was later incised on the plates. The circumstances leading to the cancellation of the earlier document cannot, however, be determined.

The plates are numbered in the Telugu-Kannada numerals. But the numbers refer to the position of the plates in the original document as already indicated above. The figure 4, e.g., occurs in the left margin on the obverse of the first of the plates available. This is really the second plate of the present set and was apparently the fourth plate of the original document. There are 10 lines of writing on most of the inscribed faces. On the reverse of the last plate, there is the conventional representation of a dagger which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa. This was meant to represent the king's signature on the original document later inscribed on copper plates. To the right of the representation of the sword, the figure of a standing elephant, the **emblem** of the Gajapatis (literally, 'the lords of elephants'), is engraved. We know that the figure of an elephant is affixed to the seal of the Rajahmundry plates² of Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of Gajapati Kapilēśvara. Beyond the elephant on the last plate, there are the representations of the crescent moon and the sun, both of which are often found in medieval epigraphs as an indication of the permanency of the grants recorded therein. There are also representations of the sun and a lotus beneath the above figures of the moon and the sun. A lotus is also seen engraved on the obverse of the same plate, in the left margin near the ring-hole.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, C. P. No. 17.

² Above, pp. 1 ff. Cf. the figure of an elephant on a stone bearing an inscription of Gajapati Purushōttama (*SII*, Vol. X, No. 729).

The inscription is written in **Telugu characters** except the last plate where there are eleven lines in the **Oriya script**. The palaeography of the Telugu section closely resembles that of the two grants of Rahgudēva, referred to above. No distinction is made between the medial signs of *i* and *ī*, *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. *Ṛi* is used in the word *Ṛigvēdi* (lines 29, 30, 31, etc.) ; but, unlike the modern form of the letter, it exhibits the top *mātrā*. The letter *t* differs from its modern form in that it has no loop at the left end. It is difficult to distinguish between *d* and *ḍ* and between *bh* and *ch*. The sign of aspiration is indicated by a vertical stroke placed below the letters *dh*, *bh* and *chh*. *Th* and *dh* are distinguished ; cf. *Jagannātha* (lines 95, 123, 127), *Bhūtanāthani* (line 87) and *Bahudhānya* (line 13). *Anusvāra* is invariably used for final *m* and the class nasals. There are some instances of the use of the final forms of *n* and *t*.

The characters of the Oriya section are of a cursive variety not noticed in the epigraphs discovered in Orissa proper. As in the records written in the later Kalinga script, often the same letter has different shapes and different letters the same shape. For instance, in the passage *Jāgēsarapura-sāsana* (line 186), the letters *g* and *p* are almost similar. The letter *bh* has been written in several different forms in the words *bhōgyama* (line 181), *garabha-bhīrē* (line 182), *bhūmī* (lines 183 and 188) and *bhākē* (line 187). Similar is the case with *t* in *ātītō* (lines 180-81), *gōta* (line 183) and *tōlā* (line 188) ; *ṇ* in *puṇṇa* (line 182) and *Brāhmaṇa* (lines 183-84) ; and *h* in *śrīharsta* (line 181), *māhārāja* (line 185) and *hōilā* (line 188). The similar forms of the letters *k* and *i* in *Karṇnāṭa-Kalavaragēsara* (lines 184-85) and *hōilā* (line 188), etc., are also noteworthy. Letters like *k*, *j* and *h* have often extremely cursive forms. Conjuncts and letters with vowel-marks are likewise often written in a cursive way, e.g., *ṇḍ* in *khaṇḍē* and *tī* in *ātī°* (line 180), *śrī* in *śrīharsta* (line 181), etc. The letters *l* and *ḷ* have been distinguished as in the modern Oriya alphabet. The letter *chh* has been written by the sign for *ksh* ; but the form of the letter is slightly different in *chhatīsī* and *chchāḍī* both in line 189. *B* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. As is well known, *v* (even in Sanskrit words) is always pronounced as *b* in Oriya as in other East Indian languages.

The record is **trilingual** having four sections, the first and fourth in Sanskrit verse (written in Telugu characters), the second in Telugu prose and the third in Oriya prose. The Telugu section describing the boundaries of the gift village calls for some remarks. The words *būruvu* (silk cotton), *ūḍugula* (*Alangium Lamarkii*), *mōmḍugu* (bastard teak), *tīge-mrōmḍugu* (*Butea superba*), *tūmga* (coarse grass or *Rottleria tinctoria*), *rāvi* (*Ficus religiosa*), *marri* (banyan tree) and *tāḍi* (palm), all denote the names of trees. In the expression *damṭṭa-tāḍi* (line 147), i.e. a pair of palm trees, the word *damṭṭa* is used for modern *jamṭa*, 'a pair, a couple'. In the compound words *yerram-butṭa* (lines 150, etc.) and *nallam-butṭa* (lines 174, etc.), the word *puṭṭa*, 'an ant-hill', is distinguished by the qualifying adjectives *yerra*, 'red', and *nalla*, 'black', both referring to the colour of the soil. The words *kara* (line 156) and *dariye* (i.e. *dari*, line 156) are used almost in the same sense of 'the bank or shore'. In the expression *borra-nakka-viriki* (line 155), *borra* (i.e. *borra* or *boriya*) means 'a hole or burrow' such as is made by animals, while *nakka* is 'a jackal' and *virigi* means 'ground with many cracks'. The meaning of the expression may thus be a plot of dry land with many fissures and burrows made by jackals. The word *kanama* (lines 161-62) or *kanuma* means 'a gap' or 'a mountainous pass'. The form *imchika* (lines 164-65 and 172), 'a little', is used instead of the modern form *imchuka*. In the compound *avurum-gōḍu*¹ (line 171), the word *kōḍu* means 'a bed of bulrushes, a marsh', and *avuru* is a kind of grass. Due to *saraḷ-ādēśa*, *k* is changed to *g* in this expression exactly as *p* has been changed to *b* in *nallam-butṭa* and *yerram-butṭa*. The word *chauṭa-nūmta* (line 178) is interesting. It means a well with a parapet around. The word *chauṭā* is not found in the lexicons but is now in common use.

¹ The same expression is also found in the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka, where it has been read as *avuru-bāde*. Cf. above, Vol. XXXII. p. 267, text lines 150-51.

In the Oriya portion of the record, *s* has been generally used for *ś* and contractions are noticed in words like *smaē* for *samayē* (line 183) and *Gajapta(ṭi)* for *Gajapati* (line 184). The change of Sanskrit *gau* to *gaū*, *madhya* to *madhi*, *mānya* to *māirṇṇa*, etc., has also to be noted.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in verse 11 (lines 13-17) as the **Śaka year 1380** (expressed by the chronogram *vyōm-ēbha-vahn-īndu*), **Bahudhānya**, **Vaiśākhi** (i.e. the full-moon day of the lunar month of Vaiśākha). The Oriya part of the inscription seems to supply the name of the week-day *Bṛhaspati*, i.e. Thursday. The details suggest **1458 A.D., April 27, Thursday, f.d.t. 77.**¹

The first section in Sanskrit verse records the grant. The first half of this section is missing, and thus some information particularly about the ancestry of the donor seems to have been lost. Only five syllables, with which the verse marked as the sixth ended, are found at the beginning of the extant part of the inscription. Verses 1-5 of the record and the major part of the sixth stanza were, therefore, incised on the inner side of the lost first plate of the set. The first verse of the extant part (lines 1-4), marked as the seventh, speaks of *Vira-śrī-Kapilēndra's* military prowess. It is stated that the noise of his battle-drums filled the whole universe and that, as a result, **Hampā** trembled, **Dhārā** was pressed hard, the horses fled from **Kalubarigā** and **Dhilli** was filled with savage women. Verses 8-10 (lines 4-13) describe the glory of **Kapilēśvara** in vague terms. He was an unrivalled ruler who destroyed his enemies and distributed their wealth among learned men. Verse 11 (lines 13-17) states that, while camping on the bank of the river **Gōdāvarī** on the full-moon day in the month of **Vaiśākha** of the year **Bahudhānya** corresponding to **Śaka 1380**, **Kapilēśvara** made the grant of the village of **Veligalani**, situated in **Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman** and renamed it after his father or parents (*sva-pitr-ākhyayā*), in favour of 120 **Brāhmaṇas**. The next stanza (verse 12 in lines 17-20) records the grant of a locality named after **Vijaya-Pratāpa-Kapilēndra** himself in favour of 120 **Brāhmaṇas**. The locality is stated to have been situated to the east of the joint streams of the **Kṛṣṇā** and **Vēṇṇā**. From the language of the above two verses it may appear that two localities were granted in favour of two groups of 120 **Brāhmaṇas** each, one of the localities being named after the king himself and the other after his father or parents. But, as will be seen from our analysis of the Telugu and Oriya sections below, this was not the case.² Verse 13 (lines 21-23), with which the first section in Sanskrit closes, refers to the enumeration of the donees in the following section in Telugu.

The Telugu portion begins in line 23, with the *maṅgala* : *śubham-astu* which is immediately followed by the passage : *Veligalani Kapilēśvarapurānaku*. This may indicate that two villages called **Veligalani** and **Kapilēśvarapura** were granted in favour of the donees whose names are enumerated in the following lines. The list shows the names of 120 **Brāhmaṇas** only. We have seen above that verses 11 and 12 of the Sanskrit section may appear to speak of the grant of the two localities in favour of two groups of 120 **Brāhmaṇas** each. The present section, however, makes it clear that there was only one group of **Brāhmaṇas** numbering 120, who received the gift.

The list of the 120 **Brāhmaṇas**, receiving equal shares in the gift land, are enumerated in the Telugu section in the following order (lines 23 ff.) :

- I. Northern part of **Jāgēśvarapura**, beginning from the west—20 **Brāhmaṇas** ,
- II. Southern part of the same—20 **Brāhmaṇas** ;
- III. Northern part of **Vellamāmbāpura**, beginning from the west—20 **Brāhmaṇas** ;

¹ See *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13-14.

² The Oriya section suggests that the village of **Veligalani** was divided into three *śāsanas* named after **Jāgēśvara**, **Velamā** (**Vellamāmbā**) and **Kapilēśvara** and this information can be reconciled with the Sanskrit section under review if the expression *sva-pitr-ākhyayā* in verse 11 is taken to mean '[named] after himself and his parents'.

IV. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas ;

V. Northern part of **Kapilēśvarapura**, beginning from the west—20 Brāhmaṇas ; and

VI. Southern part of the same—20 Brāhmaṇas.

It may appear from the above enumeration that the village of Veligalani was divided into two parts, one of which was named Jāgēśvarapura and the other Vellamāmbāpura. But, as will be seen below, the Oriya section of the charter seems to suggest that the above village was divided into three *śāsanas*, viz. Jāgēśvarapura, Vēlamapura (i.e. Vellamāmbāpura of the Telugu section) and Pratāpa-Kapilēśvarapura, and this may be regarded as supported by the Sanskrit part at the beginning if, as stated above, the expression *sva-pitr-ākhyā* in verse 11 is taken to refer to the names of the donor and his parents. It is, therefore, better to take *Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapurānaku* as referring to the gift village as Veligalani *alias* Kapilēśvarapura. In any case, it is clear that the word *pitrī* in the verse means not merely 'father' but 'both father and mother' and that the name of Kapilēndra's father was Jāgēśvara and that of his mother Vellamāmbā or Vēlamā.

The third section in Oriya (lines 180-90) gives a short summary of the whole transaction which is already indicated in the Sanskrit and Telugu parts. The epithets *Vīra-śrī-Gajapati-Gauḍēśvara* and *Navakōṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavarag-ēśvara* referring to Kapilēśvara's victories over the countries called **Gauḍa**, **Karṇāṭa** and **Kalavaraga** (i.e. the dominions of the Sultāns of Bengal, of the Karṇāṭa kings of Vijayanagara and of the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga) are found for the first time in this record. The same titles were also assumed not only by his successors but also by the later rulers of Orissa, who considered themselves successors of the Imperial Gajapatis, till quite recent times.

The charter ends with a few verses in Sanskrit. One of these verses is in adoration of the **Varāha** incarnation of Viṣṇu (lines 191-93). There are two other stanzas (lines 194-99) which, as stated above, belonged to the charter originally incised on the plates. One of these speaks of the creation of a *sarva-mānya* (i.e. rent-free holding) by **Kapilēśvara** after having renounced the thirty-six *āvēdanas* or taxes while the other is one of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The word *āvēdana* (*āvādānā* of the Oriya section, line 189), used in the sense of 'a tax', is of lexical interest. The word *śattrimśat*, literally 'thirtysix', has been used here in the sense of 'many'.¹

This is the only copper-plate charter of the great Kapilēśvara, who was the founder of the Sūryavamśī Gajapati family of Orissa and ascended the throne in 1434-35 A.D., so far discovered. Two copper-plate grants² of prince Raghudēva, the nephew and viceroy of king Kapilēśvara, were recently discovered at Rajahmundry and they have thrown a flood of light on the ancestry and early career of the Gajapati monarch. His grandfather, bearing the same name, is stated to have been a *Nāyaka* (a ruling chief) who was one among the rulers of the solar and lunar races, while his own father Jāgēśvara, who possessed a large number of elephants, and his elder brother Balarāma lost their lives in a battle against their enemies. The Warangal inscription³ of prince Raghudēva mentions Jāgēśvara, the father of Kapilēśvara, as a *Māhārāja* (Sanskrit *Mahārāja*). The record under study speaks of Jāgēśvarapura named after the father of Kapilēndra or Kapilēśvara.

During the last years of the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu IV, his feudatories like Pratāpa Gaṅgarāju of the Śilāvamśī family of Nandāpūr⁴ and Saubhāgyarāju of Vīraghaṭṭām⁵ became semi-independent. The Reḍḍi chiefs Vēma and Vīrabhadra, sons of Allāḍa, conquered the southern

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 115. For an elaborate analysis of the Oriya section of the inscription under study, see *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13 ff.

² Above, pp. 1 ff. The family is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* in the Nanadmpūṇḍi plates of Pratāparudra (C. P. No. 5 of 1948-49).

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. 55 ; above, pp. 125 ff.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1170 ; Vol. VI, No. 950.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1101. Vīraghaṭṭām is in the Palakonda Taluk of the Srikakulam District.

part of the Gaṅga kingdom, as is borne out by two inscriptions at Simhachalam. The record of Vēma¹, dated Śaka 1356 (1434 A.D.), registers the remission of taxes on the lands belonging to the gods and Brāhmaṇas in the villages of Kaluvalapalli, Oḍḍādi, Poṭnūru and others, which were acquired by the strength of his own arms. There can be no doubt that the said places were conquered by the Redḍis from the Gaṅga king Bhānu IV. Vīrabhadra's inscription² is undated; but it praises him as a great conqueror. The Mudabidure inscription,³ dated Śaka 1351 (1429 A.D.), however, refers to the success of the Vijayanagara monarch Dēvarāya II against the Gajapati king and describes the former as 'the lion in destroying the crores of elephants to the lord of elephants (Gajapati), and the very Kalaśōdbhava (Agastya) to the ocean of the army of the Andhra king (or, kings)'. The Simhachalam inscription of Teluṅgarāya,⁴ a subordinate of the Vijayanagara king, also corroborates this fact. The success of the Redḍis against the Gaṅga king thus appears to have been due to the help they received from the Vijayanagara monarch to whom they owed allegiance. The latest record of Gajapati Bhānu IV at Simhachalam is dated Śaka 1352 (1430 A.D.).⁵

Kapilēśvara made an attempt to subdue the semi-independent chiefs like Pratāpa Gaṅgarāju and Saubhāgyarāju and to reconquer the southern part of the erstwhile Gaṅga kingdom from the subordinates of the Vijayanagara monarch. The chiefs of Nandāpūr and Vīraghaṭṭām⁶ were subdued and with their help the Gajapati king attacked the Redḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry. A Draksharama inscription⁷ (dated Śaka 1366-1444 A.D.) of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II suggests that he came to the rescue of the Redḍis against the attack of the Gajapati. As a result of the conflict between the Gajapati and the Vijayanagara king, the Redḍis lost the Rājamahēndra-rājya which became a part of the Gajapati empire. An inscription at Penugonḍa⁸ (Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District), dated Śaka 1370 (1448 A.D.), Vibhava, alludes to the rule of the *Gajapati-kshōṇīśa*, i.e. Kapilēśvara. With the help of the Redḍis of Rajahmundry, who were the enemies of their kinsmen ruling from Koṇḍaviḍu, Kapilēśvara marched against Koṇḍaviḍu and other important forts in the south, captured them all and finally annexed them to the Gajapati kingdom.

Kapilēśvara appointed his own relatives to govern the southern tracts conquered by him. His nephew Raghudēva was ruling from Rajahmundry⁹ and one of his kinsmen named Gāṇadēva from Koṇḍaviḍu,¹⁰ while his own son *Kumāramahāpātra* Hambīra was in charge of the whole Telugu and Tamil areas annexed to the Gajapati empire.¹¹ Hambīra's son Dakshiṇa-Kapilēśvara was also a governor in the Tamil areas.¹²

¹ Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 1168.

² Ibid., No. 1169.

³ Ibid., Vol. VII, No. 202, lines 13-14.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 905.

⁵ Ibid., No. 784.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1933, No. 395.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1375.

⁸ *Mack. Mss.*, No. 15-4-4; Loc. Rec., Vol. II, p. 200; Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdom*, p. 193, note:

Śāk-ābdē gagan-ādrī-Rāma-dharanī-samkhyā-samā-pūritē

Vibhav-ābdē cha Tapasya-māsi śaśinō vārē dvitīyam(yā)-tithau,

Pengōmā-ākhyā-pur-ōttamam Gajapati-kshōṇīśa-saulīpitam. *Vibhav-ābdē cha* does not suit the metre.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 390-93; *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 70.

¹¹ Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, C.P. No. 4.

¹² Cf. *Ibid.*, 1919, Nos. 51 and 92; 1937-38, No. 87.

As already indicated above, verse 7 of the present charter refers to the success of Kapilēśvara against Hampā, Dhārā, Kalubarigā (Gulbarga) and Dhillī (Delhi). The same verse is found in the Chiruvroli grant¹ of his son Hambīra. Verse 6 of the Gopinathpur inscription² also refers to the same achievements of Kapilēśvara. We have also seen that the Oriya part of the record under study mentions the king as the lord of Gauḍa, Karnāṭa and Kalavaraga. Kapilēśvara's claim of success against the kings of Hampā (Vijayanagara, capital of Karnāṭa), Dhārā (capital of Mālava), Gulbarga, Delhi and Gauḍa may thus refer to a date before 1458 A.D. when the charter under study was issued, although the nature and degree of the success cannot be determined in all the cases.

Hampā was the capital of the Vijayanagara king Mallikārjuna who succeeded his father Dēvarāya II in 1446 A.D. The *Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsamu* states that both the Gajapati of Orissa and the Sultān of Gulbarga attacked the city of Vijayanagara, but that Mallikārjuna sallied forth from his capital and routed the besieging forces.³ This no doubt admits that Kapilēśvara besieged Vijayanagara. The Anantavaram grant also states that Kapilēśvara captured the city of Vijayanagara, the seat of the ruler of Karnāṭaka, and received tribute.⁴ Dhārā was the secondary capital of the Sultāns of Malwa and Sultān Mahmud I (1436-69 A.D.) of the Khaljī dynasty was the contemporary of Kapilēśvara. Muhammadan historians refer to the defeat of the Malwa king at the battle of Muhura by the Bahmanī Sultān Alāuddīn Ahmed (1436-58 A.D.).⁵ The Gajapati monarch was an ally of the Bahmanī Sultān and seems to have helped the latter at the said battle. It is interesting to note that Muhura is mentioned in the list of places subdued by Kapilēśvara.⁶

Kalubarigā or Kalavaraga (Gulbarga) in the present Mysore State was the capital of the Bahmanī Sultāns. According to the *Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsamu*, the Bahmanī Sultāns were allies of the Gajapati king and their joint victory over the Sultān of Malwa at Muhura seems to support the statement. But the position was changed with the accession of Humāyūn Shāh (1458-61 A.D.), the eldest son of Alāuddīn Ahmad Shāh. Humāyūn besieged the fort of Dēvarakoṇḍa with a large army and the chief of the fort appealed for help to the king of Orissa who readily despatched a force. "The infidel's forces being more numerous than that of Islam the latter were routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted."⁷ This is also supported by a *chāṭu* verse⁸ which recounts the victories of Gajarāvu Tippa who is stated to have defeated the Yavanas (Musalmans) on the plain outside the town of Kambhammeṭṭa in the presence of Ambarāya, i.e. Hambīra, son of Kapilēśvara. Two inscriptions in the Warangal fort, one of Hambīra⁹ and another of Raghu-dēva,¹⁰ refer to the capture of the fort on the 2nd February 1460 A.D. and to the victory of the

¹ *Bhārati*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 515 ff.

² *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 173 ff. :

Karnāṭ-ōjjhāsa-simhah Kalavaraga-jayī Mālava-dhvamsa-līlā-jamghālō
Gauḍa-mardī Bhramaravara-nripō dhvasta-Dhillī-īndra-garvah.

³ *Kalingadēśacharitra*, p. 360.

⁴ Cf. the Anantavaram grant in the *Andhra Patrika Annual*, 1928-29, *Kalingadēśacharitra*, Appendix, p. 97 :

Prasahya Karnāṭa-mahīpatēh purīm
nirudhya Vidyānagarīm nijair-balaiḥ |
samunnatam mānam=iv=ōchchhrayam karam
samādadē karkaśa-chakra-vikramah ||

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 240 ff.

⁶ *Mack. Mss.*, No. 15-4-3 :

Vīra-pumgavulaku vēṭalu mādelu
maniki vihārambu Muhurambu.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

⁸ *Chāṭupadyamanimajari*, Vol. II, p. 65 :

Yavanula gelvadē Yambarāyalu chūḍa-
n=ēṭṭaina Kambamumetta baiṭa.

⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. B 55 ; above, pp. 125 ff.

Gajapati generals over Humāyūn Shāh, though the date of the record under study is earlier than that of the capture of Warangal by Hambīra and Raghudēva. Dhillī (Delhi) was the capital of Bahlul Lodī (1451-89 A.D.), though nothing has come to light so far about the conflict between Kapilēśvara and the Lodī Sultān. Like Muhura, Dhillī also finds mention in the list of places subdued by the former.¹

The information about the donees of the charter, as found in the Telugu section, is appended below in a tabular form. Their family names may be mainly divided into two categories : (1) villages whence their families originally hailed, e.g. Bejavāḍa, Aḍḍāḍa, Komḍapalli, Lolla, Rājū-komḍa, Yeḍavalli, Ākunūri, etc. ; and (2) titles indicating their proficiency in particular branches of learning, e.g. *Shaḍḍarśanam*, *Sāmavēdin*, *Vēdāntam*, *Bhāgavatula*, *Purāṇam*, etc. Most of the family names mentioned in the list are still in existence in Andhra. The list of donees includes one called Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdin whose family name is Sāmavēdin but who calls himself a Yajurvēdin. His title *divēdin* would suggest that he was a student of both the *Sāmavēda* and the *Yajurvēda*.

I. (a) Northern half of Jāgēśvarapura

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
1	Sarvā-bhaṭṭu	Goḍavarti	Kāśyapa	Rīgvēda.
2	Nāgā-bhaṭṭu	Oḍḍe	Āṅgīrasa-Bhāra- dvāja.	„
3	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Kurti	Maudgalya	Yajurvēda
4	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu	Munnaṅgi	Bhāradvāja	Rīgvēda
5	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭu	Yempalela	„	Yajurvēda
6	Annam-bhaṭṭu	Jannasāni	Śrīvatsa	Rīgvēda
7	Mukti-bhaṭṭu	Ākunūri	Kāśyapa	„
8	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu	Yenamandra	Kauśika	„
9	Yajñēśvara-sōmayājulu	Upadrashta	Kauṇḍinya	„
10	Vallava-bhaṭṭu	Yētūri	Bhāradvāja	Yajurvēda
11	Narasimha-bhaṭṭu	Gorti	Śrīvatsa	„
12	Mallu-bhaṭṭu	Hari	Vādhūla	„
13	Parvata-bhaṭṭu	Śivā	Hārīta	„
14	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Yeḍavalle	Śrīvatsa	„
15	Nāgā-bhaṭṭu	Malyāla	Kauśika	„
16	Vennā-ojhalu	Kūnapalli	Bhāradvāja	Rīgvēda
17	Kannā-dvivēḍulu	Kṛishṇambhaṭṭa	Gārgya	„
18	Yatu-bhaṭṭu	Puvye	Ātrēya	Yajurvēda
19	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu	Bhamḍāru	Gautama	„
20	Gōpālā-bhaṭṭu	Mamḍāpū	Kauśika	Rīgvēda

¹ Mack. Mss., No. 15-4-3 :

Gaja-yūḍhamula gaṭṭu Kambālu Kambālu-
paṭṭanambu gurāla-palle Dhillī.

I. (b) Southern half of Jāgēśvarapura

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
21	Mallu-bhaṭṭu	Rājukomḍa	Hārīta	Yajurveda
22	Prōlu-bhaṭṭu	Uppalūri	Kāśyapa	„
23	Trivikrama-bhaṭṭu	Pūrimetta	„	Rigvēda
24	Mallu-sōmayājulu	Komḍapalli	Gautama	Yajurveda
25	Bhimēśvara-bhaṭṭu	Pulye	Ātrēya	„
26	Peddi-bhaṭṭu	Gollapūmḍi	Kaundinya	„
27	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu	Maḍugūri	Hārīta	Rigvēda
28	Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭu	Ūpadraṣṭa	Kaundinya	„
29	Durgā-bhaṭṭu	Māmjēti	Bhāradvāja	Yajurveda
30	Mall-āvadhānlu	Kūchi	„	„
31	Vallava-bhaṭṭu	Lolla	Hārīta	„
32	Āditya-bhaṭṭu	Pūrimetta	Kāśyapa	Rigvēda
33	Vallava-bhaṭṭu	Dūrvāsula	Śrīvatsa	Yajurveda
34	Komman-ojhalu	Kōnakamchi	Gārgya	Rigvēda
35	Yellu-bhaṭṭu	Nāgavarapu	Ātrēya	Yajurveda
36	Kēśava-bhaṭṭu	Dhūlipāḷa	Kauśika	„
37	Janārdana-bhaṭṭu	Shaḍḍarāṇam	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
38	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Kāmḍūri	Hārīta	Yajurveda
39	Narahari-bhaṭṭu	Bētanabhaṭṭa	Kauśika	„
40	Dēchi-bhaṭṭu	Yēturi	Ātrēya	„

II. (a) Northern half of Vellamāmbāpura

41	Mahākālī-bhaṭṭu	Kutsa	Yajurveda
42	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Dūrvāsula	Śrīvatsa	„
43	Tippā-bhaṭṭu	Aḍḍāḍa	Hārīta	„
44	Peda-Kāmā-bhaṭṭu	Yempalōla	Bhāradvāja	„
45	Vallava-bhaṭṭu	Imgū	Śaunaka	„
46	Pōt-āvadhānlu	Vaḍḍi	Kauśika	„
47	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭṭu	Penumbarti	Kaundinya	„
48	Sarvā-bhaṭṭu	Kuppa	„	„
49	Peddi-bhaṭṭu	Sādhu	Śrīvatsa	„
50	Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdnlu	Sāmavēdi	Kaundinya	„
51	Mallu-bhaṭṭu	Nāli	Bhāradvāja	„

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
52	Prōlu-bhaṭlu	Vēdāntam	Hārīta	Yajurvēda
53	Annam-bhaṭlu	Rāmakrishṇam-bhaṭla	Vādhūla	"
54	Yetu-sūmayājulu	Siddhi	Āṅgīrasa-Bhūra-dvāja	"
55	Chittā-ojhalu	Kāṇva	Maitrēya	Kāṇva-śākhā
56	Manchi-bhaṭlu	"	Kauśika	"
57	Peddi-bhaṭlu	"	"	"
58	Narasimh-ojhalu	"	Maitrēya	"
59	Dēvarē-bhaṭlu	Oḍḍe	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
60	Aubhaḷa-bhaṭlu	Oḍali	Hārīta	"

II. (b) Southern half of Vellamāmbāpura

61	Pōtu-bhaṭlu	Chēvanapeddi	Hārīta	Yajurvēda
62	Dēvarē-bhaṭlu	Bhāskararāju	Kutsa	"
63	Peddi-bhaṭlu	Annangēri	Bhāradvāja	Rigvēda
64	Saumitri-bhaṭlu	Perumādi	"	Yajurvēda
65	Vallava-bhaṭlu	Mukkolani	Kauśika	"
66	Āditya-bhaṭlu	Kaḍali	Kauṇḍinya	"
67	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭlu	Tāḍēpalli	Hārīta	"
68	Viśvēśvar-āchāryulu	Kaṇḍavalli	Bhāradvāja	"
69	Anant-ojhalu	Muddāli	Maudgalya	"
70	Peddi-bhaṭlu	Dāmōdara	Kauśika	"
71	Narahari-bhaṭlu	Challa	Kauṇḍinya	"
72	Tirumala-bhaṭlu	Bhāgavatula	Kapi	"
73	Nāgā-dvivēdulu	Nōri	Hārīta	"
74	Yarrē-ojhalu	Tāḍēpalli	Ātrēya	"
75	Narasimh-āvadhānlu	Tēḍipūmḍi	"
76	Bhairava-bhaṭlu	Bhūtanāthani	Gautama	Rigvēda
77	Māru-bhaṭlu	Poyyala	Mudgala	Yajurvēda
78	Mallā-ojhalu	Ānamdula	Hārīta	Rigvēda
79	Simgā-bhaṭlu	Jagarlapūmḍi	Bhāradvāja	"
80	Gaṅgādhara-bhaṭlu	Divākara-bhaṭla	Kāśyapa	"

III. (a) Northern half of Kapilēśvarapura

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā
81	Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭu	Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdula	Bhāradvāja . .	Yajurvēda
82	Narasimha-bhaṭṭu	Tōmṭa-sōmayājula .	Kauṇḍinya . .	Rigvēda
83	Kāśīśvara-bhaṭṭu	Jagarlapūṁḍi .	Bhāradvāja . .	„
84	Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu	Yajñanna-bhaṭṭa .	Kauṇḍinya . .	„
85	Sarvā-bhaṭṭu	Appalēbhaṭṭa .	Śaṇḍilya . .	Yajurvēda
86	Kasuvā-ojhalu	Śaṁkara . .	Gautama . .	„
87	Sōmā-bhaṭṭu	Māṅgamṭi . .	Kāśyapa . .	„
88	Yaravōta-bhaṭṭu	Chintalapāṭi . .	Hārita . .	„
89	Peddi-bhaṭṭu	Satyāśhāḍha . .	Śaṭhamarshaṇa .	„
90	Pedd-ojhalu	Sōlasa . .	Bhāradvāja . .	„
91	Sōmayājulu or . . -sōmayājulu .	Aṁduviḷla . .	Kāśyapa . .	„
92	Pina-Kāmā-bhaṭṭu	Yamparēla . .	Bhāradvāja . .	„
93	Rudrā-bhaṭṭu	Bētana-bhaṭṭa .	Kauśika . .	„
94	Narasimha-sōmayājulu	Uttarēśvarapu .	Kāśyapa . .	„
95	Rāmā-bhaṭṭu	Cherṁgolani . .	Kauśika . .	„
96	Prōlu-bhaṭṭu	Kaṁḍavalli . .	Bhāradvāja . .	„
97	Pōtu-bhaṭṭu	Jonnalagaḍḍa .	Gautama . .	Rigvēda
98	Tallu-bhaṭṭu	Mulukalūri . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	„
99	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭu	Koṁḍapalli . .	„ . .	Yajurvēda
100	Pōtu-bhaṭṭu	Śatakūri . .	Kāśyapa . .	Rigvēda

III. (b) Southern half of Kapilēśvarapura

101	Lakshmaṇa-sōmayājulu	Aṁduviḷla . .	Kāśyapa . .	Yajurvēda
102	Liṁgā-ojhalu	Tēlaprōli . .	Bhāradvāja . .	„
103	Aubhaḷ-ojhalu	Māṁḍaḍapu . .	Kauśika . .	„
104	Śiṅgā-ojhalu	Bējavāḍa . .	„ . .	„
105	Kāmā-bhaṭṭu	Māṁchi-bhaṭṭa .	Maitrēya . .	„
106	Bhāvanārāyaṇa-ojhalu	Būruvugaḍḍa .	Hārita . .	„
107	Tirumala-bhaṭṭu	Purāṇam . .	Śaṇḍilya . .	„
108	Mādha-ojhalu	Biṭṭagumṭa . .	„ . .	Kāpva-śākhā
109	Mallā-ōjhalu	Kuṁḍēṭi . .	Bhāradvāja . .	„
110	Bhīmā-ojhalu	Rēmalla . .	Kāśyapa . .	„
111	Mādha-ojhalu	Mukkolani . .	Hārita . .	Yajurvēda

III. (b) Southern half of Kapilēśvarapura—contd.

No.	Name of the Donee	Name of the family	Gōtra	Vēda or Sākhā
112	Prōlu-bhaṭlu	Pulya	Ātrēya	Yajurvēda
113	Jagannātha-bhaṭlu	Ālamūri	Kauṇḍinya	"
114	Tallu-bhaṭlu	Appāya-dvivēdula	Sāṇḍilya	"
115	Telumgari-bhaṭlu	Mailavarapu	Bhāradvāja	Rīgvēda
116	Kāmadēva-bhaṭlu	Aśvarōmula	Kauśika	Yajurvēda
117	Aubhaḷa-bhaṭlu	Kātanagaḍḍa	Ātrēya	"
118	Jagannātha-bhaṭlu	Metaku	Kauṇḍinya	"
119	Appalē-bhaṭlu	Dūrvāsula	Śrīvatsa	"
120	Sūru-bhaṭlu	Chētakūri	Kāśyapa	Rīgvēda

Some of the **geographical names** mentioned in the record have been discussed above. The gift village of Veligalani is stated to have been situated in Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman. Mention is also made of the rivers Gōḍāvarī and Kṛishṇā-Vēṇṇā (Kṛishṇā). While describing the boundaries of the gift land, the rivers Bhīmarathī and the villages of Penchikalapāḍu, Penamāṅgūru, Garagaparti, Mōramtāḍa, Kanumūru, Mūṇḍlapūṇḍi and Mirti are mentioned. Amongst the other places mentioned, Delhi is referred to only in a few South Indian epigraphs.¹ Bhīmarathī of our record may be identical with the stream of that name mentioned in the Gavarapāḍu grant² of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, which is now called Bhīma-nadī, though the famous Bhīmarathī is the modern Bhīmā, the well-known tributary of the Kṛishṇā. Harigukā-Mēḍūri-sīman, or Mēḍūra-thala as it is called in the Oriya section, is identical with modern Mēḍūru in the Gudivada Taluk of the Krishna District. Kapilēśvarapura of our record is no doubt the present Kapilēśvarapuram in the same Taluk, which is only a few miles from Mēḍūru. The old name Veligalani and the new names Jāgēśvarapura and Vellamāmbāpura or Velamapura applied to two parts of Veligalani appear to have gone out of use while the name Kapilēśvarapura, which was originally applied to a third part of old Veligalani after the name of the donor, came to be applied to the entire village. The village of Mūṇḍlapūṇḍi is apparently the present Muḷlapūḍi while Kanumūru is the village of the same name near Kapilēśvarapuram. Penamāṅgūru is modern Penamakūru. The other localities mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT³

Second Plate, First Side

[Sanskrit]

1 pi tōlāyatē | 6 |⁴ Vīra-śrī-Kapilēśvara tāvaka-chamū-dhātishuḥ(shu) bhērī-

2 dhvanau bhār-ābhugna-bhujamga-puṁgava-phaṇāsv=ākrānta-rōd-ōmta-

¹ Cf. Panchadharla pillar inscription (Saka 1325) of the Kōna king Chōḍa III (above, Vol. XIX, p. 156) and the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya-nāyaka (ibid, Vol. XXXII, p. 267, text line 150-51).

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 356.

³ From impressions.

⁴ The Telugu numeral 4 is incised in the left margin showing that this was the fourth plate of the original grant later utilised for drawing up a new charter. The first plate of the new charter, which was engraved apparently on the inner side only, is lost.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita(?).

- 3 rē | **Ham**pā kampam-agāt tadā(tō)=dhikadha(ta)rā **Dvā(Dhā)**rā cha dhār-ātura-
 4 dvārā **Kalubarigā**¹ vimukta-turagā **Dhilli** cha Bhilli-vṛitā ||7||² Tulya-
 5 m chēd=rajatēna śukti-rajataṁ hēmn=ārakūṭaṁ samaṁ syā-
 6 ch=chēt=kācha-maṇis-surēndra-maṇinā sādṛīsyam-abhyēti chēt | naksha-
 7 tram graha-nāyakēna tulanāṁ viṁdētā chēt=tējasā vīra-śrī-**Kapi-**
 8 **lēsvarēṇa** samatām=anyō janēśō vrajēt || 8 ||² Dānē yaśasi śauryē
 9 cha **Kapilēndra**-mahīkshitā [|*] n-ānyē samās-samā[s*]-syus-tē chatvāraḥ **shōḍaśa**
 tra-
 10 yaḥ || 9 ||³ Niśśēshaṁ nihatāḥ parē vasumatī nītā tadīyyā(yā) vaśam ta-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 d-vitta-pratipādanēna sakalā vidvaj-janāḥ pōshitāḥ | vikhyātir=jagadē-
 12 ka-vīr[ra]⁴ iti cha vyākhyāpitā rōdasō Rāmēṇ=ēva dharā dharātridaśa-
 13 sāt=kāry-ēti buddhiṁ vaban || 10 ||² **Śāk-ābdē Bahudhānya**-nāmni ga-
 14 nītē **vyōm-ēbha-vahn-imdubhir-Vaiśākhyām Kapilēsvarō Harigukā-Mē-**
 15 **ḍūri-sīmni** sthitam(tam) | viṁsatyai vidushāṁ śatāya cha vasan **Gō-**
 16 **dāvari**-saikatē niḥśesham **Veligalani**⁵-nāmakam-adāḍ grāmaṁ
 17 sva-pitr-ākhyayā || 11 ||² **Kṛishṇā**-dakshiṇa-vāhiṇē(nī) vijayatē **Vēṇnā(ṇṇā)-**
 18 **nadī-saṁgatā** tat-prāchyām **Vijaya-pratāpa-Kapilēndr-ākhyam** ma-
 19 hā-śāsanam(nam) | tatr-ābhānti śataṁ cha viṁsati-param viprā Vasishṭh-ō-
 20 pamā ta(s=ta)d-dātā **Vijaya-pratāpa-Kapilēndrō** bhāti dharm-ōttaraḥ || 12 ||²

*Third Plate, First Side**

- 21 Maṇishv=anarghyēshu parīkshitēshv=iva dvijēndra-ratnēshu na lakshyatē kra-
 22 mah | tath=āpi bhūmīsurarāja-mālikā vilikhyatē rāja-vilēkha-
 23 na-kramāt || 13 ||⁷

¹ Read *Kalbarigā* for the sake of the metre.

² Metre : *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

³ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*. Of the 4, 16 and 3 persons famous respectively for their liberality, fame and valour, the second group refers to the ancient imperial rulers of the Shōḍaśa-rājakiya section of the *Mahābhārata* (*Drōṇa-parvan*, chapters 53 ff.). It is difficult to say whether the first group refers to Karna, Śibi Uśīnara, Bali and Dadhi-
 chi and the third to Bhishma, Drōṇa and Arjuna.

⁴ The letter *ra* is written below the line.

⁵ The metre requires *Veligalni*.

⁶ The Telugu numeral 5 is found in the left margin, indicating thereby that the plate was the fifth of the original set.

⁷ Metre : *Vamśastha*.

VELIGALANI GRANT OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1380

ii, a

2	ప్రసాదాభిరామధర్మభుజిరథపురిగవచనాభిసాతారంరదాం	2
4	గారంకటబరిగావముశ్రుతరేగాధేర్విదభుచ్చిరౌగార	4
6	ప్రత్యేకమహామహాకంఠమహానామహామహామహామహా	6
8	మహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	8
10	మహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	10

ii, b

12	ప్రత్యేకమహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	12
14	మహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	14
16	మహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	16
18	మహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	18
20	మహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహామహా	20

Scale : Two-fifths

22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26
28	...	28
30	...	30

180	...	180
182	...	182
184	...	184
186	...	186
188	...	188

[Telugu]

Śubham=astu | Veligalani-Kapilēśvarapurānaku | Jāgē-

- 24 śvarapurapu vidhiki uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi Godavartti-Sarvā-bhaṭlu Kā-
 25 śyapa-gōtram Ru(Ṛ)gvēdi | Oḍḍe Nāgā-bhaṭlu Āṅgīrasa-Bhāradvā-
 26 ja-gōtram Ru(Ṛ)gvēdi | Kurti Rāmā-bhaṭlu [Mau]dgalya-gōtram Ya-
 27 jurvēdi | Muṇṇa(na)ṅgi Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭlu Bhārdvāja-gōtram Ṛi-
 28 gvēdi | Yenipalela Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yaju-
 29 rvēdi | Jamṇa(na)sāni Anṇa(na)m-bhaṭlu Śrīvatsa-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Ākunū-
 30 ri Mukti-bhaṭlu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Yenamaṇḍra Sōmā-bha-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 31 ṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Upadrashṭha Yagnē(jñē)śva[ra*]-sōmayājulu
 32 Kaumḍinya-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Yēṭūri Vallava-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gō-
 33 tram Yajurvēdi | Gotti(rtti) Narasimha(ha)-bhaṭlu Śrīvatsa-gōtram Yajurvē-
 34 di | Hari Mallu-bhaṭlu Vādhūla-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Śivā Patvata-bhaṭlu
 35 Hārta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yeḍavalle Rāmā-bhaṭlu Śrīvatsa-gō-
 36 tram Yajurvēdi | Malyāla Nāgā-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi |
 37 Kūnapu(pa)lli Vennā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Kṛishṇaṇ-
 38 bhaṭla Kannā-dvivēḍulu Gārgya-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Puveye Yatu-bhaṭlu
 39 Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Bhaṇḍāru Sōmā-bhaṭlu Gautama-
 40 gōtram Yajurvēdi | Maṇḍaḍapu Gōpāla-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram

Fourth Plate, First Side¹

- 41 Ru(Ṛ)gvēdi || 20 || Dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi Rājukoṇḍa Mallu-bhaṭlu Hā-
 42 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Uppalūri Prōlu-bhaṭlu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram
 43 Yajurvēdi || Pūrimetṭa Trivikrama-bhaṭlu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ru(Ṛ)gvēdi | Ko-
 44 ṇḍapalli Mallu-sōmayāiulu Gautama-gōtram Yajurvēdi ||
 45 Pulye Bhīmēśvara-bhaṭlu Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi || Golla-
 46 pūṇḍi Peddi-bhaṭlu Kā(Kau)ṇḍinya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Maḍugūri
 47 Sōmā-bhaṭlu Hārta-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Upadrashṭha Viśvēśvara-bhaṭlu Kau-
 48 ṇḍinya-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Māṇjēti Durgā-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram
 49 Yaju[rvē]di | Kūchi Mall-āvadhāṇlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yajurvēdi |
 50 Lolla Vallava-bhaṭlu Hārta-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Pūrimetṭa Āditva-

¹ The Telugu numeral 6 is engraved near the ring hole showing that this was the sixth plate of the original set

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 51 bhaṭlu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Dūrvāsula Vallava-bhaṭlu Śrīvatsa-gōtram
 52 Yajurvēdi | Kō[na]kaṁchi Komman-ojhalu Gārgya-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Nāgava-
 53 [ra]¹pu Yellu-bhaṭlu Ātrēya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Dhūlipāḷa Kēsava-bhaṭlu Kā(Kau)-
 54 śika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Shaḍḍarsanam Janārdana-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram
 55 Ṛigvēdi | Kām[dū]ri Rāmā-bhaṭlu Hārita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Bēta-
 56 na-bhaṭla Narahari-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yēṭūri Dēchi-bha-
 57 ṭlu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || 20 || Vellamāmbāpura-vīdhiki uttara-śrē-
 58 ṇi paśchim-ādi | Mahākālī-bhaṭlu Kutsa-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Dūrvāsu-
 59 la Rāmā-bhaṭlu Śrīvatsa-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Aḍḍāḍa Tippā-bhaṭlu Hā-
 60 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Yempalela Peda-Kāmā-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram

Fifth Plate, First Side²

- 61 Yajurvēdi | Imḡu Vallava-bhaṭlu Śaunaka-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Vaḍḍi Pō-
 62 t-āvadhānlu Kauśika-gōtram [Ya]³jurvēdi | Penum[ba]rti Gaṁgādhara-
 63 bhaṭlu Kaumḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kuppa Sarvā-bhaṭlu Kaumḍinya-
 64 gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Sādhu Peddi-bhaṭlu Śrī[va*]tsa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |
 65 Sāmavēdi Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdulu Kaumḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)ju-
 66 rvēdi || Nāli Mallu-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi |
 67 Vēdāntam Prōlu-bhaṭlu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Rāmākṛishṇa-
 68 m-bhaṭṭla(ṭla) Annam-bhaṭlu Vādhūla-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Siddhi Yetu-
 69 sōmayājulu Āṁgi[rasa*]-Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Kā-
 70 mḍva(ṇva) Chittā-ojhalu Maitrēya-gōtram Kāmḍva(Kāṇva)-śākha | Kāmḍva(Kāṇva) Maṁ=

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 71 chi-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Kāmḍva(Kāṇva)śākha | Kāmḍva(Kāṇva) Peddi-bhaṭlu Kauśika-
 72 gōtram Kāmḍva(ṇva)-śākha | Kāmḍva(Kāṇva)-Narasimhyo(h-o)jhalu Maitrēya-gō-
 73 tram Kāmḍva(Kāṇva)-śākha | Oḍḍe Dēvarē-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ṛigvē-
 74 di | Oḍali Aubhaḷa-bhaṭlu Hārita-gōtram Ṛigvēdi || 20 || Dakshiṇa-
 75 śrēṇi paśchim-ādi | Chēvanapeddi Pōtu-bhaṭlu Hārita-gōtram
 76 Yajurvēdi | Bhāskararāju Dēvarē-bhaṭlu Kutsa-gōtram Ya-
 77 jurvēdi | Annaṅgēri Peddi-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ṛigvēdi | Pe-
 78 rumāḍi Saumitri-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Mu-
 79 kkolani Vallava-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Kaḍali Āditya-bha-
 80 ṭlu Kaumḍinya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Tāḍēpalli Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭlu Hā-

¹ Engraved in the left margin.² The Telugu numeral 7 is engraved near the ring hole.³ Originally *ya* had been written and was corrected to *yē*.

Sixth Plate, First Side¹

- 81 rita-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Kamḍave(va)lli Viśvē[śva*]r-āchāryulu Bhāradvāja-gōtram
 82 Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Maddāli Anant-ojhalu Maudgalya-gōtram Yajurvēdi |
 83 Dāmōdara Peddi-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Challa Narahari-bhaṭlu Kau-
 84 mḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Bhāgavatula Tīrumala-bhaṭlu Kapi-gōtram Ya-
 85 jurvēdi || Nōri Nāgā-dvivēdulu Ye(Ya)jurvēdi Hārta-gōtram | Tā-
 86 qēpalli Yarrā-ojhalu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Tādipūm-
 87 ḍi Narasiṁhyā(h-ā)vadhānlu² Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bhūtanāthani Bhairava-bhaṭlu Gautama-
 88 gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Peyyala Māru-bhaṭlu Mudgala gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvē-
 89 di | Ānandula Mallā-ojhalu Hārta-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Jagalla(rla)pū-
 90 mḍi Siṁgā-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Divākara-bhaṭla Gaṁgā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 91 dhara-bhaṭlu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20|| **Kapilēśvarapurapu** vīdhi[ki]
 92 uttara-śrēṇi paśchim-ādi | Nārāyaṇa-dvivēdula Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭlu Bhā-
 93 radvāja-gōt am Yajurvēdi | Tōmṭa-sōmayājula Narasiṁhya(ha)-bhaṭlu
 94 Kauṁḍinya-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Jagarlapūmḍi Kāśīśvara-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-
 95 gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi | Ye(ya)jñanna-bhaṭla Jagannātha-bhaṭlu Kauṁḍinya-gōtram Ru(Ri)-
 gvēdi |
 96 Appalē-bhaṭla Sarvā-bhaṭlu Śāṁṭilya-gōtram Yajurvēdi | Śāṁkara Ka-
 97 suvā-ojhalu Gautama-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Māṅgamṭi Sōmā-
 98 bhaṭlu Kāśyapa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Chinṭalapāṭi Yarpōta-bhaṭlu Hāri-
 99 ta-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Satyāśhāḍha Peddi-bhaṭlu Śaṭhama[r*]shaṇa-gōtram Ya-
 100 jurvēdi | Sōlasa Pedd-ojhalu Bhārdvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Amḍu-
 101 villa Sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Yaniparēla Pina-Kā-

Seventh Plate, First Side³

- 102 mā-bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bētana-bhaṭla Rudrā-
 103 bhaṭu(tlu) Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Uttarēśvarapu Narasiṁhya(ha)-
 104 sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Chemigola-
 105 ni Rāmā-bhaṭlu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Kamḍave(va)lli Prōlu-
 106 bhaṭlu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Jonnalagaḍḍa Pōtu-
 107 bhaṭlu Gautama-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Mulukalūri Tallu-bha-
 108 ṭlu Kauṁḍinya-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || Koṁḍapalli Gōpāla-bhaṭlu Kauṁ-
 109 ḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Śatakūri Pōtu bhaṭlu Kāśya(śya)pa-gō-
 110 tram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || 20 || Dakṣiṇa-śrēṇi paśchim ādi [!]*1 Amḍuvilla Lakshmaṇa-
 111 sōmayājulu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Tēlaprōli Li-

¹ The Telugu numeral 8 is engraved to the left of the ring hole.² The engraver has omitted the name of his gōtra.³ The Telugu numeral 9 is engraved in the left margin.

Seventh Plate, Second Side¹

- 112 m̃gā-ojhalu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi | Maṁdaḍapu
 113 Aubhaḷ-ojhalu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bejavāḍa Siṁgā-
 114 ojhalu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Maṁchi-bhaṭṭa Kāmā-
 115 bhaṭṭu Maitrēya-gōtram Yē(Ya)jurvēdi || Būruu(vu)gaḍḍa Bhāva-
 116 nārāyaṇ-ojhalu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Purā-
 117 ṇaṁ Tirumala-bhaṭṭu Śāṁḍilya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Bi-
 118 ṭṭagumṭa Mādha-ojhalu Śāṁḍilya-gōtram Kāmḍava(Kāṇva)-śākha ||
 119 Kuṁdēṭi Maḷlā-ojhaḷṭ Bhāradvāja-gōtram Kaṁḍava(Kāṇva)-śākha ||
 120 Rēmalla Bhīmā-ojhalu Kāśyapa-gōtram Kāmḍava(Kāṇva)-śākha || Mu-
 121 kkōlani Mādha-ojhalu Hārita-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi ||

Eighth Plate, First Side²

- 122 Pulya Prōlu-bhaṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Ālamū-
 123 ri Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kauṁḍinya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Appāya-dvi-
 124 vēdula Tallu-bhaṭṭu Chām(Śāṁ)ḍilya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi [|*] Maḷavarapu Te-
 125 lumgari-bhaṭṭu Bhāradvāja-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi || [A]³śvarōmula Kā-
 126 madēva-bhaṭṭu Kauśika-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Kāṭanagaḍḍa Aubhaḷa-bha-
 127 ṭṭu Ātrēya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Metaku Jagannātha-bhaṭṭu Kauṁḍi-
 128 nya-gōtram Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || Dūrvāsula Appalē-bhaṭṭu Śrīvatsa-gōtra-
 129 ṁ Ye(Ya)jurvēdi || [Chē]takūri Sūru-bhaṭṭu Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Ru(Ri)gvēdi

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 130 || 20 || Verasi 120⁴ [|*]

Ninth Plate, First Side

- 140 ḍi⁵ paḍamaṭi-mukhamai mōṭa-rāviki vellī ūḍugula-putṭa mō-
 141 chi vu(u)ttaram-mukhamai Bhīmarati(thi)-dhari prāṁta-putṭa mōchenu [|*] Am-
 142 dun=umḍi paḍamaṭi-mukhamai būruvuku vellī ā-paḍamaṭi-
 143 Kuṁpaṭipuṭṭi tirigi nēla-putṭan=umḍi vu(u)ttaram-mukhamai pōi(yi)-
 144 lōkunim̃gām-dirigi uttaram-mukhamai pōyi dēvara-chēni-
 145 paḍamaṭi-nallam-butṭan=umḍi(ḍi) paḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi
 146 mōṭa-rāviki vellī ā-paḍamaṭi-pedda-putṭan=umḍi daksha(kshi)ṇaṁ-mu-
 147 khamai pōyi daṁṭṭa-tāḍi-putṭan=umḍi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pō-
 148 yi ūḍugula-putṭan=umḍi uttaram-mukhamai nēla-kumṭa mōchi pa-
 149 ḍamaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pedda-putṭan=umḍi uttaram-mukhamaiyi(mai)

¹ The Telugu numeral 1 and a floral design are faintly seen at the margin.

² The number 10 in Telugu numerals is engraved near the ring hole. This plate is only 6 inches height.

³ The letter ī seems to have been corrected to a.

⁴ The old writing on the rest of the plate is beaten in. Some letters belonging to the earlier grant are visible here and there.

⁵ The writing on this plate referring to the boundaries of the gift land begins abruptly in the middle of a word which may be *amḍun-umḍi*.

Ninth Plate, Second Side

- 150 mañchi-nilla-kumṭṭa-ājñā(gnē)yañ-mūla yaṣṣam-butṭa mōchenu [|*]
 151 Amḍun=umḍi daksha(kshi)ṇam-mukhamai pōyi Peñchikelapāḍu mō-
 152 chi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi pāḍu tirigi daksha(kshi)ṇa-mukhamai
 153 pōyi prāmta-mōmdugu-putṭan=umḍi tūrupu-mukhamai
 154 pōyi yaṣṣam-butṭan=umḍi daksha(kshi)ṇa-mukhamai pōyi pe-
 155 dda-putṭa mōchi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi borra-nakka-viriki vellī-
 156 kara-vermṭṭanē pōyi Bhīmarati(thī) dāmṭi dariye(ya)-daksha(kshi)ṇam-mukha-
 157 mai pōyi vāṃgu vu(u)ttarapu-prāmta-putṭa mōchi paḍumaṭi-mu-
 158 khamai tiḡe-mrōmdumuku vellī Paiñḍi-mukkula-rāvula-ḍomkka
 159 mōchi vu(u)ttaram-mukhamai pōyi ḍomka tirigi pedda-putṭan=um-

Tenth Plate, First Side

- 160 [ḍ=im*]chika-mēra¹ vōyi paḍumaṭi mukhamai Bhīmarathī mōchenu [|*] Amḍdun=n
 161 mḍi Bhīmarati(thī) vermṭṭanē uttarām-mukhamai pōyi Mallamarāju-kana-
 162 man=umḍi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi Penamamgūri polamēra-
 163 mīmḍi pedda-putṭan=umḍi uttarām-mukhamai Sañbanē-kumṭa paḍamatañ-
 164 gām=bōyi Nāgamayya-putṭa mōchi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai i-
 165 mchika-mēra pōyi uttarām-mukhamai pōyi Garagaparti po-
 166 lamēra mīmḍi nēla-putṭa mōchi tūrppu-mukhamai pōyi tum-
 167 ga-kumṭa mōchenu [|*] Amḍun=umḍi uttarām-mukhamai pōyi graddala-
 168 maṣṣi-kumṭa tirigi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi nēla-kumṭa mōchi u-
 169 ttaram-mukhamai pōyi Mōramṭāḍa polamēra-mīmḍi Garapapu-

Tenth Plate, Second Side²

- 170 polamēra nirnna(rṣa)yamu | I(Ī)sāny-ādi Kanumūri voḍḍum-jēruvu daksha(kshi)ṇapu-tū
 171 munan=umḍḍi(ḍi) daksha(kshi)ṇapu-mukhamai pōyi avūṣum-gōḍu dāmṭi
 172 imchika-mēra pōyi paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi daksha(kshi)ṇapu-mu-
 173 khamai pōyi appatimnni(ni) paḍumaṭi-mukhamai pōyi daksha(kshi)ṇa-
 174 mukhamai pōyi nallam-butṭan=umḍi tūrppu-mu-
 175 khamai pōyi prāmta-putṭan=umḍḍi daksha(kshi)ṇa-mukhamai
 176 pōyi Doḍḍapanēni-vāri-tōmṭa paḍumaṭi Pōturāju vam-
 177 kka-tādi-putṭan=umḍi tūrppu-mukhamai pōyi Mumḍlap[ū]-
 178 mḍi mañchi-nilla-kumṭa paḍumaṭi-chauṭa-nūmtan=umḍḍi(ḍi) daksha(kshi)ṇa
 179 mukhamai pōyi Mirti-pedda-putṭan=umḍi tūrpu-mukhamai pōyi ā³

¹ The letter *ra* is engraved above the line.² The Telugu numerals 1 and 2 are written vertically at the side of the ring hole.³ The writing stops here abruptly.

Eleventh Plate, First Side¹

[Oriya]

- 180 **Mēḍura-thala**-madhyē **Vēlagāliṇī** Kōshṭa(shṭha)-kari(ra)ṇa-nāmā khaṇḍē āti-
 181 tō Bhōgyama-daṇḍapāṭa mūla-kōṭha-desarū phēḍī Śrīharsta(sta)-
 182 santake **Gaūtami**-nadī-gara[bha]-bhi[ta*]rē Siṅga Vrēhala(pa)ti Purṇa-
 183 kāli(la)-smaē Śrīhastē pāṇī chhāḍilā bhūmī-dāna nānā-gōṭa Vrā(Brā)-
 184 hmaṇaṅku Vira-śrī-Gajapta(pati)-**Gaūḍēsara** rṇṇa(na)va-kōṭi-**Karṇṇāṭa-**
 185 **Kalavarag-ēsara** Pratāpa-**Kapilēsara**dēva-mahārājā-
 186 ṅkara data **Jāgēsara**pura-sāsana **Vēlamapura**-sāsana Pratāpa-**Ka-**
 187 **pilēsara**pura-sāsana ē tini sāsanaḥ bhā[ga*] 40 lēkhāē bhāga 120 [l*] [ē?]
 188 vāḍi-tōlā-jaḷa-bhūmī madhikari dēi hōilā [l*] ē gāara bhūmī-
 189 pāa | aihmē sarva-māirṇṇa chhatisī āvadānā madhikari chhāḍi bhākē(ga)-[bhō]-

Eleventh Plate, Second Side

- 190 ga karāivā [l*]²

[Sanskrit]

- 191 Kalyāṇam-ākālayatām Kamalādhināthaḥ Kōlākṛitir=jala-nidhē-
 192 s=samuduhyamānā || (l) daṁtēna yasya kanak-āchala-karṇikā
 193 bhūr=vyākōcha-kōkanada-kōraka-kāntir=āsīt ||³ | Śrī[h*] |
 194 *Āvēdanāni śaṭṭtrimśat=tyaktvā śrī-**Kapilēsvara**ḥ [l*] grāma-
 195 grās-ānvitam grāmaṁ sarva-mānyam sad-ākarōt ((l))⁵ Sā-
 196 māny-[ōyam dha]rma-sētur=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pāla-
 197 nī[yyō(yō)] bhavadbhiḥ | itthaṁ sarvān bhāvinaḥ pā-
 198 rtthi[vēmdrā]n bhūyō bhūyō yā[cha]tē [Rā*]ma-
 199 chaṁ[dra]ḥ [l*]⁶

¹ A floral design is engraved near the ring hole.

² The various designs engraved after this have already been discussed above, p. 275.

³ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

⁴ The following six lines, apparently belonging to the original charter, have to be read from the bottom side of the plate. They exhibit marks of being partially beaten in and appear to have been engraved by a different hand. These lines were probably not completely beaten in because they are not unsuitable to the context of the new record.

⁵ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre : *Śatini*.

No. 53— BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.11.1958)

This copper-plate inscription is edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, from a set of photographs obtained in his office during the year 1949-50.¹ The plates are reported to have been found at a place called **Bandora** in the Goa territory, along with the two grants of Bhōja Prithivimallavarman² and another two of the Kadamba kings Tribhuvanamalladēva³ and Shashthadēva II⁴ respectively.

The **set** consists of two plates, each measuring about 6·6" by 2·6". In the left margin of each plate, there is a hole about ·25" in diameter, through which passed a ring. A small piece of copper is chipped off in the right-hand corner of the first plate ; but only three or four letters have been lost thereby, which, however, can be restored without difficulty. Otherwise, the writing is well-preserved.

The **characters** of the record closely resemble those of the two grants of the Bhōja king Prithivimallavarman referred to above though they are box-headed (of a peculiar type) in our inscription instead of what has been called hook-headed in the other records. So on grounds of palaeography, the present inscription may be referred to about the **6th or 7th century A.D.** Each plate is engraved on the inner side only and there are eleven lines of writing, the first plate containing five lines while the second plate six. The **orthography** of the record does not call for any special remarks. The **language** is Sanskrit and the entire text is in prose. In point of style also the record bears close similarity to the two Bhōja grants mentioned above.

The inscription opens with the word *dātṭham*. The charter is issued from the victorious **Kumāra-dvīpa** and refers itself to the reign of the Maurya *Mahārāja Anirjitavarman* (line 1). It is addressed, in the words of the king, to the inhabitants of the Twelve-village *dēśa* as well as the present and future officials such as the *bhōjakas*, *āyuktakas* and *sthāyins* (lines 2-3). The object of the record in lines 3-8 seems to register the king's grant of one *hala* of *khajjana* land as well as a piece of land, including a house-site, a garden and a tank belonging to an unnamed *Rāshṭra-kūṭa*. In addition to this, some land to be reclaimed by clearing the forest (*aranyā-karshaṇa*) by employing four batches of workers (*prēshya-kula*) was also granted. The gift was made for securing the welfare and final beatitude of the king as well as of Nāgapadda, Malladatta and Achala. The donee was Hastyārya of the Hārīta *gōtra*, who is called *ukta-niyōga* and *grihīta-sāhasra*. The expression *ukta-niyōga* seems to have been used in the sense of 'a specified or appointed person, while *grihīta-sāhasra* appears to denote 'a person learned in the Sāma-Vēda [which is supposed to have a thousand branches]'. The gift was exempted from all taxes (*paṇḡa*).⁵

¹ It is registered in *A.R. Ep.*, 1949-50, App. A, No. 9. Cf. also above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 339-40.

² Above, pp. 61 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol., XXX, pp. 71 ff.

⁴ Below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 105 ff.

⁵ For *paṇḡa* meaning a kind of tax, see above, pp. 54 ff.

Lines 8-9 state that the Brāhmaṇa, i.e. the donee Hastyārya, who would enjoy the produce of the land by putting up a bund to prevent the salt water [from entering the field on the sea-shore] should not be disturbed in his enjoyment by anybody. This is followed by another imprecatory sentence in lines 9-11.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was the king himself (line 11). The charter ends with the date (line 11) which is given as the **tenth day of the seventh fortnight of Hēma**, i.e. Hēmanta, in the **twentyninth year** apparently of the king's reign. This year 29 is expressed by the numerical symbols for 20 and 9.

The inscription is important as it introduces a hitherto unknown king of the Maurya dynasty, viz. Anirjitavarman who seems to have held sway somewhere in the western coast about the Goa territory about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Though it is difficult to identify Kumāra-dvīpa whence the charter was issued, it appears to have been located somewhere in this region. In this connection, we may notice another copper-plate inscription which is also reported to have been discovered in Goa and which belongs to the reign of a king named Chandravarman.¹ It is dated in the second regnal year of the king, Chaitra (?) ba-di 10. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be referred to a date slightly earlier than that of the inscription under study. Its object is to record the donation of some land to the *Mahā-vihāra* at Śivapura which is identified with the modern village of the same name near Chandor in Goa. This shows that Chandravarman was ruling over some part of the Goa territory. Unfortunately the first line of the record which apparently contained the name of the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged is very badly damaged and effaced. Dr. M.G. Dikshit read two letters in this line as *m=āryya* and suggested that the king might have belonged to the early Kadamba dynasty. In a note on this inscription,² Dr. D. C. Sircar suggested the reading of the word *Mauryya* as an alternative to *m=āryya* and observed that Chandravarman of Goa might have had some relations with the Mauryas of the Koṅkan. A close examination of the printed facsimile of the record would show that the reading of the word *Mauryya* in line 1 is almost certain and this no doubt refers to the dynasty to which Chandravarman belonged. Thus we get one Chandravarman of the Maurya dynasty who was also ruling somewhere in the west coast in the Goa territory near about the period of the inscription under study. Except Chandravarman and Anirjitavarman, no other king of this dynasty ruling in the said region at this period is known. But from the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja³ and from the recent discovery of a few copper-plate grants of the kings of the Bhōja dynasty, we learn that these Bhōja kings also held sway somewhere in the Goa territory on the west coast from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The relations between the two Maurya kings Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman with the Bhōja kings cannot be determined without further light on the subject. It may, however, be noted that, in the celebrated Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II dated in 634 A.D.,⁴ the king's father Kirtivarman I is described as a night of death to the Mauryas, Naḷas and Kadambas⁵ of whom the Mauryas were ruling in the Koṅkan as stated later in the record. Maṅgalēśa and Pulakēśin II also are credited with success against these Mauryas.⁶ The events took place during the latter half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century A.D. It is not impossible that the Mauryas defeated by the early Chālukyan kings belonged to the same branch as that of Anirjitavarman and Chandravarman. Since the early Western Chālukyan records do not refer to the defeat of the Bhōjas but

¹ *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181-84 and Plate.

² *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXIII (Silver Jubilee Volume), pp. 510-13.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff.; Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text line 4.

⁵ This event is also referred to in the later records like the Kaṭhēm grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.)

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4 ff., text lines 6 and 10.

BANDORA PLATES OF MAURYA ANIRJITAVARMAN, YEAR 29

i

2 2

4 4

ii

6 6

8 8

10 10

(from Photographs)

only to that of the Mauryas, it appears that the latter ousted the Bhōja kings in the west coast about the sixth century A.D. and that they, in their turn, were defeated by the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

As stated before, the gift was made for the merit of the king as well as that of three other persons named Nāgapadda, Malladatta and Achala. The relationship of these three persons with the king is not mentioned. It is possible that they were the real donors of the gift,¹ and the land, including the house-site, garden and tank belonging to the *Rāshtrakūṭa*, appears to have been purchased by them for the purpose of the gift. The expression *khajjana* occurs in some other records of this region and it has been shown to be the same word as the modern Marāṭhī (and also Konkaṇī) *khājāṇ* meaning 'a rice-field created out of the nullah on a sea-shore by putting embankments after the ebb-tide.'² It is interesting to note that this meaning is supported by our inscription which states that the donee would cultivate the land by putting up an embankment to prevent the salt water (*lavaṇa-jalam sētunā nivārya kshētram=utpādya cha*).

Kumāra-dvīpa is the only geographical name mentioned in the record and it has been discussed above.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 [Di]tṭham (Dṛiṣṭam) [||*] Vijaya-Kumāradvīpān=Mauryya-mahārājasya śrīmad-Anirjītavarmmaṇō vacha[nāt]⁴
- 2 dēśē Dvādaśagrāmyā⁵ grāmō(ma)-paurakāḥ varttamāna-bhavishyad-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sthā-[yy-ā]-⁴
- 3 dayaś=cha vaktavyāḥ yath=ātra grāma-sīmē=smābhiḥ Nāgapadda-Malladatt-Āchalānām(nām)
- 4 ātmanaś=cha ih-āmutrika-ni[h*]śrēyas-ārttham khajjanam(na)-halam=ērākam⁶=ēkataḥ ēkataś=cha
- 5 rāshtrakūṭa-tatāka-vāṭaka-griha-sthāna-bhu(bhū)mih chatu[r*]bhiś=cha prēshya-kulair=yyad=atra sīmē

Second Plate

- 6 Brāhmaṇaḥ aranya-karshaṇam(ṇam) kārapayati⁷ tēna sārddha[m](rddham) uktā(kta)-niyōgāya grihī[ta]-
- 7 sāhā(ha)sraṇya Hārīta-sagōtrāya Hastyāryyāya sarvva-paṇḍa-parihṛita-parī(ri)hāram
- 8 udakēna sampradattam [||*] jñātv=aivam Brāhmaṇaḥ lavaṇa-jala[m] sētunā nivāryya kshētram
- 9 utpādya ch=ōpabhumjamānaḥ na kēnachid=vyamsayitavyaḥ [||*] yō=smat-kul-ābhyanantarō=nyō vā rāga-

¹ See above, pp. 50 ff.

² Ibid., pp. 53-54 and 63.

³ From photographs.

⁴ The portion in brackets has been chipped off.

⁵ Read °grāmyā.

⁶ Read °kham°.

⁷ Read kārapayati.

- 10 dvēsha-lōbha-mada-mātsaryy-ādibhir=ddōshair=abhibhūtaḥ vyāmsanān=kuryyāt=sa pañcha-
mahāpātak-ō-
- 11 papātaḥ-samyukta[h*] syād=iti [h*] atr=ājñaptiḥ svayam mahārājaḥ || sāvva(sariva) 20
9 || Hēma 7 diva 10 [h*]
-

No. 54—CHANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 23.3.1958)

In November 1957 I received an impression of a stone inscription for examination from Mr. A. C. Banerji of the Mid-Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Patna. The inscribed stone was found by the Circle officers at the village of **Chandil** in the Singhbhum District of Bihar. The stone slab was originally the lintel in the doorway of an old temple destroyed long ago. A new temple was later constructed on the foundation of the old one.

The inscription is written in three lines ; but the third line is very small. The beginning of the second line is ahead of the first while line 3 begins ahead of line 2. The incision of the letters is deep and most of them can be seen clearly from the back of the impression. But the impression itself suffers from indifferent inking. The space covered by the writing is about 25½ inches in length and about 3½ inches in height.

The **characters** of the record resemble those in the epigraphs of the age of the early Pālas and may be assigned to a date in the **eighth or ninth century A.D.** on palaeographical grounds. Both the Dēvanāgarī and Bengali types of the *anusvāra* are used in the epigraph.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit ; but it is very corrupt there being a number of grammatical and orthographical errors. An interesting **orthographical** feature is the indiscriminate use of *ś* and *s* in the words *śatata* (Sanskrit *satata*), *śuta* (Sanskrit *suta*) and *sira* (either Sanskrit *śiras* or a mistake for *Śiva*).

The inscription, written in three sentences, bears neither any date nor the name of the ruler of the country. Its **object** is to record the construction of a *dēvakula* or temple, apparently at **Chandil** in the Singhbhum District where the inscribed stone has been found, by a person named **Dāmappa** who was the son of **Bhōgulla**. This is indicated by the last sentence of the record which reads: *Bhōgullasya śuta-Dāmappēna dēvakula sthāpitam* (i.e. *Bhōgullasya sutēna Dāmappēna dēvakulam sthāpitam*). The name **Dāmappa** seems to be of Kannada origin and the original home of the family to which the person belonged may have been in the southern part of India. The name of the deity for whom **Dāmappa** built the shrine is not clear from the context. But the person is introduced in the first sentence of the record as a devotee of a deity called *Bhagavati Trailōkyavijayā* and it is apparently this goddess whose shrine was built. This sentence reads: *śrī-bhagavatyām Trailōkyavijayām Dāmappa śatataṁ bhaktibhāvē tishṭhati* (i.e. *śrī-bhagavatyām Trailōkyavijayāyām Dāmappaḥ śatataṁ bhakti-bhāvēna tishṭhati*).

The second sentence of the inscription is very much corrupt. It reads: *nā[ma]-śaraṇam pra[tyēksha] jīṭ-āñjalim=ashṭhaṅga śirasā yōjyā pata[m] prañamāmi*. It will be seen that, while the first sentence uses the name of the individual responsible for the construction of the shrine in the Third Person, the second is apparently represented as his speech in the First Person. Moreover the too many grammatical errors in the sentence make it very difficult to understand its real import. But we may possibly suggest that the main part of the sentence in correct Sanskrit should be *nāma-smaraṇāt pratyakshām kṛit-āñjalim s-āshṭ-āṅgam śirasā yōjyām patan prañamāmi*. In that case, *śirasā yōjyā*, 'one worthy of being placed on the head', together with *nāma-smaraṇāt pratyakshā*, 'one who becomes visible to a person as soon as the latter remembers her name', has to be regarded as an epithet of the goddess *Trailōkyavijayā*. The sentence would then mean : "I bow down, with all my eight limbs and with folded palms, to the goddess who becomes visible to a person as soon as he remembers her name and who is worthy of being placed on the head, after having fallen flat on the ground."

Or, should we think that the intended word is *Śiva-sāyujyā*? *Śiva-sāyujya* is of course 'communion with the god Śiva', or 'absorption into Śiva'. *Sāyujya* is the last of the four grades or states of *mukti* or beatitude, the three others being *sālōkya* (being in the same world as the god to whom one is devoted), *sāmīpya* (nearness to the object of devotion), and *sārūpya* (assimilation to or conformity with the deity), to which some authorities add *sārshṭi* (equality in rank or condition or power with the deity).¹ If this emendation is accepted, Dāmappa no doubt believed that his devotion to the goddess Trailōkyavijayā would lead to his communion with Śiva. The association of Trailōkyavijayā and Śiva again would suggest that the goddess was conceived as the *Śakti* of the god.

There is no goddess named Trailōkyavijayā in the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon. In the lexicons, the expression *trailōkyavijayā* in the feminine is recognised only in the sense of 'a sort of hemp from which an intoxicating infusion is prepared'. But the name of the goddess reminds us of the Buddhist god Trailōkyavijaya whose conception is associated with the Buddhist attempt to humiliate the Hindu deities Śiva and Pārvatī. This god is represented as blue-coloured, four-faced and eight-armed and as exhibiting the Vajrahūṅkāra-mudrā (i.e. with the wrists of the principal hands crossing at the breast, an attitude indicating intensity) with the hands holding the bell and thunderbolt, as carrying in the three other right hands the *khaṭvāṅga* (a staff with a skull at the top), goad and arrow and in the three other left hands the bow, noose and thunderbolt, as standing in the *pratyālīḍha* attitude (i.e. with the left foot advanced and the right drawn back) with garments of various colours, and as trampling on the head of Śiva with his left foot and the breasts of Gaurī or Pārvatī with the right.² Trailōkyavijayā was probably conceived by the Buddhists as the *Śakti* of the god Trailōkyavijaya even though she may not have enjoyed wide popularity. But our inscription may also suggest that in the early medieval period the goddess was already identified with Gaurī or Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. The case may thus be similar to such other Buddhist deities as Tārā. The inscription would then, along with others like the Nārāyaṇpur Vināyaka image inscription³ of the fourth regnal year of the Pāla king Mahīpāla (probably Mahīpāla I, c. 992-1010 A.D.), give an indication as to how the Buddhist masses were gradually absorbed into the Brahmanical society. The Nārāyaṇpur inscription records the installation of a Brahmanical deity by a follower of the Buddhist faith. Whether the nature of our inscription is Buddhist, or semi-Buddhist, the region around Chandil appears to have come once under the influence of Buddhism.

TEXT¹

- 1 Śrī-bhagavatyā[m] Trailōkyavijayām⁵ Dāmappa[h*] śa(sa)tata[m] bhakti-bhāvē⁶ tī(ti)shṭhati
[|*] nā[ma]-śaraṇam⁷
- 2 pra[tyēksha]⁸ jit-āñjalim=ashṭhaṅga⁹ sirasā yōjyā¹⁰ pata[m]¹¹ praṇamāmi |¹² Bhōgullasya
śu(su)ta¹³-Dāmappēna
- 3 dēvakula[m*] sthāpitam(tam ||)

¹ Cf. *Śabdakalpadrūpa*, s. v. *sāyujyam*.

² See *Sādhana-mālā*, G.O.S., p. 511, No. 262; B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 146-47; A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 114-16.

³ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121 ff.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Read °vijayāyām.

⁶ Better read *bhāvēna*.

⁷ Better read *śaraṇāt*.

⁸ Read *pratyakṣam*.

⁹ The *akṣara shṣṭha* is written below the line. Read *kṛit-āñjalim s-āshṭ-āṅgam*.

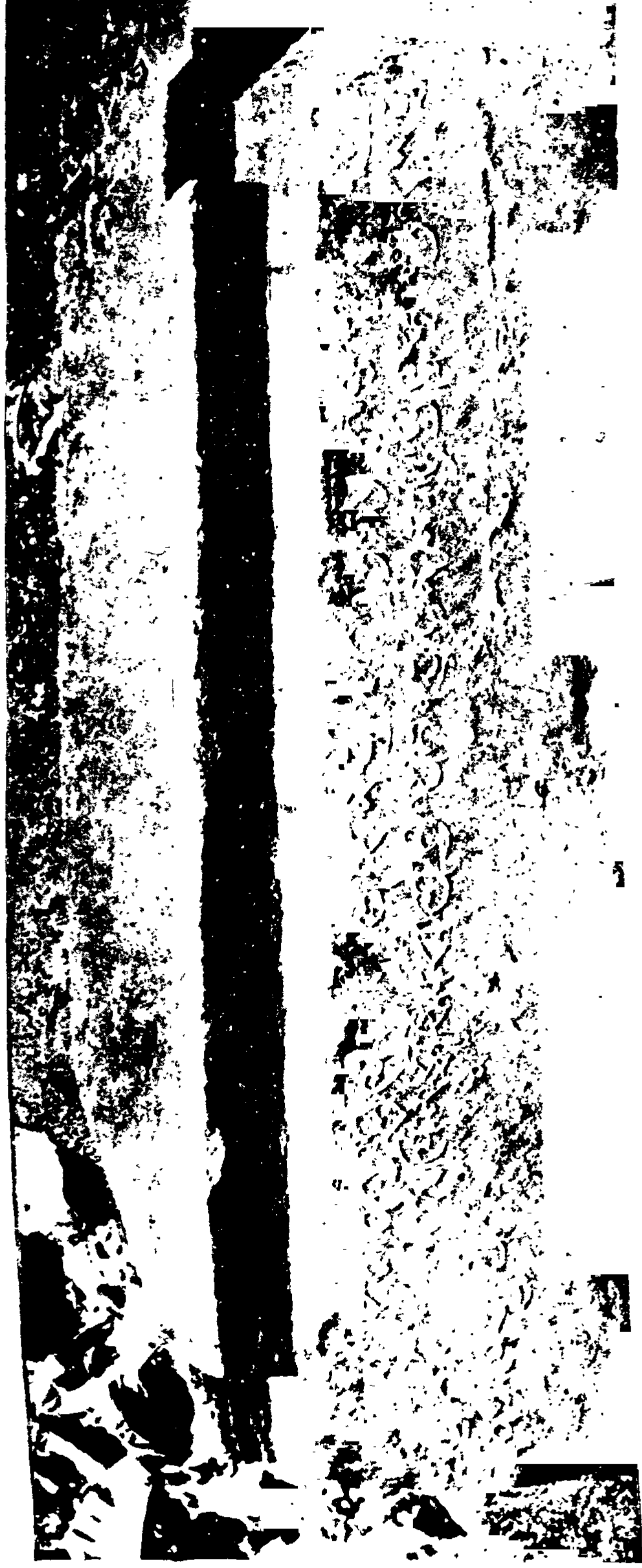
¹⁰ The intended reading may be *śirasā yōjyām* (or *sam yōjya*) or *Śiva-sāyujyāya*.

¹¹ Read *patan*.

¹² The punctuation mark is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign.

¹³ Better *Bhōgulla-suta* or *Bhōgullasya sūtēna*; but *sāpēksha-samāsas* are quite common in the epigraphic literature of India. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 175, note 6; p. 179; p. 278, note 3, etc.

CANDIL STONE INSCRIPTION



Scale : One-third

No. 55—INSCRIPTION FROM BANTVALA

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND, AND R. SATHYANARAYANA, MYSORE

(Received on 6.3.1958)

The inscription,¹ edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone tablet fixed into a platform in front of the Venkaṭaramaṇasvāmin temple at **Baṇṭvāḷa** in the Mangalore Taluk of the South Kanara District.

The epigraph is engraved in Kannaḍa script excepting the last two lines which are in Nāgarī characters. Its language, however, is Kannaḍa all through. As regards the palaeography of this late record, it is interesting to note that it uses the sign for indicating the length for ē and ō, which is placed to the right side of the letter.

The record registers the death of Svāmi Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpāda of the Kāśī *maṭha* and the erection of a lamp-post by Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga, the fifth son² of Venkaṭēśa Bāḷiga of Baṇṭvāḷa, in commemoration of the event. The inscription contains two dates, one relating to the death of the Svāmi and the other to the erection of the lamp-post. The first date is **Śaka 1808, Vyaya, Mārgaśīrsha-śu. 1, Friday**, corresponding to the **26th November 1886 A.D.** The same date is referred to in the concluding section in Nāgarī characters (lines 20-21), where reference is made to Friday the twelfth day of the month of Vṛiścika in the year Vyaya. The details agree with the 26th November 1886 A.D. The date of the erection of the lamp-post is given as **Māgha śu. 15, Tuesday**, regularly corresponding the **8th February 1887 A. D.**, and this English date also is specified in the record in line 19.

Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga, the donor of the lamp-post, was a Brāhmaṇa of the Gauḍa-Sārasvata community belonging to the Kāśī *maṭha*. It is said that the Sārasvatas originally belonged to the Punjab where they dwelt on the banks of the river Sarasvatī. Some of them are believed to have migrated to Bihar and settled in Tirhut, whence they moved westwards and settled in Goa in the South Konkan.³ About 1554 A.D. when the Portuguese, who were by then masters of Goa, began their religious persecution, the Sārasvatas fled from Goa and settled in the neighbouring Sonda State, the North and South Kanara Districts and the Cochin and Travancore States. In the earliest *Kaḍatas* (old account books) and palm-leaf documents available in the South Kanara District, they are known as *Konkaṇastha* or, as we find in our inscription, *Konkaṇa-dēśīya-Gauḍa-Sārasvata*.

Till the advent of Madhvāchārya, the founder of the dualistic philosophy, the Sārasvatas belonged to the Kavale *maṭha* (Kaivalyapura or Quela in Goa). But later many of them became followers of Madhvāchārya and set up their own spiritual heads. Thus there are two other *maṭhas* of the Gauḍa-Sārasvata community besides the Kavale *maṭha*, viz., the Kāśī *maṭha* and the Gōkarṇa *maṭha*, both being Vaiṣṇava institutions of the dualistic school of philosophy. A *maṭha* at Baṇṭvāḷa was established by Svāmi Dēvēndra-tīrtha of the Kāśī *maṭha* about the middle of the 18th century. Svāmi Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha, whose death our record registers, was the disciple of Svāmi Suyatīndra-tīrtha and is said to have possessed *mantra-śakti* as well as *vaidya-śakti*. He attained *samādhi* at Basrūr in 1886 A.D. on the date given above.

¹ A.R.E-p., 1956-57, No. B 223.

² According to a note received by us from the authorities of the Kāśī *maṭha*, Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiga was the second son of Venkaṭēśa Bāḷiga. But, according to the genealogical chart received from Shri B. Vaikunta Baliga, the former was the fifth son of the latter and this is supported by the record under study.

³ For further details about the Gauḍa-Sārasvatas, see Chavan, *Vaiṣṇava Dharma of the Gauḍa-Sārasvatas*.

The donor of our record was a member of the Bāḷiga family that was among those that fled from Goa and after various vicissitudes at last settled at Baṇṭvāla and had a temple constructed there. A celebrated member of this family is the late Bāb Bāḷiga, in whose memory a peepal tree was planted and a high stone platform was built for its protection. Our inscription is engraved on one of the stones fixed into this platform.¹ In the present inscription, Baṇṭvāla, described as the abode of the *guru*, is referred to as **Vaṭapura**.

The main interest in the record lies in the fact that it contains a song in praise of the *guru*. The song is, as the record itself mentions, in the *Kāpi-rāga* and *aṭṭa-tāla* (*ashta-tāla*). *Kāpi* is a *dēśya* (imported) *rāga*, borrowed from Hindustani music and assimilated into the Karnāṭaka system. It is a *bhāṣāṅga-janya-rāga* belonging to the Kharaharapriya *mēla*, omitting *ga* and *dha* in the ascent, with curvature about *dha* in the descent, and employing *Kakali nishāda* as an accidental in the ascent. It bears a general structural resemblance with its North Indian namesake and is in wide usage in South India, especially since the advent of the Trinity of Karnāṭaka music, viz. Tyāgarāja, Dīkshitar and Śāma Śāstri. *Aṭṭa-tāla* is one of the seven *suṭādi tālas* of ancient origin popular in Karnāṭaka, especially in the devotional songs of the Haridāsas.

The song in our record consists of a *pallavi*, an *anupallavi* and two *charaṇas*, and is in the literary style of the Haridāsas. The *pallavi* and *anupallavi* are of equal length, each consisting of two lines of eleven and thirteen syllables respectively. Each of the two *charaṇas* is of approximately the same size and consists of four lines. Inasmuch as the *anupallavi* of the present composition is of the same size as the *pallavi*, the general rule in musical composition that the *anupallavi* should be twice the length (i.e. twice the number of lines of the same size as in the *pallavi*) is not observed. It may, however, be noted that it is one of the numerous exceptions where this rule is not followed. The composition conforms, in any case, to the rule so far as the *charaṇa* is concerned as it is twice in length of the *anupallavi*. The two *charaṇas* are also in general agreement with the compositional style of the Haridāsas in the simple, almost prosaic, form of the language, the subject matter, the length of each line and the mention of the author in the last line of the last *charaṇa*.

The metre of the composition cannot be classified under *mātrā-gaṇa* or *aṁśa-gaṇa*. The accent and caesura are nowhere uniform. At best, it is an approximate *Anāvartani-ṛitta* and as such suits melodic rendering. The approximately uniform syllabic quantity in the lines of the verse is an advantage to the composition which is *nibaddha* (i.e., set to time) in view of the possibility of equitable syllabic distribution over the *tāla* cycle. The syllabic quantity in the lines is suited to the *aṭṭa-tāla* cycle of fourteen *mātras*, as there would be the minimum crowding or gap. Moreover there is abundance of the metrical units tribrach, dactyl and anapaest in the composition. The absence of complex consonantal combinations is a feature of the song. Despite all these, the composition lacks force of expression and elegance.

The literary theme of the song is consistent with Mādhva philosophy which places considerable importance on the status of the *guru* and marks out a gradation of the *jīvas* in the cosmic world in which the *guru-traya* head the list. The theme of the song is suitable since Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha was probably the *guru* of the author.

The song may be translated freely as follows :

Pallavi : There is no god greater than the Preceptor. Emancipation cannot be obtained without [the guidance of] a good Preceptor.

¹ We are indebted to the manager of the Kāśī *maṭha* for giving us information about the Gauḍa-Śārasvata community and the Kāśī *maṭha* and some other details.

Anupallavi : The foot of the lord, the Preceptor, which has created the world, is without beginning, middle or end. It is beyond *nāda* and *śruti*. It is to be seen and understood through *sādhana*.

Charaṇas : The mortals made of the three *guṇas* (viz., *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) contemplate the foot of the Preceptor which is free from these constant attributes. Countless great saints contemplate the foot of the Preceptor in their hearts. All the living world as represented by the celestial, human, reptilian, aerial and animal beings as well as the movable and immovable (i.e., animate and inanimate) are but the light [reflected] from the dust on the Preceptor's foot. The noble *Vaṭapura* is the abode of the Preceptor.

The name of the composer of the song occurs in line 7 as *Śrīvāsakṛishṇa*. Enquiries reveal that the donor was a pious man who was an ardent lover of poetry and music. It may be surmised that he himself composed the song. The text, however, refers to the composer as hailing from *Śirivaḷa* which we are unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 Ōm [||*] Rāga kāpi ashtatāḷa [varasa]²[||*] Guruvīṇḍ-adhika daivavilla sad-guru vinahā
- 2 mukti doregombud-illa || pallavi || Ādi-madhy-āṇṭa-rahitavu | jagad-ādi-
- 3 nirmīta gurunāthana padavu | nād-ādi-śrutig-agōcharavu | bha(ba)lu sādhisī ti-
- 4 ḷidu-no(nō)ḍirō guru-padavu || Guṇa[ṭṭi]ti(ti)y-ātma mūrtiyaru nitya-guṇa-virahi-
- 5 ta guru-pāda-dhyānīparu | gaṇaney illada yōgī[śvara]ru | hṛday-āṅgaṇadali guru-pā-
- 6 da-dhyānīparu || Sa(Su)ra-nar-ōraga-khaga-mṛigavu | char-āchāra jagat guru-pāda-rēṇu-
tēja-
- 7 [sa]vu | Vara-Vaṭapura guru-yiravu | Śirivaḷada Śrī(Śrī)vāsakṛishṇana sa[d-gu]³ruvu ||
yama-niya-
- 8 m-ādyā-ashtāṅga-yōga-saṁpannar-āda **Koṁkaṇa-dēśi(sī)ya** Gauḍa-Sārasvata Brāhmaṇa-
[jñā]-
- 9 ti(ti)ya⁴ guru-parāṁparya⁵ Kāśi-maṭa(ṭha)da Suyatīṇḍratīrtha Śrīpādaṅgaḷavara kara-ka-
- 10 mala-saṁjāta Śrīmad Bhuvanēṇḍra-tīrtha Śrīpādaṅgaḷavaru asht-āṅga-yōga ba-
- 11 laḍim saḥaj-āṇaṇḍa samādhiyam paḍedu sthita-prajñar=āgi prārabdh-ānusāra bhōga-
- 12 vaṁ tīrisi adya **Śālivāhana Śaka varusha 1808 nē Vyaya saṁ⁶** | rada **Mārgi(rga)-**
śīrsha śu-
- 13 **kla pratipade Bhṛigu-vāra** mā(ma)dhyāṇna(hna) abhija(ji)n-muhūrttakke iha
prakṛa(kṛi)t-ānusāra dēhavaṁ tore-
- 14 du ātm-āṇaṇḍa chidābhā nāma aikya nirupādhika punarāvartti-rahita śāśvi(śva)ta mōksh-
āṇaṇḍava-
- 15 mīn-aidid-ā śrīguruvarar-āṁghriya [ē]kāṁṭa bhakt-ānubhaktar-ādha(ḍa)vara pāda-kamala.
rēṇugaḷimḍa

¹ From impressions.

² The reading is doubtful and the meaning not clear.

³ The reading is doubtful.

⁴ Could the reading be *jā*° in the sense of caste ?

⁵ Read *pāraṁparya*.

⁶ The *akṣhara saṁ* is the abbreviated form of *saṁvatsara* the last letter (*ra*) of which, however, is also inscribed.

- 16 alamkru(kṛi)tam=āda śira[s-sarō]¹-chā(jā)[ta ||] Supravara Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtraja ghana-
vamśi(śa)sthar-āda Baṁṭavāḷa
- 17 Venkaṭeśa Bāḷigara aidane maga Śrīnivāsa Bāḷiganu Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpā-
18 daṁgaḷavara yaśassu chirakāla uliyuvaṁte ī di(dī)pa-stāmbhavu sthāpisidd-āg-iruttade [|*]
- 19 Māgha śukla paurṇami Kuja-vāra tā² 8 nē Phebravari 1887 nē isavi [|*]
- 20 *Śrīmad Bhuvanēndra-tīrtha Śrīpādaṁgaḷavaru Vyaya nama saṁvatsarada Vṛśichi-
21 ka-māsa dina 12 nē Bhṛigu-vāra dēhavam tōra(re)du mōkshavan-aidida(ru) [|*]

¹ The letter *rō* looks like *la*.

² The letter *tā* is the abbreviated form of *tārīka* meaning date.

³ This and the next line are engraved in Nāgarī characters.

No. 56—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9.5.1959)

1. Kalāchhalā Fragmentary Grant of Īśvararāta

The inscription was discovered by Prof. A. V. Pandya of Sardar Vallabhbhai University at the village of **Kalāchhalā** near Karālī, about 10 miles to the west of Chhota Udaipur in Kathiawar. It is stated to have been lying with one Gambhirasingh Adesingh Parmar of the said village. Prof. Pandya deciphered the text of the inscription with the help of Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Dr. M. G. Dikshit and has published his transcript in the *Vallabh Vidyānagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, pp. 2 and 28, with a photograph (Plate II A facing p. 4) and an eye-copy (p. 28).¹ Prof. V. V. Mirashi has also edited the inscription in *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 603-04, Plate XCVII.

This is the **first plate of a set**, which is inscribed only on the inner side. The concluding part of the record, probably engraved on two other plates (i.e. on both sides of the second and the inner side of the third), is lost. There is a hole in the lower margin of the writing. But the ring which must have passed through it to hold the plates together and the seal of the donor of the charter which may have been affixed to it are both lost. The plate measures about 8 inches in length and about 3 inches in height. Its weight has not been recorded.

There are only four lines of writing on the plate. The **characters** belong to the West Indian variety of the South Indian alphabet of about the **second half of the 4th century A.D.** Letters like *n* and medial *u* exhibit an angle at the lower end. The initial vowel *ī* occurs in line 1. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Of **orthographical** interest is the fact that consonants are rarely reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

Prof. Pandya assigns the record approximately to the fourth century A.D.² and further says, "Shri Mirashi supports the writer's dating of this plate (4th century A.D.), for its characters and wording bear close resemblance to those of the grants of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa, Bhulunḍa and Rudradāsa. He suggests further that Īśvararāta's suzerain was some king of the Ābhīra dynasty."³ In his own work referred to above, Prof. Mirashi says that Īśvararāta ruled in the 4th century A.D. over a fairly extensive territory including Central Gujarāt and parts of the Khandesh District as a feudatory of the Ābhīras and that his family continued to hold Central Gujarāt until it was ousted by Śarva-bhaṭṭāraka who rose to power about 400 A.D. as indicated by his coins imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas.⁴ We are sorry that it is not possible to agree with these views entirely. About the period in question, Kathiawar and the adjoining regions formed a part of the dominions first of the Śakas of Western India and then of the Imperial Guptas. No Ābhīra emperor is known to have ruled in the 4th century over wide areas of Western India.

The **palaeography** of the epigraph closely resembles that of the Sanchi inscription⁵ of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.), which is dated in the Gupta year 93 (412 A.D.). It is considerably earlier

¹ An inaccurate transcript and a faulty interpretation of the record were originally published by Prof. Pandya in a brochure entitled *New Dynasties of Gujarat History*, 1950, p. 12, together with the same photograph and eye-copy.

² Ibid., p. 2.

³ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴ Op. cit., p. xxxvii. Prof. Mirashi's views that the records of Svāmidāsa, Bhulunḍa and Rudradāsa (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1259, 1266 and 1861) are dated in the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-Chēdi era and that they were feudatories of an unknown Ābhīra ruler (cf. *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 ff.) are absolutely untenable. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65; Vol. XXIV, pp. 75-77.

⁵ Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, No. 5, Plate III B; Bühler's Table VII.

than the Mandasor inscription¹ (473 A.D.) written in the same alphabet. Among the copper-plate grants² of Svāmidāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, the palaeography of Svāmidāsa's grant of the Gupta year 67 (386 A.D.) resembles that of our record while the characters of Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, dated respectively in the Gupta years 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.), are decidedly later. The characters of our epigraph, however, appear to be slightly earlier than the inscriptions of Chandragupta II and Svāmidāsa, referred to above. A date in the second half or about the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. appears therefore to suit the inscription under study.

The charter begins with a symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by a single sentence forming the introductory part of the grant. It introduces a subordinate ruler named *Īsvararāta*³ who is described as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, i.e. meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* who was an imperial ruler and apparently *Īsvararāta*'s overlord. The order of the chief *Īsvararāta*, in regard to the grant to be recorded in the document, was issued from *Pra-chakāsā* to the Brāhmaṇas and other villagers of *Vēdhyakūpikā-grāma* situated in *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* and to all his officers such as the *Āyuktas* and *Viniyuktas* as well as the *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Dāṇḍikas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Hastyaśvajānavyāpṛitas*, *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* who were associated with the said village. This shows that *Īsvararāta* granted either the village called *Vēdhyakūpikā-grāma* or a portion of it to some donee whose name must have occurred in the latter part of the document engraved on the other plates of the set, which are now lost. The word *paṭṭa* in the name *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* reminds us of its use in the sense of a district in records like a copper-plate grant⁴ of king Hastin of the Parivrajaka family. *Āyukta* seems to have been an administrative officer appointed by the king and *Viniyukta* a subordinate officer under the *Āyukta*, who was probably appointed by the latter. *Kumārāmātya* was an administrative officer enjoying the status of a prince and *Uparika* a viceroy. *Dāṇḍika* and *Dāṇḍapāśika*, generally occurring in the list of royal officials in the copper-plate grants, are often understood in the sense of a judge of criminal cases and a police officer respectively. *Hastyaśvajānavyāpṛitas* were apparently military officers in charge of the elephant force, cavalry and infantry. The *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* appearing in numerous records seem to have been policemen and *Pāiks*.

The title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, applied to *Īsvararāta*'s overlord who is not mentioned by name, was not assumed by Indian monarchs before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The official designations *Kumārāmātya*,⁵ *Uparika*⁶ and *Viniyukta*⁷ are similarly unknown in the records of the pre-Gupta age. There also appears to be Gupta influence on the official designation *Hastyaśvajānavyāpṛita*.⁸ Under the circumstances, it is impossible to believe that *Īsvararāta* flourished before the Gupta occupation of Western India.

It is well known that the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, together with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, was popularised by the Gupta emperors whose feudatories enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*. This is clearly indicated by epigraphic records like the Udayagiri inscription⁹ of 401 A.D. mentioning a Sanakānika *Mahārāja* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, No. 18, Plate XI.

² Above, Vol. XV, Plate facing p. 289; *CII*, Vol. IV, Plate II, A-C.

³ For names ending in *rāta*, see *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 33, 254; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

⁴ *CII*, Vol. III, p. 102, text line 15.

⁵ This first occurs in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 260).

⁶ One of the earliest occurrences of this designation is found in the Damodarpur inscription of 444 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 284).

⁷ This seems to be the same as *Viniyuktaka*, *Tadviniyuktaka* and *Tadāyuktaka*. See *ibid.*, pp. 284, 351, 360, etc.; *CII*, Vol. III, p. 169 and note.

⁸ The expression *hasty-śva-jāna* occurs in the Damodarpur plates of 543 A.D. and *mahā-nau-hasty-śva* in the spurious Nalanda and Gaya plates of Samudragupta (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 263, 265, 338). Cf. *Hastyaśvaśāstrabalaavyāpṛita* of some epigraphs.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271. Cf. also the evidence of the Damodarpur plates (*ibid.*, pp. 324-26, 328-30) mentioning the *Mahārājas* Brahmadatta and Jayadatta as favoured by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājūthiraja* Bndhagupta.

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Chandragupta II. That the Gupta suzerain was sometimes mentioned only as *Bhaṭṭāraka* or *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* without specifying the name is clearly indicated by inscriptions like the Baigram plate¹ of 448 A.D., and the Paharpur plate² of 479 A.D. There is little doubt that, about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., king Narēndra of Śarabhapura mentions a Gupta emperor in his Kurud plates³ merely as the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and that *Mahārāja Śatrudamana* (first half of the 5th century A.D.) in his Peddadugam plates⁴ and Maitraka Drōṇasimha in his Bhamodra Mohota plates⁵ (502 A.D.) call themselves respectively *Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* with reference to a Gupta emperor. There can also be no reasonable doubt that the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa issued their charters in the Gupta years 67 (386 A.D.), 107 (426 A.D.) and 117 (436 A.D.) respectively and called themselves *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* with reference to their Gupta suzerains.

The Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) claims to have defeated the Āryāvarta ruler Rudradēva who seems to be none other than the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasēna III ruling over the Malwa-Rajasthan-Kathiawar region in the period between 348 and 378 A.D. The absence of Rudrasēna's coins for the period between 351 and 364 A.D. was rightly regarded by Rapson as 'marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased'.⁶ As we have suggested elsewhere,⁷ this was probably due to his defeat at the hands of Samudragupta and acceptance of the latter's allegiance. But Rudrasēna III appears to have assumed independence about fifteen years after his subjugation by the Gupta monarch. This necessitated the reconquest of the Śaka dominions by Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.). The latest date on the coins of the Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasimha III falls between 388 and 397 A.D. while the presence of Chandragupta in East Malwa, in connection with a military expedition, is indicated by his Udayagiri inscriptions, one of which is dated in the Gupta year 82 (401 A.D.).⁸ The Śaka dominions in Western India thus appear to have been permanently annexed to the Gupta empire about the close of the 4th century A.D.⁹ Īśvararāta of Kathiawar, acknowledging the supremacy of a Gupta emperor, may thus have issued his grant either about 360 A.D. when Kathiawar appears to have formed a part of the Samudragupta's empire or shortly after the overthrow of Śaka Rudrasimha III by Chandragupta II. It may be questioned whether he would have been allowed to issue a charter in his own name in the above fashion when Gupta power was fully established in the erstwhile Śaka kingdom. But, as already indicated above, we have instances of some other feudatories of the Gupta emperors issuing similar grants apparently with the permission or acquiescence of their overlords.

The importance of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it is the earliest extant copper-plate charter of the usual type so far discovered in the northern part of India. It appears to be earlier than the Dhanaidaha plate¹⁰ (dated the Gupta year 113=432 A.D.) of the time of Kumāragupta I, which was so long regarded as the earliest such genuine record.

I am not sure about the location of *Prachakāsā* nor of the district called *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* and the village called *Vēdhyakūpikā-grāma*. But *Vaṅkikā-paṭṭa* may be modern Wankaner in Kathiawar. *Prachakāsā* cannot be identified with Prakasha in the West Khandesh District, since the chiefdom of Īśvararāta does not appear to have extended beyond Kathiawar.

¹ Ibid., pp. 342 ff. (cf. *Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* in line 1 and *Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām* in line 13).

² Ibid., pp. 346 ff. (cf. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānām* in line 16).

³ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 267-68.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 89 ff.

⁵ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 403 ff.

⁶ Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. 145.

⁷ *Proc. IHC*, 1944, pp. 78 ff.

⁸ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 271, 272 and note 5.

⁹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. cxlix ff.; Alan, *Catalogue (Gupta)*, pp. xxxviii f., lxxxvi f.

¹⁰ *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 280 ff.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² [*] svasti [*] Prachakāsāyāḥ paramabhaṭā(ṭṭā)raka-pād-ānudyāta
Iśvararāta[h] kuśali
- 2 Vanikā-paṭṭē Vēdhyakūpikā-grāma-samupāgatātsa(n=sa)rvvān=ēv=āsmad-āyukta-
vini-
- 3 yuktān=kumārāmāty-ōparika-dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsika-hastyaśvajānavyā[ṣṭa]-chāṭa-
- 4 bhaṭ-ādīdbrā(n=Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarāns=cha grāma-prativāsi[na]ḥ kuśalam=anuvārṇya
bōdhaya³

No. 2. Supia Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta, Gupta Year 141.

The stone pillar bearing the old inscription under study was discovered in the village of Supiā in the former Rewa State now merged in Madhya Pradesh. The pillar was utilised at a much later date to incise another inscription recording a performance of the *Satī* rite. This second epigraph on the back side of the pillar is much damaged ; but its purport is clear from the sculptural representation above the lines of writing. The older inscription recording the purpose for which the pillar was originally raised is written in seventeen lines covering an area about 8 inches in breadth and about 22½ inches in height.

Impressions of the inscription and photographs of the pillar were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India for examination about fifteen years ago. A small paper on the inscription was read at the Archaeological Section of the Banaras Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1943-44. It was published in the *Proceedings* of the Session, Vol. III, 1948, pp. 587-89. Unfortunately, the note was based on an inaccurate transcript of the epigraph. It is stated that 'the object of the inscription is to record the consecration of an image of the goddess Shashṭhī by one Chhandaka.' But what was read as *Shashṭhī* is clearly *yashṭhi*(*shṭi*) meaning 'a pillar' and undoubtedly referring to the stone pillar on which the inscription is engraved.⁴ It was moreover not Chhandaka but his brother Varga whose pious activity is described in the record. About ten years ago, I received an impression of the inscription from the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar through Dr. R. C. Majumdar and noticed it briefly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XV, 1949, p. 6.

The characters are the same as in the contemporary inscriptions of the central part of India such as the earlier records of the kings of the Parivrajaka and Uchchakalpa dynasties.⁵ The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are some errors of grammar and orthography. As regards orthography, it may be noted that, like many contemporary inscriptions, our epigraph exhibits the reduplication of some consonants preceding or following *r*. A point of orthographical interest is offered by the words *vanśa* (for *vaṁśa*) and *chatvārinśa* (for *chatvāriṁśa*).

The date of the record is quoted in lines 8-9 in words as the year 141 of the reign of Skandagupta. The year has of course not to be referred to the regnal reckoning of the monarch, as the language may literally suggest, but to the Gupta era. Thus our inscription was engraved in the year 460-61 A.D. The specific day of the year, when the epigraph was incised, is indicated at the end of the record in lines 16-17, although the passage *asyām divasa-pūrvvāyām* follows the mention of the year in lines 9-10 as if the day has been already indicated in the preceding section. The exact date of the record is given as the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month of *Jyēṣṭha*.

¹ From the photograph published in the *Vallabh Vidyānagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 2, International Language Section, Plate facing p. 4.

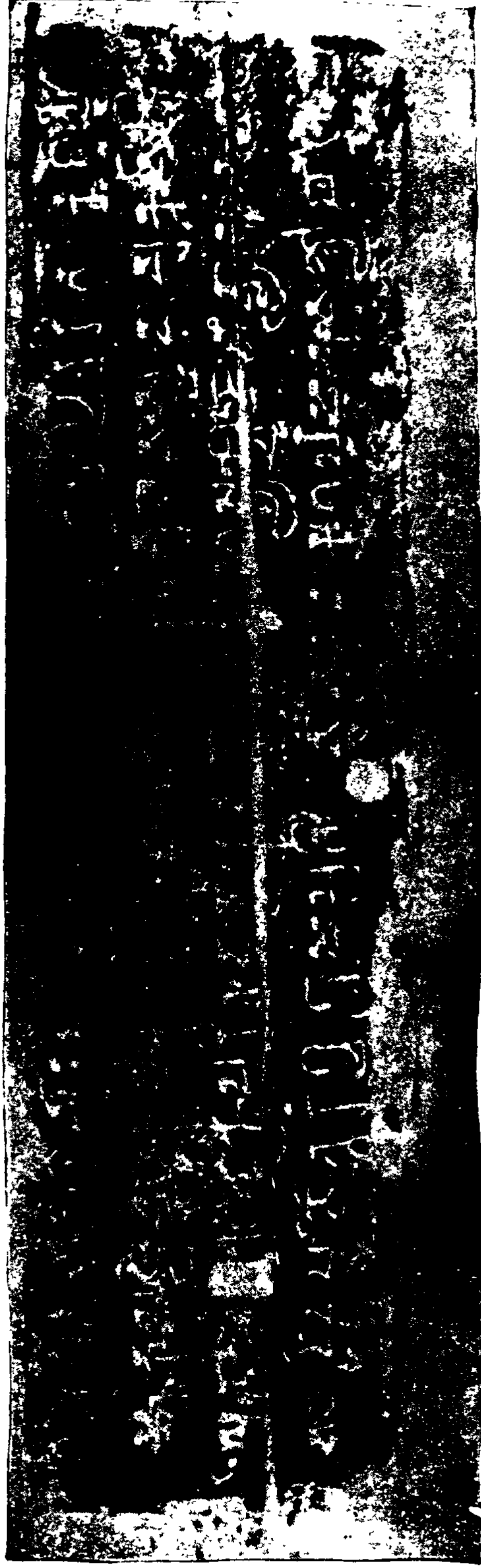
² Expressed by symbol.

³ The last letter of the expression *bōdhayati* was apparently engraved on another plate which is now lost.

⁴ Cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 607 and note, to which my attention was drawn when this paper was going through the press.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 93 ff., Nos. 21 ff.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF GUPTA AGE
 1. KALACHHALA FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF ISVARARATA



2

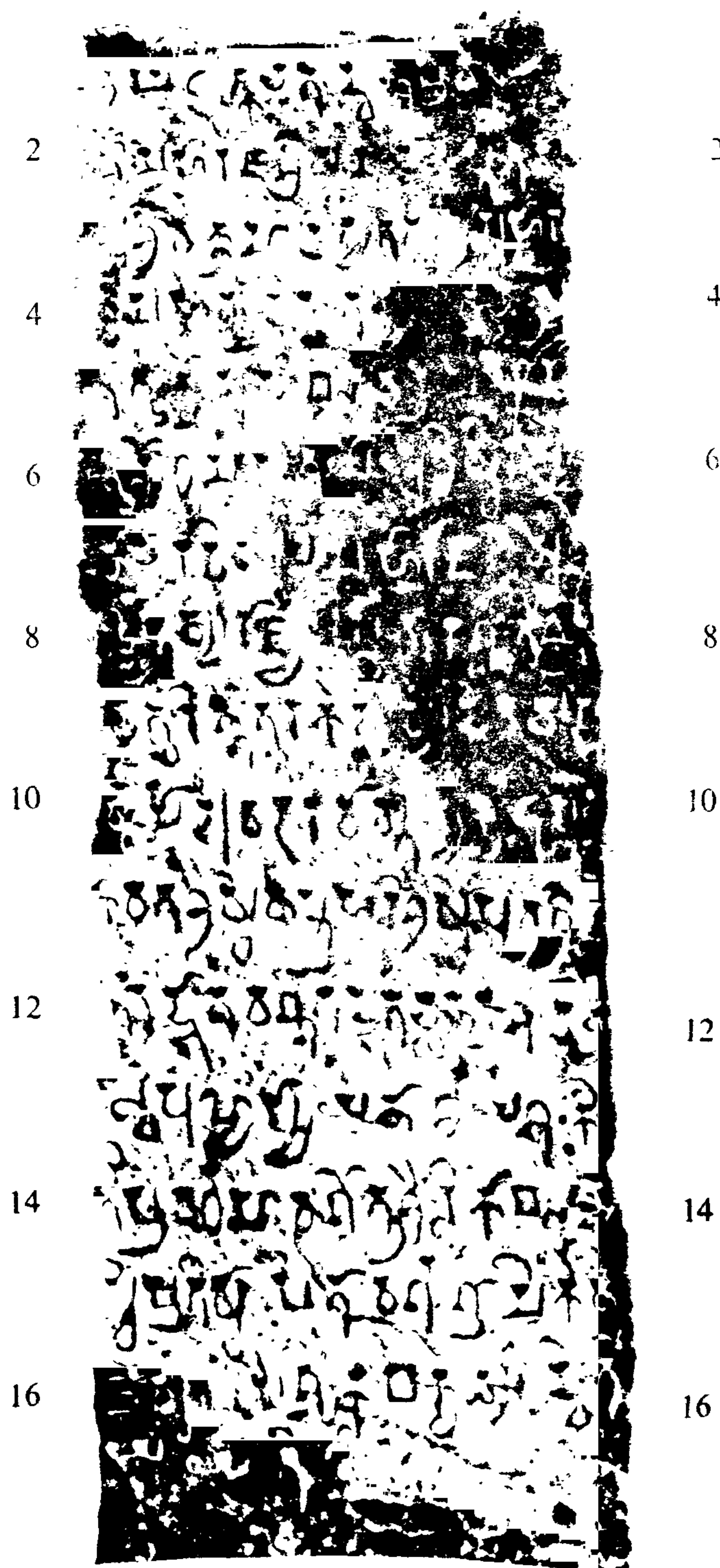
4

2

4

(from a Photograph)

2. SUPIA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA, GUPTA YEAR 141



Scale : One-Third

Lines 1-8 introduce the reigning monarch, during whose rule the pillar was raised by one of his subjects. Mention is first made of *Ghaṭōtkacha*, and *Mahārāja Samudragupta* is then stated to have belonged to the former's family. Samudragupta was actually the son of Chandragupta I and the grandson of Ghaṭōtkacha. The inscription then mentions *Vikramāditya*, the son of Samudragupta, and *Vikramāditya's* son *Mahārāja Mahēndrāditya*. There is no reference to the qualities or achievements of any of these rulers, and Ghaṭōtkacha and *Vikramāditya* are mentioned even without the epithet *Mahārāja*. It may be mentioned in this connection that the genealogy of the Guptas in the records of the family generally begins with *Mahārāja Gupta*, father of *Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkacha*. But the mention of Ghaṭōtkacha as the head of the Gupta genealogy is found in the copper-plate grants of the *Vākāṭaka* queen *Prabhāvatiguptā*, daughter of *Chandragupta II Vikramāditya*, which represent Ghaṭōtkacha as the first king of the Gupta family.¹ Another interesting feature of this part of the record under study is that *Chandragupta II*, son of *Samudragupta*, and the former's son *Kumārāgupta I* have been mentioned in it by their titles as *Vikramāditya* and *Mahēndrāditya* respectively. These titles are found in the legends of some of the coins issued by these monarchs and not in the inscriptions of the family. We have also to note that the Gupta records generally mention Gupta and his son Ghaṭōtkacha with the title *Mahārāja*, while Ghaṭōtkacha's son *Chandragupta I* and the latter's successors are endowed with the more dignified title *Mahārājādhirāja*. But inaccuracy in such details is not unexpected in a private record like the one under study.²

Lines 4-8 describe the reigning monarch *Skandagupta*, also called a *Mahārāja* rather inaccurately. He is stated to have been equal to the *Chakravartins*³ in prowess and valour, to *Rāma* (probably meaning *Rāma*, son of *Daśaratha*) in righteousness and to *Yudhishtira* in the matter of speaking the truth as well as of good conduct and modesty. These are of course vague praises which do not offer any historical information.

The next three lines (lines 10-12) introduce the person who was responsible for erecting the pillar. First is mentioned a *śrēṣṭhin* or banker named *Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhin*. *Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhin's* son is stated to have been *Hari-śrēṣṭhin* whose son was *Śrīdatta*. This *Śrīdatta* seems to be described as a *kuṭumbika*, i.e. a husbandman, residing at the locality called *Avaḍara*. The language of the section may also be taken to mean that it was *Kaivarti-śrēṣṭhin* who was a *kuṭumbika* of *Avaḍara*. But it is doubtful whether the same person should have been called both a *śrēṣṭhin* and a *kuṭumbika*.⁴

Next *Varga* is introduced as the brother of *Śrīdatta* and *Chhandaka* as the brother of *Varga*. Thus *Hari-śrēṣṭhin* had three sons, viz. *Śrīdatta*, *Varga* and *Chhandaka*, of whom *Śrīdatta* seems to have been the eldest and *Chhandaka* the youngest. It is interesting to note that, while the father and grandfather were *śrēṣṭhins* or bankers by profession, none of the three brothers is called a *śrēṣṭhin*. On the other hand, as already indicated above, the elder brother appears to be described as a *kuṭumbika* or husbandman while the second brother *Varga* is called a *grāmika* or village headman in the latter part of the document. This probably suggests that the cognomen was not yet stereotyped in the family.

Lines 13-15, recording the object of the inscription, state that *Varga-grāmika*, for the purpose of acquiring merit for himself, erected the *bala-yashti* which was a *gōtra-śailikā* meant for the

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 412, note 3.

² See, e.g., the Mankuwar image inscription mentioning *Kumārāgupta I* as a *Mahārāja* (ibid., p. 288, note 2).

³ Twelve ancient imperial rulers of Indian tradition, beginning with *Bharata*, are specially called *Chakravartins*. Cf. *Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁴ The words *śrēṣṭhin* and *kuṭumbika* as found in inscriptions have been generally understood in the above senses. See *Lüders' List*, Nos. 976, etc.; Nos. 24, etc. Cf. *R. Fick, The Social Organisation in North-East India*. Eng. trans., pp. 256-57.

increase of *yaśaḥ* and *kīrti*. It will be seen that Varga, who was the elder brother of Chhandaka, younger brother of Śrīdatta, son of Hari-śrēṣṭhin and grandson of Kaivartti-śrēṣṭhin, has been mentioned here as Varga-grāmika. The word *grāmika* affixed to Varga's name suggests that he was the headman of a village which seems to be no other than Avaḍara. The synonymous words *yaśaḥ* and *kīrti*, when used together, are often understood in the sense of glory in this life and fame after death.¹

There is no doubt that the stone pillar, which bears the inscription and was erected by Varga, is called a *bala-yasṭhi*. The use of the word *yasṭhi* in the sense of a pillar raised in memory of the dead is known from the Sui-Vihār and Andhau inscriptions.² It therefore appears that Varga raised the pillar bearing the inscription in memory of his grandfather Kaivartti-śrēṣṭhin, his father Hari-śrēṣṭhin, his elder brother Śrīdatta and his younger brother Chhandaka who were apparently all dead. The memorial pillar is also called a *gōtra-śailikā* or 'family [pillar of] stone' apparently because it was raised in the memory of several members of the family. We know that the word *gātra*, apparently a mistake for *gōtra* which is a contraction of *gōtra-śailikā*, was used to indicate a memorial pillar in the region in question even in the medieval period.³

The word *bala* in the expression *bala-yasṭhi* seems to have been used in the sense of 'strong or stout'. Otherwise we have probably to suggest that, somehow in some regions, such memorial pillars were called 'Bala's (i.e. Balarāma's) Club' just as the pillars bearing Aśoka's inscriptions are known in certain places as 'Bhīmasēna's Club'. But this is less likely.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription is Avaḍara which appears to have been a locality near modern Supiā, the findspot of the epigraph.

TEXT⁴

- 1 [Śrī]-Gha[ṭō]tkacha[ḥ | *] tad-vanśē⁵ prava . . *
- 2 [nē]⁷ mahāra(rā)ja-śrī-Samu[dragu]pta[ḥ | *] ta[t-pu]-
- 3 [tra][ḥ*] śrī-Vikkramā[ditya][ḥ | *] ta[tputra][ḥ*] mahārā[ja]-
- 4 [śrī]-Mahē[ndrāditya][ḥ | *] tasya [pu]tra[ḥ*] Chakka[va]
- 5 [rtti]-tu[lyō] [mahā]-bala-vikkra[mē]ṇa R[āma]-
- 6 [tu]lyō dha[rmma]-pa[ra]tayā Yudhisṭhira⁸ sa[tyē]-
- 7 nacharavi[naya]⁹ mahārāja-śrī-Ska[nda]-
- 8 guptasya¹⁰ rājya-[samva]tsara¹¹-śatē ōka-
- 9 chatvāri[nśōtta]rakē¹² [| *] [asyām] divasa-pū-
- 10 rrvāyām(yām) Avaḍara-vāstavya-kuṭumbi[kaḥ *]
- 11 Kaivartti-śrēṣṭhi-naptṛi(ptā) Hari-śrēṣṭhi-pu[tra][ḥ*] Śrīda-
- 12 [tta][ḥ | *] tad-bhrāṭṛi(tā) Vargga[ḥ | *] ta[d-bhrā]ta(tā) Chchha(Chha)ndaka¹³ [| *]
- 13 sva-puṇy-āpyāyan-ārtham yaśaḥ-kī-
- 14 [rtti]-pravardha[ya*] māna-gōtra-śailikā bala-ya-
- 15 shṭhi(shṭhi) pratishṭhāpitā Vargga-grāmikēṇa
- 16 Jē(Jyē)shṭha-māsē śukla-pakshasya dviti-
- 17 [yāyāh] ti[thau] [| *]

¹ Cf. CII, Vol. I, p. 18, note 7.

² See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 135-36, 167-69.

³ Cf. above, p. 172.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Read *tad-vanśē*.

⁶ The two lost *akṣaras* may be restored as *rttamā* or *rddhamā*.

⁷ The damaged letter looks more like *nām*.

⁸ Read *Yudhisṭhira-tulyaḥ*.

⁹ Read *°nāchāra-vinayaiḥ* or better *saty-āchāra-vinayaiḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *°guptaḥ | tasya*.

¹¹ Read *samvatsara*.

¹² Read *°rīśad-uttarakē*.

¹³ The lost letters may be restored as *°ś=ch=ṭi*.

No. 57—NOTE ON DIDGUR INSCRIPTION OF KATTIYARA

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26-11-1958)

The inscription which comes from **Didgur** in the Haveri Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State, was published by Fleet in the pages of this journal, Vol. VI, pp. 251-53. It refers itself to the reign of a king named **Kattiyara** under whom a certain Dōsi was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The record is not dated but Fleet assigned it, on palaeographical grounds, to about 800 A.D. As regards the king and the governor, he wrote, "The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter."¹ Further, from the emblem of boar found at the top of the record, he suggested that Kattiyara was a Chālukya, descended from the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, and that he might be the same Kattiyaradēva mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D.² Thus, according to Fleet, Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription was a Chālukya chief of the Bādāmi house, who flourished about 800 A.D. during the time of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas.

Now palaeography is only an approximate test and, as will be shown below, we shall not be wrong even if we refer the Didgur inscription to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Then the question arises whether there was any king named Kattiyara at this time and in this region who, as stated in the record, was 'ruling the earth' indicating thereby his sovereign status. And the only supreme king about this period was Kirtivarman II (744-15 to 757 A.D.), the last ruler of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. One is therefore led to identify the Kattiyara of the Didgur inscription with Kirtivarman II and it is not difficult to see that the name Kattiyara is only a colloquial form of Kirtivarman. This identification is supported by the fact that Kirtivarman I (566-96 A.D.) who was the sixth king in ascent from Kirtivarman II was also called Katti-arasa as revealed by his Godachi plates.³ Just as the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva, Kṛṣṇa and Gōvinda were also called Dhōra or Dhōrapparasa, Kannara and Gojjiga or Gojjigadēva respectively, Kirtivarman I as well as Kirtivarman II were called Katti-arasa or Kattiyara.⁴ The palaeography of the Didgur inscription does not militate against this identification. The characters of the record resemble those of the Āḍur⁵ and Paṭṭalakal⁶ stone inscriptions as well as the Vakkaleri⁷ and Kendur⁸ plates of Kirtivarman II. We may, for example, compare the letters *n*, *d*, *y*, *l*, *ś*, etc.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 252.

² Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 15 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59 ff.

⁴ The name Kattiyara is only the shortened form of Kattiyarasa.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 68.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 202 ff.

Now Kattiyaradēva mentioned in the Managoḷi inscription referred to above as an ancestor of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa is, in my opinion, none other than the same Kirtivarman II, though Fleet was not inclined to accept this identification. The record expressly states that this Kattiyaradēva was of the Chālukya family and that his hereditary capital was at Kisuvolal, i.e. modern Paṭṭadakal. It is not clear why Fleet says¹ that Kirtivarman II did not stand in the relationship with Ayyaṇa I of the later Chālukyas as asserted in the Managoḷi record. For, the inscription clearly states (text lines 5-6) that Ayyaṇa belonged to the Chālukya lineage descended from the younger brother of Kirtivarman's father, i.e. Bhīma I who was the younger brother of Vikramāditya II and uncle of Kirtivarman II. And exactly this is the relationship which is mentioned in the Kauthem² plates of Vikramāditya V and the Nilgund plates³ of Vikramāditya VI and is accepted by Fleet.⁴

In view of the identification of Kattiyara of the Diḍgur inscription suggested above, let us now see whether Dōsi who is mentioned therein as the governor of Banavāsi-12000 could also be identified. From the Vakkalēri plates of Kirtivarman II, we learn that certain villages included in Pānuṅgal-vishaya were granted by the king at the request of one Dōsirāja. This would suggest that Dōsirāja was a subordinate of the king, probably in charge of the Pānuṅgal-vishaya which was included in the larger territorial division of Banavāsi-12000 and comprised the area round about modern Hangal in the Dharwar District. As the provenance of the Diḍgur inscription is not far from Hangal, it is tempting to identify Dōsi of the Diḍgur record with Dōsirāja of the Vakkalēri plates. Incidentally, it may be observed that the Diḍgur inscription provides the earliest reference known so far to the Banavāsi province as a twelve-thousand division in the records of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 20, note 4.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 15 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 379.

No. 58—MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 13.11.1958)

During the year 1941-42, a set of copper-plates was obtained in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from one Shri Venkata Reddi who was then a Branch Post Master at Nossam in the Koilkunṭṭa Taluk of the Kurnool District, through Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma.¹ The plates are reported to have been found at **Māyalūr**, a village in the same Taluk. The inscription is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India from a set of impressions preserved in his office.

This is a **set** of three rectangular plates with slightly raised rims all round to protect the writing. Each plate measures 9·12" by 4·25" approximately and has a hole (about ·6" in diameter) at the left margin, through which passes a ring with a diameter of about 4·5". The ends of the ring are soldered to the brackets at the base of a circular seal about 1·36" in diameter, which contains on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right. The plates, with the ring and the seal, weigh 132 *tolas*.

The plates have suffered some damage, specially the second and the third, and hence the writing is not in a good state of preservation. Moreover, the engraving on the third plate is rather careless. The first plate is engraved on one side (inner) only while the remaining two plates bear writing on both the sides, the second side of the third plate having only four lines of writing. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, the first plate and the two sides of the second plate having 10 lines each and first side of the third plate 9 lines and its second side 4 lines.

The **characters** are early Kannada-Telugu and closely resemble those of the other grants of the same king.² The **palaeography** and **orthography** do not call for special remarks. The **language** is Sanskrit and except the invocatory and imprecatory verses, the text of the entire record is in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king **Vijayāditya** who ruled from 696 to 733 A.D. The introductory portion (lines 1-31) giving the genealogy of the family from Pulakēśin I to the ruling king Vijayāditya is identical with that found in the other known grants of this king.

The record is dated in **Śaka 622** (expressed in words) and the **fourth regnal year, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī**. Since Śrāvaṇa of the Śaka year 618 expired was the first month of the first year of this king,³ Vaiśākha of Śaka 622 expired would fall in his fourth year as stated in the record. The date is not verifiable in the absence of further details. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vaiśākha Paurṇamī of Śaka 622 expired corresponded to **Thursday, the 8th April 700 A.D.**

The inscription records that on the above-mentioned date, when the king was camping at **Poṭṭalikānagara** in the Bāvihāra district, he made a grant of the village of **Yukrōmbē** to the west of **Viñchihichēdi** in the **Pe[ḍe]kal** district as an *ēka-bhōga* gift to a person named **Māraśarman** of the *Vatsa gōtra* and to other Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the *Vēdas*.

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 232 (No. A 6 of 1941-42).

² Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff.

³ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 370 and note 5.

The record is important in that it is one of the few inscriptions belonging to the early part of the king's reign and is the earliest copper plate grant of the king discovered so far in the Telugu country. We have two more records dated in the fourth regnal year of this king. One is the Kottūru stone inscription¹ which does not supply any more details of the date except the mention of the regnal year. The other is the Nerur copper-plate inscription² dated in Śaka 622 (expired), Āshāḍha Paurṇimā. In this year, the month of Āshāḍha was intercalary so that the date of the inscription under study is two or three months earlier than that of the Nerur plates. The Nerur plates were issued from Rāsēnanagara which is identified with modern Rāsin in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay State. And Poṭṭalikānagara in Bāvihāra-vishaya from where the present plates are issued may be the same as Poṭṭalakere or Poṭṭalakere which was the capital of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla Jayasīma II (1018-42 A.D.) and is also spelt as Hoṭṭalakere in the Kannaḍa records, the change of *p* to *h* being a regular feature in that language. If this identification is accepted, then our inscription provides the earliest reference to the place known so far. Poṭṭalakere was identified by Fleet with modern Daṇṇāyakankere in the Bellary District on insufficient grounds;³ but later researches have shown that the place can be identified with modern Paṭaṇcheru which is situated at a distance of about 18 miles north-west of Hyderabad.⁴ And so Bāvihāra-vishaya seems to have comprised the area round about this place. As shown above, the Nerur plates were issued two or three months later than our grant and, during this intervening period, the royal camp was shifted from Paṭaṇcheru to Rāsin which is about 250 miles north-west of Paṭaṇcheru.

The writer of the grant was *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for peace and war) Rāma Puṇyavallabha. He lived almost contemporaneously with Vinayāditya and wrote almost all his grants while the same position was enjoyed by Niravadya Puṇyavallabha, who was possibly his son, during the reign of Vijayāditya. Rāma Puṇyavallabha was last mentioned as the composer of the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 616,⁵ and Niravadya Puṇyavallabha appears for the first time in the Rāyagad plates of Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625.⁶ Therefore, the inscription under study is interesting in that it shows that Rāma Puṇyavallabha lived also for some time during the reign of Vijayāditya and seems to have died sometime between Śaka 622 and Śaka 625. Puṇyavallabha was possibly the name of the family.⁷

Besides Poṭṭalikānagara and Bāvihāra-vishaya discussed above, other **geographical names** mentioned in the record are : Peḍekal-vishaya, the gift village Yukrōmbe included in it and Viñchihichēḍi to the west of which the gift village was situated. Peḍekal-vishaya is mentioned in an earlier copper-plate inscription of the king's father and predecessor Vinayāditya also secured from the same village Māyalur.⁸ It also figures as Peḍekalli-vishaya in the Togarchēḍu plates of the same king Vinayāditya.⁹ This tract is identified with the Peḍakanti-sīmā of the later Vijayanagara records, which comprised a part of the modern Kurnool District.¹⁰ I am not sure about the identification of Yukrōmbe and Viñchihichēḍi.

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 ff.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 437 and note 5.

⁴ *Śarana Sāhitya* (Kannaḍa), Vol. IX, pp. 456-57 and 521-25.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. The last two or three lines of the Nerur plates of Vijayāditya dated in Śaka 622 and referred to above, which are lost, possibly contained the name of the writer of that grant.

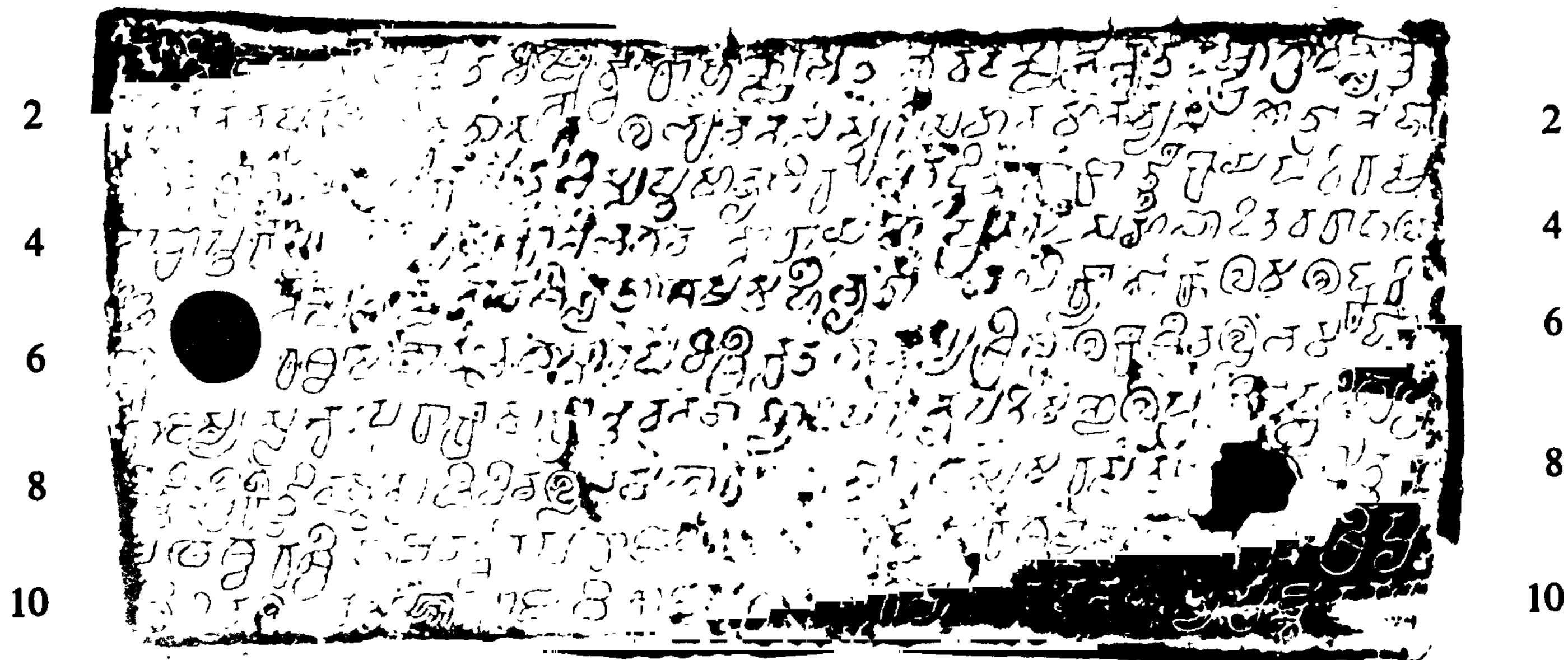
⁷ Above, Vol. X, p. 15 ; Vol. XXVI, p. 323.

⁸ *JOR*, Vol. X, pp. 27 ff.

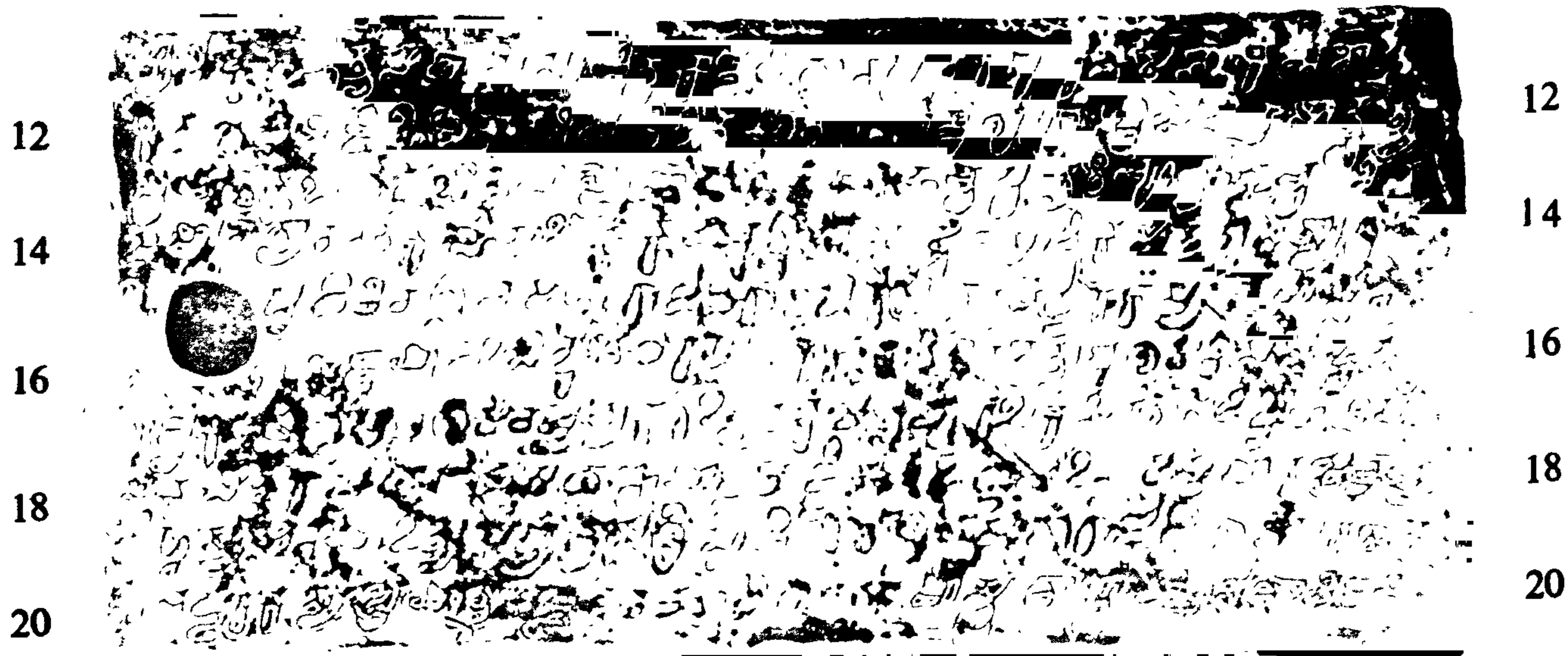
⁹ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 231.

¹⁰ Cf. *A.B.Ep.* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 232.

MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 622—PLATE I



ii, a



Scale : Two-thirds

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [*] Jayaty āvishkṛitāṁ Viṣṇūr=vvārāha[m] kshōbhit-ārṇava[m](vam) [*] dakshin-
ōnnata-da[m]śhir-āgra-viśrānta-
- 2 bhuvana[m] vapuḥ [*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hā-
- 3 riti-putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mātrībhis=sapta-mātrībhir=abhivarddhītānām Kārttikēya-pari-
raksha-
- 4 ṇa-prāpta-kalyā[ṇa-param]parāṇām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-Varāha-lā-
- 5 ṇchhan-ekshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikṛit-āsēsha-mahībhṛitām Chalikyānām kulam=alaṅkari-
- 6 shṇūr=aśvamēdh-āvatīritha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-gātrasya śrī-Pulakēśivallabha-mahā-
- 7 rājasya sūnubh parākram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-
viśuddha-
- 8 kīrttiḥ śrī-Kīrttivarṇma-Prithivīvallabha-mahārā[jas=ta]sy=ātmajas=samara-saṁsa[kta-
saka]²l-Ōttarā-
- 9 pathēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parāja[y-ōpalabdha]³-Paramēśvara-śabdasya [Satyā]²-
śraya-Śrīpri-
- 10 thivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya [priya]³-tanayasya prajñāta-naya-

Second Plate, First Side

- 11 sya khadga-mātri(tra)-śahāya-ya Chitrakāṇṭh-ābhidhāna-pravara-turaṅgamēṇ-aikēn=ēv=ō
[tsā]-
- 12 rit-āsēsha-vijigīshūr=avanipati-tritay-āntarītā[m] sva-gurō[h*] Śrīyam=ātmasātkṛitya
- 13 prabhāva-kulīśa-dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kē[ra]ḷa-Kaḷabhra-prabhṛiti-bhūbhṛi[d-a]dabhra-
vi[bhra]-
- 14 masy=ānany-āvanata-Kāñchīpati-makūṭa-chumbita-pālānvutubh[ā]sya Vikramāditya-
Satyāśraya-
- 15 Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śabdasya [priya-sūnubh]
- 16 pitur=ājñayā Bālī(lē)nduśēkharasya Tārakānātur-śa-da-śva-sabha-atīśamēdhātārāṁ trai-
- 17 rājya-Kāñchī[pati]-balam=avashṭabhya karadīkṛita-Kamēra-Pārasika-Simha[ḥ]-ādi-
dvīp-ādhipasya
- 18 sakal-Ōttarāpatha-nātha-mathan-ōpārjīṭ-ōrjīta-Pāli-dhvaj-ādi-samasta-pīramaiśvaryya-
- 19 chihnasya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
- 20 ra-bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ātmajaś=śaiśava ēv=ādhiḡat-āsēsh-āstra-śāstrō dakshin-āsā-vijayini

¹ From impressions.² The portion in brackets is lost due to a hole in the plate.³ The portion in brackets is indistinct.

Second Plate, Second Side

- 21 pitāma[hē] samunmūlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-samhatir=**Uttarapathā**(tha)-vijigishō[r=gu]rō-
 22 r=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaṇa-[gha]tā-pāṭana-viśīryamaṇa-kṛi-
 23 pāṇa-dhāras=samagra-vigrah-āgrēsaras=san=sā[hasa]-rasikaḥ=parāmmu(rāmmu)khikṛita-
 [śatru-maṇḍa]-
 24 [lō] **Garṅgā-Yamunā**-pāli-dhvaja-pa[ḍa]-ḍhakkā-mahāśabda-chihnaka-māṇikya-mataṅgaj-
 ādi[n=pi]-
 25 tṛisātkurvvan=paraiḥ=palāyamānair=āsādyā katham=api vidhivaśād=apanītō=pi pra-
 26 tāpād=ēva visha[ya]-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja iv=ānapēkshit-ā-
 27 para-sāhāyaka[s=tad-a]vagrahān=nirggatya sva-bhuj-āvashtambha-prasādhit-āsēsha-vi-
 28 śvambharaḥ=prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvātchha(ch=chha)tru-mada-bhañjanatvā[d=udāra]tvān=niravadyatvā
 29 [d=yas=sama]sta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hētu-[pāli-dhvaj-ādy-ul]jva-
 (jjva)la-
 30 prājya-rājyō **Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja**-pa-

Third Plate, First Side

- 31 ramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakas=sarvvān=ēvam=ājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu vō=smā-
 32 bhir=dvāvirṇśaty-uttara-shachchha(ṭ-chha)tēshu Śaka-[varshē]shv=atītēshu
 pravarddhamā-
 33 na-vi[ja]ya-rājya-samvatsarē chaturthē varttamānē **Bāvihāra**-visha-
 34 [yē] **Poṭṭalikā**-nagaram=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē **Vaiśā**-
 35 [kha]-**Paurṇamāsyām** Agnikārya-nimittam Pe[ḍe]kal-vishayē Viñchi[hi]-
 36 [chē]ḍi-vāruṇa-diśā-Yukrōmbē-nāmā grāmaṇ(maḥ) Vatsa-gōtrāya
 37 Mārasarmmāṇāṇ(rmmaṇē) ēka-bhōgaṇ Brāhmaṇēbhyō vēda-pārā(ra)gēbhyaś=sa-bhō-
 38 gas=sarvva-bādhā-parihār-ōpētō dattam(ttah |) Yasya yasya yadā-bhūmi-
 39 [s=tasya ta]sya tadā phalam [|*]¹ Svām(Svam) [dātum] sumahatsa(ch=chha)kya[m] duḥkha-
 [m]²-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 40 m=anyatcha(sya) pālana[m |*] dānam vā pālana[m*] v=ēti dānāśri(ch=chhrē)yō=nupā-
 lana[m || *]
 41 Svadatta(ttam) paradatta(ttam) vā yyō(yō) harēti(ta) vasundhā(ndha)rā[m |*] shastī[m]
 varsha-sā(sa)hā(ha)srā-
 42 ṇi vishta(shtā)yā[m*] jāyatē kṛima(miḥ ||) **Mahāsandhivigrahika-śrī-Rāma-punya**[va*]-
 43 llabhā(bhē)na likhitam=idam śāsā(sa)na[m] |

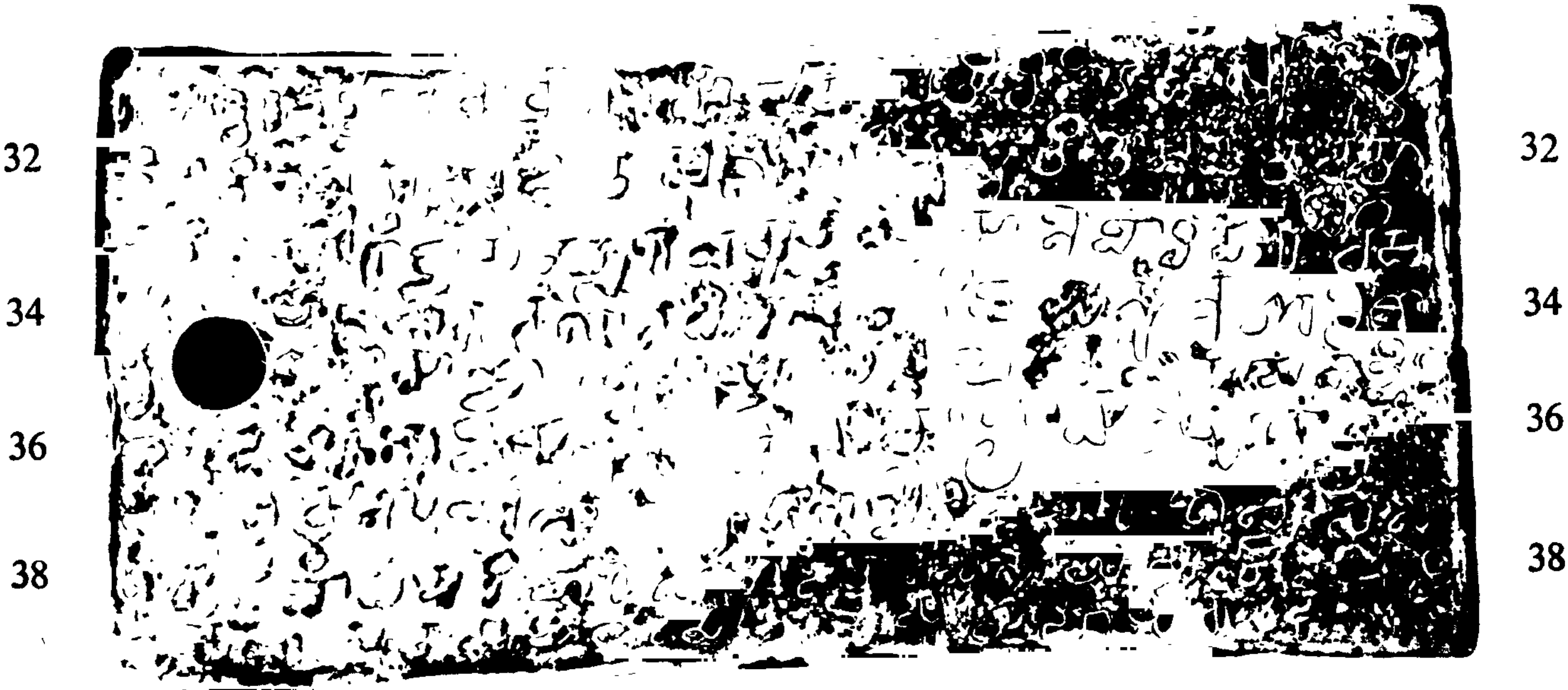
¹ This is the second half of a well-known stanza.² This final *m* is unnecessary.

MAYALUR PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA. SAKA 622—PLATE II

ii, b



iii, a



Scale : Two-thirds

40

Handwritten text in a script, likely Devanagari, on a dark background. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is partially obscured by a large, dark, irregular shape on the right side.

40

42

Handwritten text in a script, likely Devanagari, on a dark background. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The text is partially obscured by a large, dark, irregular shape on the right side.

42

No. 59- -MADANAPĀDĀ PLATE OF VISVARUPASENA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 30.3.1959)

The inscription was first published by N. N. Vasu in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, pp. 6-15 and Plates. He recorded its discovery as follows : " In the village of **Madanapādā**, Post Office Piñjāri, Pargana Koṭālīpādā of the Faridpur District, a peasant whilst digging his field found a copper plate and made it over to the land-holder who kept it in his house. This plate was made over to me by Paṇḍita Lakshmi Chandra Sāṅkhyatīrtha in 1892."¹ The inscription was subsequently acquired by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, though later it could not be traced in the Society's collection. N. G. Majumdar re-edited the inscription in his *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 133-39, from the facsimile published by Vasu, which was, however, not quite satisfactory and reliable. Neither Vasu nor Majumdar could read and interpret the grant portion of the record correctly and the latter remarked, " This portion of the text being extremely corrupt and full of scribal mistakes, it is difficult to say what is actually intended."²

In 1952, I had an opportunity of examining the plate in the Dacca Museum where it is now preserved and was also allowed by the authorities of the Museum to take impressions of the inscription. On an examination of the epigraph, it was found that the said grant portion of the charter is fairly free from scribal errors while its meaning is quite clear. Consequently I published my reading and interpretation of parts of the record in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 209-17 and Plates. Since the inscription throws considerable new light on the history of the Sēnas of Bengal, some of the readers of my paper have requested me to re-edit the Madanapādā plate in the *Epigraphia Indica* with a full-size illustration.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single** plate measuring 12½ inches in length and 10 inches in height. The Sēna **seal** representing the god Sadāśiva is affixed at the top of the plate and it is referred to as the *Sadāśiva-mudrā* in line 50 of the inscription. As regards **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles other Bengal epigraphs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and nothing calls for remarks in these respects. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in both prose and verse. After the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala* *Ō namō Nārāyaṇāya* at the beginning, there are 20 stanzas in lines 1-31. All these verses are also found in the Idilpur plate³ often ascribed to Kēśavasēna who is supposed to have been a brother of Viśvarūpasēna. The Idilpur plate, however, contains four additional stanzas which are also found in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna.⁴ The versified introduction referred to above is followed by the grant portion in prose in lines 31-53. Then come seven of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas and a verse mentioning the *dū'a* in lines 53-59. Lines 59-60 contain certain endorsements in prose and the **date** of the charter in the **regnal year 14**.

The **most interesting feature of the inscription** is that a large number of passages in it are re-engraved on erasures. As will be seen from our discussion below and the notes on the text of the inscription, the original donor of the charter was another king of the Sēna family, whose name was erased to re-engrave the name *Viśvarūpa* at a later date.

¹ Op. cit., p. 6.

² Op. cit., p. 138, note 4.

³ See N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 118 ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 140 ff, and Plates.

Verse 1 contains an adoration to the Sun-god, to whom the *Paramasaura* donor of the charter was specially devoted, while verse 2 introduces the Moon-god whom the Sēna kings claimed as the progenitor of their family. The next stanza (verse 3) refers to the kings of the lunar race and verse 4 introduces king **Vijayasēna** (c. 1095-1158 A.D.) as one of them. The following two stanzas (verses 5-6) describe Vijayasēna's might in vague terms. Verse 7 speaks of **Ballālasēna** (c. 1158-79 A.D.), son of Vijayasēna, while **Lakshmanasēna** (c. 1179-1206 A.D.), son of Ballālasēna, is introduced in the following stanza (verse 8). Verses 9-10 continue the description of king **Lakshmanasēna**. The second of these two stanzas may be translated as follows: "In hundreds of previous births, that king (i.e. **Lakshmanasēna**), leaving aside all care for his liberation, surely propitiated Hara (i.e. the god Śiva), on the banks of the Suradhunī (i.e. the Ganges), being desirous of having a son. For this [reason] (*ētasmat*), the illustrious **Viśvarūpa**, who was the head of (i.e. the foremost among) the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives, was born [to him]. Otherwise how could it be [possible]?" If the word *ētasmat* used in the stanza is taken to mean 'from this [king, i.e. **Lakshmanasēna**]', we may have the following in place of the last two sentences of our translation: "Otherwise, how could he be born to this [king] the illustrious **Viśvarūpa** who was the head of the celebrated kings and was determined to cause the widowhood of his enemies' wives?" Thus king **Viśvarūpasēna** is introduced in this stanza as the son of **Lakshmanasēna** and the verses immediately following must naturally be regarded as describing his achievements and not of his father **Lakshmanasēna**.

The second of the two verses 11-12 in the following description of **Viśvarūpasēna** state that the king planted sacrificial posts as well as pillars of his victories in battles at the following places: (1) the coast of the **Southern Ocean** where there is the altar on which **Musaladhara** (**Balarāma-Saṅkarshaṇa**) and **Gadāpāṇi** (**Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa**) dwell; (2) the site of **Viśvēśvara** near the junction of the **Asi**, **Varaṇā** and **Ganges**; and (3) the banks of the **Trivēṇī**. The three places referred to are no doubt **Purī** in **Orissa**, **Vārāṇasī** (**Banāras**) and **Prayāga** (**Allahābād**). Verse 13 mentions the queen of the same **Viśvarūpasēna**. But the original name in three *aksharas* (— — —) following *śrī* was erased and a new name in four *aksharas* was re-engraved in the space, the re-engraving also affecting the medial *i* sign of *śrī*. The third and fourth of the four *aksharas* read *dēvi*; but the first and second of them cannot be deciphered because neither the original writing was fully erased nor were the re-engraved *aksharas* clearly incised and properly shaped. There is no doubt that originally the name of **Viśvarūpasēna**'s queen was engraved in the verse. But whose name was re-engraved after having erased the original writing? The answer to this question is clearly supplied by the next stanza (verse 14) in which the donor of the charter is introduced as born of the king and his queen mentioned in the previous stanza. It is interesting to note that the *aksharas* *viśvarūpa* are quite obviously re-engraved before *sēnadēvaḥ* in this verse in the space where originally only two *aksharas* were engraved. It is also to be noticed that the second of these two *aksharas* of the original name had a superscript *r* above it and that this sign was not erased apparently through oversight. Owing to the incision of four *aksharas* in the space of only two and to the presence of the superscript *r* above the second of the two *aksharas* originally engraved, the donor's name looks more like *Viśvarrā* than *Viśvarūpa*. The two corrections in the names of the donor and his mother in the original writing of the introductory part of the **Madanapādā** plate show beyond doubt that the grant was originally made by the son of **Viśvarūpasēna** and that **Viśvarūpasēna**'s name was subsequently inserted in the place of his son's.¹ As a result of these corrections arbitrarily made at a later date in the original composition, the reader is compelled to regard verses 11-12 as describing **Lakshmanasēna** even though this is quite against the trend of the composition and its original and real meaning. As we shall see below, there is further evidence in the grant

¹ The son's name was in two *aksharas* and the metre of the stanza was originally *Āryā*. With the introduction of the bigger name of the father, the metre became *Gītī*.

portion of the document to show that the original charter was issued by the son of king Viśvarūpasēna.

Verses 15-20 describe the donor of the original grant, i.e. the son of Viśvarūpasēna, although the corrections in verses 13-14 lead to the description being referred to Viśvarūpasēna himself. Verse 15 states that the king in question had a thirst for military pursuits ever since his youth. Verse 16 refers to his liberality vaguely while the next stanza (verse 17) represents him as the death to the Garga-Yavanas no doubt meaning the Turkish Muhammadans, whatever the significance of the word *garga* in this context may be. Of verses 18-20, the first and second speak of his scholarship and physical charm respectively and the third states that he granted many villages in favour of the Brāhmaṇas.

Lines 31 ff. introduce the donor as having issued the charter from his victorious camp at Phasphagrāma, the name of which has been wrongly read as Phalgugrāma. In this section, *śrīmat*-Viśvarūpasēnadēva, supposed to be described as *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*, is mentioned as the son of *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara-śrīmat*-Lakshmaṇasēnadēva, the grandson of *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara-śrīmad*-Ballālasēnadēva and the great-grandson of *Arirāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara śrīmad*-Vijayasēnadēva. It is, however, interesting to note that, as in verse 14 in the introductory part discussed above, the four *aksharas viśvarūpa* in the king's name (line 38) have been re-engraved on an erasure offering space only for two *aksharas* which were originally engraved and the second of which had a superscript *r* above it. In this case also, the sign of superscript *r* was not erased apparently through oversight. Equally interesting is the fact that, in his title written as *Arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*, the *aksharas vṛishabha* appear to have been re-engraved after having erased the *aksharas niḥśa*, so that the title of the original donor of the grant was *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara*. But more interesting is another fact. It is that, in the names and titles of the donor's father, grandfather and great-grandfather, the *aksharas* between *śrīma*^o (or *śrīmat*) and *sēnadēva* in the former and between *arirāja* and *śaṅkara* in the latter are re-engraved on erasures. In many of these cases, the traces of the original writing are clear and these show beyond doubt that the original donor was represented as the son of Viśvarūpasēna, the grandson of Lakshmaṇasēna and the great-grandson of Ballālasēna. That such was the case is also suggested by the description of the father of the donor of the charter, i.e. Lakshmaṇasēna after the correction but Viśvarūpasēna in the original writing, as *Paramasaura*. In his own records, Lakshmaṇasēna is called either *Paramavaishṇava* or *Paramanārasimha*¹ while his son Viśvarūpasēna was the first *Paramasaura* in the Sēna family.² This shows that the person, who was responsible for the erasure and re-engraving and changed the name of Viśvarūpasēna to that of Lakshmaṇasēna, forgot to correct the former's epithet *Paramasaura* to the latter's *Paramavaishṇava* or *Paramanārasimha*. It has also to be noticed that the final *t* in *śrīmat* has been joined in *sandhi* with the first letter of the kings' names in this section in all the cases excepting that of Viśvarūpasēna. This fact suggests that the first letter of the original royal name in the stanza did not require any modification of *t* in *Sandhi*. It may have thus been a letter like *s*.

All the five kings including the donor are called *Gauḍēśvara*. But the donor and his father are endowed with certain additional epithets such as those indicating their descent from the Sēna family and the lunar race. They have also the imperial titles *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. Their title *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara* was originally used by the subordinate rulers of the Kannaḍa-speaking area which was the original home of the Sēnas. The title *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati* appears to have been assumed by the later Sēnas after a

¹ N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 86, 95, 101, 111.

² In their own records, Vijayasēna and Ballālasēna claim to have been *Paramamāhēśvara* (ibid., pp. 62, 73). Ballālasēna seems to have become a Vaishṇava in the later years of his life since he is described as *Paramavaishṇava* in one of his son's records (ibid., p. 95).

successful encounter with the Gāhaḍavālas of U. P., who are known to have enjoyed the title. It has to be pointed out that verse 12 of our inscription refers to the victories of Viśvarūpasēna (Lakshmaṇasēna after the correction) at Banāras and Allahābād which formed parts of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavālas before their overthrow by the Turkish Muhammadans. Since Viśvarūpasēna's reign of about fourteen years has to be assigned to c. 1206-20 A. D., i.e. after the Turkish conquest of Eastern India, his exploits at Banāras and Allahābād have to be assigned to the period when his father Lakshmaṇasēna was ruling. The Mādhānagar plate represents Lakshmaṇasēna as having conquered the king of Kāśī (Banāras), i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king, and having obtained success in Kalinga and other countries.¹ Viśvarūpasēna must have commanded the Sēna forces against the Gāhaḍavālas as his father's general.

The list of subordinates and officers, whom the donor addressed in respect of the grant, is quoted in lines 38-41. This is similar to such lists quoted in other Sēna charters. The said list of addressees is followed in lines 41 ff. by the declaration regarding the grant. Lines 41-43 state that the gift land was situated in a village in the Vikramapura *bhāga* (division) of Vaṅga forming a part of the *bhukti* (province) of Puṇḍravardhana and that it was bounded in the east by an embankment and a plot of land belonging to the village of Aṭhayāga-grāma (or Aṭhapāga-grāma), in the south by a piece of land belonging to Vārayīpaḍā-grāma, in the west by a plot of land belonging to Uñchōkāṭṭi-grāma and in the north by an embankment belonging to the locality called Virakāṭṭi. The expression *vārayī-paḍā* in the name of one of the boundary villages is interesting as it means 'the habitation of the Bārayīs (betelvine-growers)'.

The actual description of the gift land in lines 43-46 is entirely written on an erasure, clear traces of the original writing being visible under many of the *aksharas*. The gift land is stated to have been situated in the village called Piñjōkāshṭhī or Piñjōṭhiya which is the modern Piñjāri near Madanapāḍā, the findspot of the record. A portion of the village yielding an annual income of 132 Purāṇas or Chūrṇīs was excluded and the remainder yielding 500 [Purāṇas or Chūrṇīs] per annum was made the subject of the grant. In this connection, the contraction *sām* stands for *sāmvatsarika* 'annual', and *sām-bhū-hi* for *sāmvatsarika-bhūmi-hiranya*, 'annual revenue of the land in cash', while *bahiḥ* has been used to indicate 'excluded'. The smaller part of the village, yielding 132 Purāṇas per year, was called Padāti-Śāpāmārka apparently after a Pāik named Śāpāmārka, and belonged to the *āśrama* of Kandarpaśaṅkara probably a deity named after *Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara* Lakshmaṇasēna, the expressions *kandarpa-śaṅkara* and *madana-śaṅkara* being synonymous. It is further stated that the donee also received another plot of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Chūrṇīs annually (*sām-hi=sāmvatsarika-hiranya*) and situated in the village of Nāraṇḍapa-grāma belonging to the share of the said *āśrama* of Kandarpaśaṅkara. It was the property of a dependant of the king (*svakīya-pālya-sva*), that is to say, it formed part of a *jāgīr* in the possession of one of the king's dependants. The two plots of gift land is now mentioned as Piñjōṭhiya-grāma. It appears that, in the original grant, the whole village of Piñjōkāshṭhī was granted in favour of the donee of the charter and that, sometime later when it was brought to the notice of the authorities that a part of the village belonged to the Kandarpaśaṅkara *āśrama*, the necessity of making a readjustment was felt. The donee's loss of 132 Purāṇas or Chūrṇīs per year was then compensated by the gift of another piece of land yielding 127 Purāṇas or Chūrṇīs. The two plots of the gift land were situated in the villages of Piñjōkāshṭhī and Nāraṇḍapa, apparently abutting on each other; but they were now made one unit under the name Piñjōṭhiya which appears to be a modified form of Piñjōkāshṭhī. The donee's privileges enumerated in lines 45-46 are similar to those found in the other charters of the Sēnas.

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

Lines 46 ff. describe the donee who was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpadēvasarman of the Vatsa gōtra and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras*. He was the son of Vanamālin, grandson of Garbhēśvara and great-grandson of Parāśara. The donee is called a *śruti-pāṭhaka*, i.e. a reciter of the Vedic texts, and the grant is stated to have been made according to the principle of *bhūmi-chchhidra* for acquiring the merits as described in the *Śiva Purāṇa*. An interesting passage in this section states that the grant was made in the month of Bhādra (probably on the 8th day) in the year 14. But, in the expression *chaturdaśayāvdī(bāli)ya*, *chaturdaśa* is clearly re-engraved after having erased the *aksharas dvitī*, so that the passage read *dvitīy-āvdī(bāli)ya* in the original writing. Thus the original grant was made by the son of Viśvarūpasēna in his second regnal year while the corrections were carried out in the charter in the 14th year of Viśvarūpasēna's reign.

The above section is followed in lines 52 ff. by the donor's request to future kings for the protection of the grant, seven imprecatory and benedictory verses being quoted in this connection. The concluding section contains a verse (lines 58-59) stating that Kōpivishṇu, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister of foreign affairs) of Gauḍa, was the *dūta* or executor of the grant. This is followed by three endorsements: (1) *śrīman-mahāsām-karaṇa-ni* (i.e. *śrīman-mahāsāndhivigrahika-karaṇa-nirikshita*),¹ 'examined and approved by the office or clerk of the minister of foreign affairs'; (2) *śrī-mahāmahattaka-karaṇa-ni*, i.e. examined and approved by the office or clerk of the *Mahāmahattaka* (probably the head of the group of villages including the gift land); and (3) *śrīmat-karaṇa-ni*, i.e. examined by the king's personal office or by his personal clerk. The date of the issue of the charter, viz. the 1st of Āśvina in the year 14, comes at the end. It is interesting to note that this date is not re-engraved on an erasure, although it certainly refers to the reign of Viśvarūpasēna and not of the original donor of the charter. This is clear from the fact that while the original grant was made in the second year of the reign of Viśvarūpasēna's son, the corrections were inserted in the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpasēna himself. It seems that this space was blank in the original grant, the date of which in the donor's second regnal year was quoted in line 51.

What has been stated above regarding the nature of the grant, viz. its original issue by the son of Viśvarūpasēna and the later insertion of Viśvarūpasēna's name in the place of that of the original donor, seems to admit of no doubt. But it involves a number of problems most of which cannot be settled without further light being thrown on the subject by new discoveries. We have seen that the name of the original donor of the Madanapādā plate, who was the son of king Viśvarūpasēna and whose name was erased in verse 14 and line 28, was written in two *aksharas* before *sēna*, that the second of these two *aksharas* was endowed with a sign of superscript *r* and that the first of them was a letter like *s* which did not necessitate the change of the preceding *t* in *Sandhi*. The word in two *aksharas* that suggests itself to us for filling up this lacuna is *sūryya* since *Kumāra Sūryasēna* is known from the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna and he is generally regarded as a son of the latter.² But the name of his mother who was the queen of Viśvarūpasēna, that was erased in verse 13, cannot be restored. Even the re-engraved name of Viśvarūpasēna's mother, who was the queen of Lakshmapasēna, cannot be read in our inscription. It has been read as *Tāḍādēvi* or *Tāndrādēvi*. But they do not suit the metre. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the Idilpur plate, ascribed to Kēśavasēna, exhibits the erasure of the old writing of the name of the donor's mother in verse 14 (verse 13 of our record) and that of the donor in verse 15 (verse 14 of our record) as well as in line 43 (just as in line 38 of our record). The queen-mother's name in this case has been read as *Chāndrādēvi* which also violates the metre.

¹ The contraction *ni* may also stand for *nibaddha* or registered (cf. above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, text line 16). We have *drishṭa*, which is the same as *nirikshita*, 'seen', on the copper plates of such dynasties as the Vākātakas and the Pallavas. See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 406, 412, 419, 433, 437.

² See *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 227.

The *aksharas* read as °*dēvi sva(ta?)sya* in this record are, however, clearly °*dēvy=amushya* which is also the reading in the same verse as found in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. In the Madanapāḍā plate, the intention of the person responsible for the corrections was probably to correct *tad=asya* after °*dēvi* to *tasya* in accordance with the requirement of the metre, though he forgot to effect the change. The Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna quotes the name of his mother, in our opinion, as *Ahvaṇadēvi*.¹ It thus appears that the intended correction in the Madanapāḍā plate was *śry-Ahvaṇadēvi² tasya* and in the Idilpur plate *śry-Ahvaṇadēvy=amushya*, even though the *aksharas hvaṇa* are not recognisable in either of the cases. I do not think it possible that the queen's name was quoted differently in the three inscriptions.

Another problem relates to the name of the donor of the Idilpur plate which exhibits similar re-engravings on erasures as the Madanapāḍā plate and was issued from Phasphagrāma whence the Madanapāḍā plate was also issued. In our opinion, the reading *kēśava* in verse 15 and line 43 of this inscription is a mistake for *viśvarūpa* engraved after having erased *sūryya* exactly as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Indeed the suggestion that *kēśava* is a wrong reading for *viśvarūpa* in the Idilpur plate was already offered by some scholars, although it has been generally ignored by writers on the history of the Sēnas.³ It is, however, difficult to ignore it since it appears to be supported not only by the re-engraved names but also by the fact that the so-called Kēśavasēna's title in the Idilpur plate, which was wrongly read as *Arirāja-asahya-śaṅkara* by previous writers, reads *Arirāja-nāshabha-śaṅkara*, in which *shabha* is clearly written on an erasure. It appears that what now looks like *nāshabha* is the result of an attempt to re-engrave *vrishabha* after having erased *niḥśaṅka* just as in the Madanapāḍā plate. Viśvarūpasēna's title appears really to have been *Arirāja-vrishabha-śaṅkara* as in the case of his great-grandfather Vijayasēna just as his son assumed the title *Arirāja-niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara* in imitation of his own great-grandfather Ballālasēna. We have seen how, in the Madanapāḍā plate, *vrishabha* is re-engraved after having erased *niḥśa* so that the epithet reads there as *Arirāja-vrishabhāṅka-śaṅkara* which is meaningless.

Now we come to the most important of the problem relating to this enquiry. It is that the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate, which does not exhibit clear signs of re-engraving the names of Viśvarūpasēna and his mother on erasures, has all the stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate in the same order with a few additional stanzas that are also found in the Idilpur plate and that Viśvarūpasēna's title there reads *Arirāja-vrishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*. In our analysis of the introductory stanzas of the Madanapāḍā plate, we have seen that verses 11 ff. should have to be regarded as referring to Viśvarūpasēna and verses 14 ff. to his son and that, by the arbitrary insertion of Viśvarūpasēna's name in the place of his son's, we have not only Viśvarūpasēna twice introduced in this part, the second introduction being quite unnecessary and even unnatural, but have also to regard verses 11 ff. as continuing the description of Lakshmanasēna and verses 14 ff. as describing Viśvarūpasēna, even though this is plainly against the trend of the composition. How then could this modified composition be quoted in a genuine charter of Viśvarūpasēna himself? The only answer to this question that suggests itself to us is that the introductory part of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna is merely a copy of the modified draft of the introductory section of his son's records and is not a fresh and independent composition.⁴ This seems to be supported by his title *Arirāja-Vrishabhāṅka-śaṅkara* as found in Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. *Vrishabhāṅka* in this expression is quite meaningless and the emendation *vrishabh-āṅka* does

¹ Cf. *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-02.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 149 and note 3.

³ See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1693 and notes; *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 211.

⁴ The explanation I suggested in *JAS. Letters*, Vol. XX, p. 212, seems to be wrong.

not improve the position since the title would not still offer any satisfactory sense.¹ The copy must have been made from a modified draft like that of the Madanapādā plate which, as we have seen, reads *vrishabhāṅka* since *vrishabha* was re-engraved on *niḥśa* of *niḥśaṅka* without erasing *ṅka*. That *ṅka* was left out through oversight is suggested by the correction effected in the same title in the Idilpur plate in which *shabha* is re-engraved after having erased *śaṅka*.

The circumstances under which Viśvarūpasēna's son ruled during the lifetime of his father cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The case does not look like that of Paṅgu Nirjitavarman succeeding his son Pārtha on the throne of Kashmir.² It appears that the 14th regnal year of Viśvarūpasēna, when the corrections were effected in the Madanapādā plate, fell not long after the 2nd regnal year of his son when it was originally issued. Thus it looks as if the son was raised to the throne when the father was already a king for several years. Whether this was the result of the son's revolt and temporary success against the father or the father being temporarily incapacitated by the attack of some disease from which his recovery was not expected or by his captivity for a few years in the hands of his enemies is more than what we can say at present. In the Idilpur plate, originally issued by Viśvarūpa's son like the Madanapādā plate, the son seems to refer to his father reverentially as *brihan-nṛipati-charaṇāḥ*³ while the son, if he is identical with Sūryasēna as he seems to us to be, is mentioned in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate as having created a *jāgīr* which was ratified by Viśvarūpasēna.⁴ These facts probably suggest that the second of the two alternatives, viz. the son ascending the throne during a period when the father was somehow incapable of holding the reins of government, is preferable. Whether the issue of Sūryasēna's grants from Phaspha-grāma suggests the temporary loss of Vikramapura to some enemy is more than what we can say at present. He ruled at least for about three years since the Idilpur plate was issued in his 3rd regnal year. The period of the son's rule seems to have corresponded roughly to the years 11-13 of the father's reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have already spoken of the reference to Purī, Banāras and Allahābād. The gift village was situated in the province of Puṇḍra-vardhana which included wide areas of Northern and South-Eastern Bengal in the age in question. Its division called Vaṅga must have comprised the Dacca-Faridpur region while the Sub-Division of Vikramapura no doubt included the Munshiganj Sub-Division of the Dacca District and the Madaripur Sub-Division of the Faridpur District. The Madaripur region, now separated from the Pargana of Vikramapura in Munshiganj by the river Padmā, is still called Dakshiṇa-Vikramapura, 'South Vikramapura', and it seems that the old Vikramapura division was divided into two halves by the changing course of the Padmā at a date later than the Sēna age. As already indicated above, the gift village called Piñjōkāshthī or Piñjōṭhiya is the modern Piñjāri in the Koṭālīpādā Pargana of the Faridpur District. The other localities mentioned in the inscription including the description of the boundaries of the gift village have not been identified.

TEXT⁵

[Metres : verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2-3, 5, 7-10, 13, 15-16, 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 17 *Prithvī* ; verses 6, 12 *Sragdharā* ; verses 11, 26 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verse 14 *Gīti* ; verses 18, 21-25 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 19 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 27 *Āryā*.]

Obverse

1 Siddham⁶ Ō namō Nārāyaṇāya || Vandē=⁷ravinda-vana-vā(bā)ndhavam=andhakāra-kārā-niva-(ba)ddha-bhuvana-traya-mukti-hētum | paryāya-vistṛita-si-

¹ *Arirāja-vrishabha-śaṅkara* means 'the god Śiva to the bull that was the enemy kings', the bull being Śiva's *vāhana*. The expression *vrishabh-āṅka* has no sense suitable to the context.

² See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 124-25.

³ N. G. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 125, text line 49.

⁴ Ibid., p. 147, text line 54 ; p. 148, text line 66.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Expressed by symbol.

- 2 t-āsita-paksha-[yugmam=udya]ntam=adbhuta-khagam nigama-drumasya || [1*] Paryasta-spha-
tik-āchalām vasumatīm visva(shva)g-vimudrībhavan-muktā-kuṭmalam=avdhi(bdhi)m=a-
- 3 mva(mba)ra-nadi-vany-āvanaddham nabhaḥ | udbhinna-smita-mañjarī-parichitā dik-kāminīḥ
kalpayan pratyunmilatu Pushpasāyaka-yaśō janm-āntaram
- 4 Chandramāḥ || [2*] Ētasmāt kshiti-bhāra-nihsaha-śrō-dam(da)rvvikara-grāmapī-viśrām-ōtsava-
dāna-dikshita-bhujās=tē bhūbhujō jajñirē | yēshām=apra-
- 5 timalla-vikrama-kath-āravdha(bdha)-prava(ba)ndh-ādbhuta-vyākhy-ānanda-vinidra-sāndra-
pulakair=vyāptāḥ sadasyair=ddiśaḥ || [3*] Avātārad=ath=ānvayē mahati tatra dēvaḥ
- 6 svayam Sudhākiraṇasēkharō Vijayasēna ity=ākhyayā | yad-aṅghri-nakha-dhōraṇi-sphurita-
maulayaḥ kshmbbhujō Daśāsya-nati-vibhramam vīda-
- 7 dhirē kil=aikaikasah(śah) || [4*] Nīl-āmbhōruha-sōdarō=pi dalayan=marmmāṇi kādamvi(mbi)nt-
kāntō=pi jvalayan=manāmsi madhupa-snigdhō=pi tanvan bha-
- 8 yam || () nirṇikt-āñjana-sannibhō=pi janayan=nētra-klamam vairipām yasy=āśēsha-jan-
ādbhutāya samarē kaukshēyakaḥ khēlati || [5*] Ishan-nistrimśa-ni-
- 9 drā-viraha-vilasitair-vvairi-bhūpāla-vamśyān=uchchhidya=ōchchhidya mūl-āvadhi bhuvam=
akhilām śāsātō yasya rājñah | āsit=tējō-jigīshā saha diva-
- 10 sakarēṇ=aiva dōshṇas=tul=ābhūd=bharttr=aiv=āśīvishāṇām=ajani dig-adhipair=ēva śimā-
vivādaḥ || [6*] Khēlat-khaḍga-lat-āpamārjana-hṛita-pratyarthi-
- 11 darppa-jvaras=tasmād=apratimalla-kīrttir=abhavad=Va(d=Ba)llālasēnō nripaḥ | yasy=āyō-
dhana-simni sōṇita-sarid-duhsaṅcharāyām hṛitāḥ saṁsakta-dvipa-
- 12 danta-daṇḍa-śivikām=ārōpya vairi-śriyaḥ || [7*] Śrī-kāntō=pi na māyayā Va(Ba)li-jayī Vāg-
īśvarō=py=aksharam vaktum n=ēty=apaṭuḥ kalā-nidhir=api
- 13 prōnmukta-dōshāgrahaḥ | Bhōg-Indrō=pi na jīhmagaiḥ parivṛitas=trailōkya-rēkh-ādbhutas=
tasmāl=Lakshmanasēna-bhūpatir=abhūd=bhūlōka-kalpa-drumaḥ || [8*]
- 14 [Pratyū]shē nigāḍa-svanair=nniyamita-pratyarthi-bhūmibhujām maddhyāhnē jala-pāna-
mukta-karaṭi-prēnkhōla¹-ghaṇṭā-ravaiḥ | sāyam vēśa-vilāsinī-ja-
- 15 na-raṇan-mañjira-mañju-svanair=yēn=ākāri vibhinna-śavda(bda)-ghaṭan-āvandhyam tri-sa-
ndhyam nabhaḥ || [9*] Pūrvvam janma-śatēshu bhūmipatinā santyajya mukti-gra-
- 16 ham nūnam tēna sut-ārthinā Suradhunī-tirē Haraḥ prīṇitah | ētasmāt=katham=anyathā ripu-
vadhū-vaidhavya-va(ba)ddha-vratō vikhyāta-kahitipāla-mau-
- 17 lir=abhavat² śrī-Viśvarūpō nripaḥ || [10*] Na gagana-tala ēva śīta-raśmir=nna³ Kanaka-bhū-
dhara ēva kalpa-śākhī | na vivu(bu)dha-pura ēva Dēvarājō
- 18 vilasati yatra dhar-āvatāra-bhāji || [11*] Vēlāyām Dakṣiṇ-āvdhō(bdhō)r=Mmusaladhara-
Gadāpāṇi-saṁvāsa-vēdyām kshētrē Viśvēśvarasya sphurad-Asi-Vara-
- 19 ṇ-āślēsha-Gaṅg-ōrmmi-bhāji | tīr-ōtsaṅgē Trivēṇyāḥ Kamalabhava-makh-ārambha-
nirvvyāja-pūtē yēn=ōchchair=yajña-yūpaiḥ saha samara-jaya-sta-
- 20 mbha-mālā nyadhyāyi || [12*] Yām nirmāya pavitra-pāṇir=abhavad=Vēdhāḥ satinām tikhā-
ratnam yā kim=api sva-rūpa-charitair=vviśvam yay=ālankṛitam |

¹ This has been wrongly read as *prōdgāla* here and in the Idilpur and Sāhitya Parishad plates.

² *Sandī* has not been observed here.

³ This has been read as *raśmīśyāna*.

[illegible]

- 21 Lakshmīr=Bhūr=api vāñchhitāni vidadhē yasyāḥ sapatnyau¹ mahārājñi śr[ī.. dēvi]² tad=asya³ mahishī s=ābhūt=tri-vargg-ōchitā || [13*] Etābhyām Śasīśēkha-
- 22 ra-Girijābhyām=iva va(ba)bhūva Śaktidharaḥ | śrī-[Viśvarūpa]⁴sēnadēvaḥ pratibhaṭa-bhūpāla-mukūṭa-maṇiḥ || [14*] Ā-kaumāram=apāra-saṅgara-bhara-vyāpā-
- 23 ra-trishṇā-vaśa-sv-āntasy=āśya niśamya vīra-parishad-vandyasya dōr-vvikramam | n=ēdam n=ēdam=idañ=cha n=ēti chakitair=durggaṁ praviśya drutaṁ nirggachchha-
- 24 dbhir=arāti-bhūpa-nivahair=bhrāmyadbhir=ev=āsyatē || [15*] Kalpa-kshmāruha-kānanāni Kanaka-kshmābhṛid-vibhāgān=nidhiṁ ratnānām pulin-āntarāṇi cha pari-
- 25 bhramya prayās-ālasāḥ | tat-pāda-payōdhara-praṇayini chchhāyā-vitān-āñchalē viśrēmyanti satām=anidra-vidaś-ōdbhrāntā manō-vṛittayaḥ || [16*]
- 26 Kim=ētaḍ=iti vismay-ākulita-lōkapāl-āvali-vilōkita-viśṛiṅkhala-pradhana-jaitra-jā(yā)trā-bharaḥ⁵ | śasāsa prithivīm=imām prathita-vīra-va-
- 27 rgg-āgrāṇiḥ sa Gargga-Yavan-ānvaya-pralaya-kāla-Rudrō nṛipaḥ || [17*] Padm-ālay=ēti yā khyātir=Lakshmyā ēva jagat-trayē | Sarasvaty=api tām lēbhē yad-ānana-
- 28 kṛit-ālayā || [18*] Āruhy=ābhraṇliha-griha-śikhām=asya saundaryya-rēkhām paśyantibhiḥ puri viharataḥ paura-simantiniḥ | vānt-ākūtai⁶r=naya-
- 29 na-valitair=vibhramam darśayantyō dṛiṣṭāḥ sakhyāḥ kṣaṇa-vighaṭita-prēma-rukṣaiḥ kaṭā-kṣaiḥ || [19*] Ētēn=ōnnata-vēśma-saṅkaṭa-bhuvāḥ srōtasvatī-
- 30 saikata-kṛīḍā-lōla-marāla-kōmala-kala[t*]-kvāṇa-praṇīt-ōtsavāḥ | viprēbhyō dadirē mahī-magha[va]tā nāka-pratishṭhā-bhṛitaḥ pāka-pra-

Reverse

- 31 kramaśāli-śāli-śavala-kshētr-ōtkaṭāḥ karvvaṭāḥ || [20*] iha khalu Phasphagrāma⁷-samā-vāsita-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt sama-
- 32 stasu⁸praśastyupēta⁹-Arirāja[vṛishabha]¹⁰śaṅkara-Gauḍēśvara-śrīma[d*]-[Vijaya]-¹¹sēnadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-samastasu¹²praśastyupēta¹³-Arirāja-

¹ For *sapatnyau mahā*^o, better read *sapatni-dvayam* or *sapatnyōr=dvayam* as in the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad plate. The language of the stanza as found in the Madanapādā and Idilpur plates is faulty because the use of *sapatnyau* in the dual renders the verb *vidadhē* in the singular unsuitable.

² The four *aksharas* giving the name of the queen are written on the erasure which originally accommodated only three *aksharas* after *śrī*. The *i* sign of *śrī* has been affected by the erasure and it looks like *śrā*. Of the two damaged letters before *dēvi*, neither can be satisfactorily read because the original *aksharas* were not carefully and fully erased and the new *aksharas* clearly shaped. The name has been read as *śrī-Tāndrādēvi* or *śrī-ī dādēvi* both of which violate the metre and could not have been the intended reading. See above, pp. 319-20.

³ Here the four *aksharas* *viśvarūpa* have been re-engraved in the space for only two *aksharas* that had been originally incised. The name *viśvarūpa* cannot be easily recognised and looks somewhat like *viśvarā*. The superscript *r* above the second of the two *aksharas* in which the original name was written has not been affected by the erasure. The two original *aksharas* may have been *sūryya*. See line 38 below.

⁴ The reading is *bharaḥ* and not *bhavaḥ*.

⁵ This has been wrongly read as *vārt-ākūtai*^o.

⁶ The name of the locality has been read by previous writers as *Phalguṛāma*.

⁷ The *akshara* looks more like *eva*, though in the Gauḍīya alphabet often there is no difference between the medial sign for *u* and subscript *v*. In any case, the intended reading is *su*.

⁸ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁹ These three *aksharas* were re-engraved after having erased the *aksharas* *niśamya*. The original *n* was changed to *r* by re-touching its loop. The *visarga* and medial *i* signs of the original *niś* are still visible.

¹⁰ Although the traces are not clear, these were no doubt re-engraved after having erased *d-Vallāla*.

- 33 [niḥśaṅka]¹śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara-śrīma[d*]-Va(Ba)llāla]²sēnadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-samastasu³praśastyupēta⁴-aśvapatigajapatinarapatirājatrāyādhi-
- 34 pati-Sēnakulakamalavikāśabhāskara-Sōmavamaśapradīpa-pratipanna-Karṇṇa-satyavrata-Gāṅgēya-śaraṇāgatavajrapaṇjara-paramēśva-
- 35 ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaura⁵-mahārājādhirāja⁴-Arirāja[*madana*]⁶śaṅkara-Gauḍeśvara-śrīma[l-Lakshmaṇa]⁷sēnadēva-pād-ānudhyā-
- 36 ta⁴-aśvapatigajapatinarapatirājatrāyādhipati-Sēnakulakamalavikāśabhāskara-Sōmavamaśapradīpa-pratipanna-Karṇṇa-satyavra-
- 37 ta-Gāṅgēya-śaraṇāgatavajrapaṇjara-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramasaura-mahārājādhirāja⁴-Arirāja[*vṛishabha*]⁸śaṅkara-
- 38 Gauḍeśvara-śrīmat-[Viśvarūpa]⁹sēnadēva-pādā vijayinaḥ | samupāgat-āsēsha-rāja-rājanyaka-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya-ma-
- 39 hāpurōhita-mahādharṇmādhyaksha-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāsēnāpati-dauhsādhika-chaurōddharanika-nauva(ba)lahastyaśvagōma-
- 40 hishājīvikādivyāpṛita-gaulmika-daṇḍapāsika-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādīn=anyāś=cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō=’dhyaksha-
- 41 pravarān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa¹⁰-jātīyān Brāhmaṇān Brāhmaṇ-ōttarāś=cha yathārham mānayanti vō(bō)dhayanti samādisanti cha [l*] viditam=astu bhavatām ya-
- 42 thā Paṇḍravardhana-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Vaṅgē Vikramapura-bhāgē pūrvē Aṭhayāga-grāma¹¹-jaṅghāla-bhūḥ sīmā dakṣiṇē Vārayīpaḍā-grāma-bhūḥ sī-
- 43 mā paśchimē Uñchōkāṭṭī-grāma-bhūḥ sīmā uttarē Virakāṭṭī¹²-jaṅghāla[h*] sīmā ittham chatuḥ-śīm-āvachchhinnaḥ(nna)-Piñjōkāśhī¹³-grāma-madhyāt Kandarppaśaṅkar-ā-

¹ These three *aksharas* are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. Originally *madana* must have been engraved at this place.

² These *aksharas* are re-engraved on an erasure. Originally *l-Lakshmaṇa* must have been engraved. The first *akshara* still looks more like *lla*.

³ See above, p. 323, note 7.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁵ The person responsible for the erasure and re-engraving forgot to change this epithet of Viśvarūpasēna to *Paramavaishṇava* or *Paramanārasimha* which was the correct epithet of Lakshmaṇasēna.

⁶ These three *aksharas* must have been re-engraved after having erased the *aksharas vṛishabha*, although the traces are not clear.

⁷ These *aksharas* are clearly re-engraved on an erasure. That originally *d-Viśvarūpa* was engraved is proved by the traces of *pa* underneath *na* and of the medial *i* sign of *dvi*. The space also suggests that four *aksharas* and not three were originally engraved here.

⁸ These three *aksharas* were apparently re-engraved after having erased *niḥśa* of *niḥśaṅka*, the last *akshara* of the original word in three *aksharas* being left out through oversight. The intended reading seems to be *arirāja-vṛishabha-śaṅkara* and not *arirāja-vṛishabhāṅka-śaṅkara*.

⁹ These four *aksharas* were clearly re-engraved after having erased a name in two *aksharas*. The second *akshara* of this original name had a superscript *r* which was not erased. The re-engraved name looks more like *Viśvarra* than *Viśvarūpa*. Note that *i* of *śrīmat* has not been modified in *sandhi* as in the other cases in this section. The original name engraved here seems to have been *Sūryya*. See line 22 above.

¹⁰ This is the same as *chāṭa-bhaṭa* of early inscriptions.

¹¹ The name may also be read as *Aṭhapāga-grāma*.

¹² The name has been read as *Virakāshī*.

¹³ The name has been read as *Piñjākāshī*. From this word down to *Piñjōṭhīya* in line 46, the letters are all re-engraved on erasures. From the beginning of this re-engraved section down to *trinayū* at the end of line 45, the *aksharas* are small in shape and pressed against each other. This was due to the fear that all the *aksharas* might not find space enough to be accommodated in the blank created by the erasure. But when the work of re-engraving had reached the beginning of line 46, it was found that the remaining *aksharas* were not enough to fill up the available space in that line. Thus the *aksharas* re-engraved on the erasure in line 46 are bigger in size, and have more space between any two of them than even in the original part of the writing.

- 44 śramīya¹-padāti-Śāpāmūrka-sām²-va(dvā)trīṃśat-purāṇ-ōttara-chūrṇī-śat-aika³ 132 va(ba)-hih sām-bhū-hi⁴ 500 tathā Kandarppaśaṅkar-āṁśa⁵-bhūmau Nāraṇḍapa-grāmē svakīya-pālya-svam sām⁶]-⁶
- 45 hi [1]27 dvābhyām sapta[v]jīṃśati-purāṇ-ādhika-sām-chūrṇā(rṇī)⁷-śaṭ-śatik-ōtpattika-Piñjōkāśhī⁸-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-jhāṭa-viṭapaḥ s-ōsharaḥ⁹ sa-guvāka-nārikēlas-trīṇa-yū¹⁰-
- 46 ti-paryyanta upari-likhita-chatuḥ-si(sī)m-āvachchhinnaḥ Piñjōthīya¹¹-grāmō=yam Śiva-purāṇ-ōkta-bhūmi-dāna-pha-
- 47 la-prāpti-kāmanayā Vatsa-sagōtrasya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva¹²-Jāmadagnya-pravarasya Parāsa(śa)radēvaśarmmaṇaḥ praputrāya Va-
- 48 tsa-sagōtrasya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva¹²-Jāmadagnya-pravarasya Garvbhē(rbbhē)śvaradēvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Vatsa-sagōtrasya Bhārggava-
- 49 Chyavana-Āpnuvata-Aurvva¹²-Jāmadagnya-pravarasya Vanamālidēvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Vatsa-sagōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvata-
- 50 Aurvva¹²-Jāmadagnya-pravarāya śruti-pāṭhakāya¹³ śrī-Viśvarūpadēvaśarmmaṇ Brāhmaṇāya vidhivad=utsrija Sadāśiva-mudrayā mu-
- 51 drayitvā bhū-chebhidra-nyāyēna [chaturdaśa]y-āvdi(bdi)ya¹⁴-Bhādra-dinā¹⁵ tāmraśa-sanīkṛitya pradattō=smābhiḥ | yatra chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhi-
- 52 nna-sām-śāsana-bhū-hi¹⁶ 627 tad=bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ēv=ānumantavyam bhāvibhir=api nripatibhir=apaharaṇē naraka-pāta-bha-
- 53 yāt pālanē dharmma-gauravāt pālanīyam | bhavanti ch=ātra dharmm-ānusaṁsinaḥ ślōkāḥ || Āsphōṭayanti pitarō valgaya-
- 54 nti¹⁷ pitāmahāḥ | bhūmidō=smat-kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhaviṣhyati || [21*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim, prayachchhati | ubhau
- 55 tau puṇya-karmmaṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [22*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya

¹ This was read as *Kandarppaśaṅkarā-grāmīya*.

² This was read as *śyadhāmārkyām*. *Sām* is a contraction of *sāmvatsarika*.

³ This was read as *trīśatika*.

⁴ This was read as *sahī sī bhūhi*. *Bahī* (Bengali *bai*) is the same as *bahirbhūta* (i.e. excluded) as found in some records (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 190, text line 185, etc.). *Sām-bhū-hi* stands for *sāmvatsarika-bhūmi-hiranya*.

⁵ This was read as °āśa°.

⁶ The last seven *aksharas* were not read.

⁷ This was read as *sachchittā*.

⁸ The *akshara* was read as *shī*.

⁹ The *visarga* was omitted.

¹⁰ This *akshara* may also be read as *pū*.

¹¹ The re-incision on erasure in this part ends with the *akshara ya*.

¹² Read *Chyavan-Āpnuvad-Aurvva*.

¹³ This was read as *thātipāṭakāya*.

¹⁴ The intended reading is *chaturdaś-ābdīya*. The four *aksharas* *chaturdaśa* are re-engraved after having erased two *aksharas*. The medial *i* and *ī* signs attached respectively to the first and second of the letters are still visible. There is no doubt that the expression *dvitīy-ābdīya* was originally engraved and that *chaturdaśa* was re-engraved after having erased *dvitī*.

¹⁵ The intended reading may have been *dinē 8*.

¹⁶ *Sām-śāsana-bhū-hi* (*sāmvatsarika-śāsana-bhūmi-hiranya*), 'the annual revenue of the gift land in cash', is the same as *śāsana-sām-bhū-hi* (*śāsana-sāmvatsarika-bhūmi-hiranya*) of line 68 of the Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad plate (N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 148).

¹⁷ Read *valganti cha* or *pravalganti*.

- 56 tasya tadā phalam || [23*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidah | ākshēptā
ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [24*] Sva-da-
- 57 ttām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ
saha pachyatē || [25*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lō-
- 58 lām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā
na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [26*] Sachiva-
- 59 śata-mauli-lālita-pad-āmvu(mbu)jasy=ānuśāsanē dūtaḥ | śrī-Kōpivishṇur=abhavad=Gauḍa-
mahāsāndhivigrahikah || [27*] śrīman-mahā-
- 60 sām-karaṇa-ni || śrī-mahāmahattaka-karaṇa-ni || śrīmat-karaṇa-ni || sam 14 Āsvina-dinē
1 || ||

No. 60—BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDA III, SAKA 726

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.7.1959)

The inscription was published by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, pp. 125—27 and Plates. The findspot of the plates is unknown. They appear to have been deposited in the British Museum along with the other epigraphical collections bequeathed by Fleet.

The set consists of **three** plates, each measuring about 5·75" long and 2·5" broad. The ring attached to the plates is .25" in thickness and 2·5" in diameter. The circular **seal** fixed to the ring is about 1·5" in diameter and has, in relief on a counter sunk surface, a much worn representation of Garuḍa, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The first and the last plate are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. Though the plates are corroded here and there, the writing is very well preserved. The first plate and the second side of the second plate have each 6 lines of writing whereas the first side of the second plate and the third plate have 4 and 3 lines respectively. Thus there are 19 lines altogether.

The **characters** are early Kannaḍa-Telugu and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Of the initial vowels *a* occurs in line 16, *i* in lines 12 and 13 and *e* in lines 2, 9 and 11. Dravidian *r* is found in lines 1, 10 and 18 and *l* in lines 1, 7 and 9. Final *n* is met with in line 15 and final *ḷ* in lines 5 and 6. *L* is written either with a curve inside the letter as in lines 4, 8, 10, etc., or with a curve outside as in lines 9 and 19. *B* is of the box type (cf. lines 3, 5, 8, 9, etc.) and *kh* of the cursive variety (cf. lines 2 and 19). There is no distinction between medial *e* and *ē* or *o* and *ō*. As regards **orthography**, the consonant following *r* is generally doubled (cf. lines 1, 6, 9, etc.). There are certain orthographical errors like *s* used for *ś* (line 2), *bh* for *b* (line 2), *b* for *v* (line 14), etc.

The **language** is Kannaḍa prose except the imprecatory verses and a sentence at the end referring to the composition of the record, which are in Sanskrit.

The inscription is interesting in more than one respects. It is the shortest of the copper-plate inscriptions of **Gōvinda III** discovered so far. Besides being the only copper-plate grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which is written in the Kannaḍa language, it is one of the earliest copper plate inscriptions in that language. The form of the record resembles rather that of the stone inscriptions of the dynasty than that of the copper-plate grants. There is no invocatory verse at the beginning and the inscription straightway begins with the date-portion as in the case of the stone inscriptions. Neither the genealogical account of the ruling king is given¹ nor is the grant addressed to the feudatory officials as is generally found in the case of the copper-plate grants. The present inscription is the only record mentioning the name of the Pallava adversary of Gōvinda III as Dantiga, i.e., Dantivarman (761-812 A.D.).

¹ Prof. V. V. Mirashi's view (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 206 and note 4) that the absence of the genealogical section in these plates is due to the fact that they were not issued from the capital of the king is not convincing. There are numerous instances of copper-plate grants which were issued from places other than the capitals and yet contain the genealogical section. Cf. the copper-plate grants issued by Chālukya Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) from the following places away from his capital at Bādāmi : Rāsēranagara (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 ff.), Karahāṭanagara (above, Vol. X, pp. 146 ff.), Ēlāpura (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 425 ff.) and Kuḥuṇḍinagara (*A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, App. A, No. 22). The Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III himself was encamped at a place called Sūgutūru at the time of issuing the Nēsarikā grant (below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III.)

The inscription commences with the word *svasti* and proceeds to give, as indicated above, the date which is expressed in words as Śaka 726 (expired), Subhānu, Vajākha vadi 5, Thursday. According to the Southern cycle, the expired Śaka year 726 corresponded to Tāraṇa and Subhānu fell in the previous year, viz, Śaka 725 expired. In the latter year, the given *tithi* was not Thursday as mentioned in the record while, in the Śaka year 726 expired, it regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 4th April 804 A.D.** This, therefore, appears to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Gōyindara**, the Kannada form of the name Gōvinda, who, from his distinguishing epithet *Prabhūtarsha* as well as the date of the record, is none else than Gōvinda III. He also bears the usual epithets *Prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭāra*. We are informed in lines 5-6 that his queen (*mahādēvī*) was Gāmuṇḍabbe who is not known from any other source. It is not clear in what connection she is mentioned in the record. It may, however, be suggested that the king made the grant specified in the sequel at the request of his queen, though it is not so stated.

Lines 7-12, refer to the conflict of the king with the Pallava ruler and the object of the record. They have been translated by Fleet as follows: "when (*the king*), having conquered **Dantiga** who ruled over **Kāñchi**, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the bank of the river **Tuṅgabhadra**, and when having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the *tīrtha* called **Rāmēśvara**, he came (*there again*) to spear the boars that had been preserved (*for his sport*)—having seen that the *tīrtha* was an excellent one, he allotted to the *Gorava* named Śivadhāri, . . . the grant of king **Kirttivarmā** to (*the god*) **Paramēśvara**."

Fleet read the words in line 7 as *Dantiganame gelḍu* and translated them as 'having conquered Dantiga.' But the word *gelḍu* does not give any sense in Kannada unless one assumes that it is a mistake for *geldu*, the verb *gel* meaning 'to conquer'. Moreover, the emphatic *e* in *Dantiganame* does not suit the context. We propose to read the two words as *Dantigana mēg=elḍu* which means 'having marched against Dantiga.' Thus the sentence has to be understood in the sense that the king was on his march to Kāñchī against the Pallava king Dantiga in order to levy tribute from him and that on his way he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra. This shows that the conquest of the Pallava king by Gōvinda III was not complete on the date of this record but was subsequent to it. In view of this conclusion, it would be necessary to modify the opinion of the scholars who have written on the chronology of the conquests of Gōvinda III and who following Fleet's translation, have understood that the conquest of the Pallava king was complete when the present plates were issued in 804 A.D.¹

Fleet translated the sentence *Rāmēśvara emba tīrthadā modalol=mepp=ikki* (lines 9—10) as 'having at (*his*) first (*visit*) approved of the *tīrtha* called Rāmēśvara'. He understood *modalol* in the sense of 'at first' and thought that it referred to the first visit of the king to the place. This led him to suppose that the king came there again to spear the boars referred to in the next sentence (line 10) *porada pandigaḷan=iriyal=bandalli*. He also took *mepp=ikki* in the sense of 'having approved'. Now the word *meppu* is not found in Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* and the meaning given by Fleet does not suit the context. We feel that *meppu* may be connected with *mēpu* meaning 'grazing, pasturage'² derived from the root *mē* or *mēy* 'to graze' and *mepp=ikki* has to be taken as qualifying the following words *porada pandigaḷan*. The word *modalol* in the sense of 'first or first visit' does not suit the preceding word *tīrthadā* which is in the genitive case.

¹ Altekar (*The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 63) thought that Gōvinda III was returning from his expedition against the Pallava king when the present plates were issued. Cf. also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 215; Vol. XXXII, p. 159.

² *Mēpu* is used in this sense in the Kannada work *Pampa-Bhārata* (Chapt. V, section in prose after verse 43) in the description of the hunting expedition of Arjuna.

So it has to be understood in the sense of 'in front of' or 'opposite to'. The whole sentence appears to mean that there was a sort of a game-sanctuary located on the opposite side of Rāmēśvara-tīrtha (i.e. on the other side of the river) where boars were grazed and preserved for hunting purposes. Thus the words *modalol* and *bandalli* do not support the view that the king had visited the same place on two occasions, as supposed by Fleet.¹ But this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier invasion of the Pallava capital by Gōvinda III. The fact that the king was on his march in order to levy tribute from the Pallava king may possibly suggest that the latter had failed to pay the tribute levied on a previous occasion. This view may gain support from the statement, that from Śrībhavana, Gōvinda III went to the banks of Tuṅgabhadra with his forces and captured the fortune of the Pallavas, though it was already in his hands.²

The **object** of the inscription (lines 11-12) is to register the renewal of a grant, by the king, to the priest (*gorava*) Śivadhāri. It is stated that the former grant was made by **Kīrtivarmarāja-paramēśvara** who was most probably Kīrtivarman II (744-45-757), the last imperial Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi.³ The meaning of the expression *mudumbeyaman=untu* used in this connection is not clear but it appears to refer to the name of a locality or to the former privileges attached to the grant which was renewed by Gōvinda III.⁴

Thus lines 7-12 of the inscription may be rendered as: "When (*Gōvinda III*) was on his march, in order to levy tribute, against Dantiga who was ruling over Kāñchī, and when he had fixed his encampments on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra, and when he had come to spear the boars that had been grazed and preserved (*for his sport*) on the opposite side of the *tīrtha* called Rāmēśvara (i.e. on the other side of the river), seeing the beauty of the *tīrtha*, he (i.e. the king) gave to the priest named Śivadhāri the grant of Mudumbeyam which was (*formerly*) given by Kīrtivarmarāja-paramēśvara." Lines 13-17 contain the imprecatory portion and a sentence in lines 17-18 refers to a stream called Kunda or Kundu as lying on the boundary of the gift land. This is followed in lines 18-19 by the mention of *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Śrīdhara as the writer of the grant. This officer is not known from the other grants of Gōvinda III.

The **chronology of the campaigns of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III** has been discussed by many scholars. As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi, the copper-plate charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups. The first one gives the draft of the introductory part which mostly follows that of the earlier charters of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. To this group belong the Paṭṭaṇ plates (Śaka 716),⁵ Añjanavati plates (Śaka 722)⁶ and the Jharikā grant (Śaka 725).⁷ To the second group, which gives a new draft describing the victories of Gōvinda III, belong all his other charters including the Maṇṇa plates⁸ (first set) of Śaka 724 and the Badaneguppe plates⁹ of Śaka 730 which were issued by the king's brother Stambha. Prof. Mirashi has tried to show that all the important victories of Gōvinda III (including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha) were attained before

¹ It may, however, be pointed out that though Fleet seems to have rectified this mistake later (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 397; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 159 and note 5), other scholars have followed it. Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and note 7.

² Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verse 18: *sva-kara-sthitām=api punar=niśēśham=ākṛishṭavān Pallavānām śriyam*. Cf. also, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 216 and K.V.S. Aiyar, *Three Lectures*, p. 82.

³ Fleet takes Paramēśvara as the name of the god to whom Kīrtivarman made the grant previously. But it seems better to take it as an epithet of Kīrtivarmarāja.

⁴ For other meanings suggested by Fleet, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127 and note 20.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 ff.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 157 ff.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 61.

⁹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, pp. 112 ff.

Śaka 724, the date of the Manne plates (first set).¹ But from the recent discovery of the Jharikā grant of Śaka 725 using the earlier draft, it has been shown that the Manne plates which are dated one year earlier (i.e. Śaka 724) and in which the later draft is used should be regarded as spurious.² Therefore, the earliest record to use this new draft is the Nēsarikā grant³ of Śaka 727. It follows that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in the north as well as south before Śaka 727, the date of the Nēsarikā grant, if we follow the usual criterion of ascertaining the chronology of his campaigns by the appearance of the earlier and later drafts. From the wellknown verse *nūtvā Śrībhavanē*, etc., found in this later draft,⁴ we learn that, from Śrībhavana (identified with modern Sarbhon in Broach District) where he had spent the rainy season, Gōvinda III marched with his forces to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā and, staying there, captured the fortune of the Pallavas. This shows that Gōvinda conducted his southern campaign from the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā. This is corroborated by the fact that when the Jharikā grant was issued, the royal camp was on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā near Alampur, and that the inscription under review also states that the king had fixed his encampment on the bank of the same river. Evidently all the above-mentioned three references to the royal encampment on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā point to the same event in Gōvinda's southern campaign. It appears that this expedition commenced from the date of the Jharikā grant (November 803 A.D.) and was not yet complete on the date of the present inscription (April, 804 A.D.). However, it must have been completed soon after the date of the present record, since the Nēsarikā grant, dated 21st December 805 A.D., was issued when the king was apparently on his way back to his capital.

The chronology of the southern campaign detailed above would show that Gōvinda's northern conquests were completed before November 803 A.D., the date of the Jharikā grant. As indicated above, Gōvinda III marched quickly from Śrībhavana to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā as if to suppress some sort of revolt from the south. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Añjanavatī plates, dated in June 800 A.D. (Śaka 722), were issued from Gōvinda's capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍī and, as already indicated, use the earlier draft. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the northern campaign of the king must have been conducted between June 800 A.D., the date of the Añjanavatī plates, and November 803, the date of the Jharikā grant. One may, however, ask why this northern expedition is not referred to in the Jharikā grant. But, as already stated, the king was still engaged in his southern expedition on the date of this grant and even some time thereafter as proved by the inscription under study and he could only prepare the new draft incorporating his exploits in the north as well as in the south sometime before issuing the Nēsarikā grant in December 805 A.D.⁵

The village or locality called Mudumbe cannot be identified.

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 297. In his latest contribution on the subject, Altekar also adopts the same view. Cf. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 8.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 159. [The reason cited cannot be regarded as enough for characterising the Manne plates as spurious. For a case of this kind among the records of the Eastern Ganga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239, where I suggested an unnecessary correction.—Ed.]

³ Below, Vol. XXXIV, Part III. [The Nēsarikā grant or any other record of Gōvinda III does not mention Chakrāyudha, though according to the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha I he surrendered to Gōvinda III along with his ally Dharmapāla. Some of the conclusions of Mirashi and others thus appear to be based on *argumentum ex silentio*.—Ed.]

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 244, verse 18.

⁵ [The absence of reference to the northern campaign in the Jharikā grant of 803 A.D., before which it must have been completed as indicated by the issue of the charters of the period between 802 and 805 A.D. from the southern camps, makes Dr. Gai's explanation rather doubtful. Gōvinda III was not actually fighting with the Pallavas on the Tuṅgabhadrā and the officers with him could have drawn up the new draft in any of his camps if he so desired.—Ed.]

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [| *] Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita samvatsaramgaḷ=ēlnūri(r=i)rppatārane-
 2 yā Subhānu embhā(mba) varshadā Vaisā(śā)kha-māsa-kṛishpa-pa-
 3 ksha-pañchame(mi)-Brīhaspatī(ti)vāram=āgi [|*] Svastī(sti) Prabhū-
 4 tavarsha-śrī-Prithuvī(thvī)vallabha-mahārājādhirāja pa[ra*]mē-
 5 śvara Gōyindara-bhaṭārārā Gāmunḍabbegaḷ² mahādē-
 6 viyār=āgi³(gi) rājyā(jya)-pra[va]rddhamāna kāladoḷ

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 Kañchiyan=ālvā(ḷva) Dantigana mēg=eḷdu⁴ kappam-gola-
 8 l=bandalli Turṅabhadreyā taḍiyol=tāṇa-biḍuga-
 9 l=iḷdu Rāmēśvara emba tīrtthadā modalol=mepp=i-
 10 kki porada pandigaḷan=iṇiyal=bandallī(lli) tīrtthad-olpa-
 11 n=kaṇḍu⁵ Śivadhāri emba goravargge Mudumbeya-
 12 maṇ=untu Kitthi(rtti)vammo(rmma)rāja⁶-paramēśvara-dattamān=vittā[r]⁷[|*] i⁸

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 idam keḍisidarola(ḷ=ā)r=appoḍe int-appāt(ppār) [|*]
 14 Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattambā⁹ yō harēti(ta) vasu-
 15 ndharān(rām |) shashṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi(ṇi) viśṭhā-
 16 yām jāyatē krimi[h ||*] Api varsha-sahasrāṇi

¹From the Plates in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, between pp. 126 and 127.

²The two letters gaḷ were first omitted and then inserted below the following letter ma.

³The akshara rā is written below the line between yā and gi.

⁴Fleet reads *Dantiganame geḷdu*.

⁵Fleet reads *tīrttham=olpan=kaṇḍu*.

⁶These two letters were first omitted and then inserted below the line between mmō and the following letter pa.

⁷Fleet reads=vittā[r*].

⁸This akshara is redundant.

⁹Read *paradattām va*.

Third Plate

- 17 tēna mē n=ānyatō bhayaṁ(yam ||)¹ pūrvva-sthiti Ku-
 18 nd=emba tore mēre [!*] Mahāsandhivigrā(gra)hā²dhi-
 19 kāra(r-ā)dhi(dhi)patē[h*] Śrīdharasya likhītaḥ³ sya⁴[!*]⁵

¹ This is only a half verse.

² This letter *hā* is written below the following letter *dhi*.

³ Read *likhitam*.

⁴ This letter is unnecessary.

⁵ While this article was going through the press, I visited Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It was at this place, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadra, that Gōvinda III was camping as shown above. About a mile to the north of Alampur, there is, on the river-bank, a locality called Rāmēśvara which is evidently the same as Rāmēśvara-tirtha mentioned in our record. I noticed here the remains of one or two old temples. But what is more interesting is that, on the other bank of the river opposite Rāmēśvara, there is still a small jungle and I was informed that it is infested with boars even today. I was also told that a stone inscription of the reign of Gōvinda III, which is now kept in the museum at Alampur, was originally found at this Rāmēśvara. These facts go to confirm the interpretation of the text (lines 9-10) offered at pp. 328-29. above.

No. 61—NOTE ON SHAR-I-KUNA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

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(Received on 21.7.1959)

A rock inscription of the Maurya emperor **Asōka** (c. 269-232 B.C.) was recently discovered in a locality called **Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar in Southern Afghanistan**, that is to say, in the vicinity of the site of the ancient city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great in Arachosia. It is a **bilingual** record, one of its two versions being in **Greek** and the other in **Aramaic**. Both the versions of the inscription have been published in Italian by U. Scer-rato, G. Tucci, G. P. Carratelli and G. L. della Vida in a small book entitled *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka—La prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan*, Rome, 1958, and in French by D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1 ff. A paper on the same inscription received by us from Prof. J. Filiozat is appearing in the pages of this journal, below, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.

The Shar-i-Kuna inscription is an **edict** referring to the results of **Asōka's** propagation of what he called his *Dharma* and we know that such results are referred to in some of his other edicts, especially in Minor Rock Edicts I-II and Rock Edict IV. The two versions of the Shar-i-Kuna inscription are really **independent free translations of an edict** (or two versions of an edict) that may have been drawn up in **Prakrit** at **Asōka's** Record Office at Pāṭaliputra and sent to his Viceroy and the *Mahāmātras* at Alexandria in Arachosia for being translated into Greek and Aramaic no doubt for respectively the local Greek (Yavana) and Kāmbōja subjects of the Maurya emperor, who are referred to in Rock Edicts V and XIII. The Aramaic text refers to a fact recorded in Rock Edict I that formerly numerous birds and animals used to be killed daily at **Asōka's** kitchen for the preparation of curries, but that, at the time of the issue of Rock Edict I, only three living beings were being killed for the same purpose. The Aramaic version also mentions the **Maurya king** clearly as the lord of the people and officers of the Kandahar region where the edict was engraved.¹ No clear allusion to these is found in the Greek text. Likewise there is mention of the king's hunters only in the Greek text and not in the Aramaic version. We may regard the Shar-i-Kuna inscription as **Minor Rock Edict IV**.²

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been satisfactorily deciphered and interpreted, though there are some doubtful passages in the Aramaic version.³ The **importance of the inscription** lies in the fact that it not only proves the inclusion of Afghanistan, apparently the home of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, in **Asōka's** empire but also quotes **the date when the emperor became a zealous propagator of Dharma**.

The **Greek version** of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been translated into French as follows :

- (A) **Dix ans étant révolus**, le roi **Piodassēs** a montré⁴ aux hommes la Pitié. (**Ten years having passed** [since his coronation], king **Priyadarśin** has shown⁴ Piety to the people.)
- (B) Et depuis lors il a rendu les hommes plus pieux, et tout prospère sur toute la terre. (And, since then, he has rendered the people more pious, and all prosper on the whole earth.)

¹ **Asōka** could not have issued such an edict to the subjects of a foreign ruler.

² The Bairāt-Bhābrī inscription may be regarded as Minor Rock Edict III. See my *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Delhi, 1957, pp. 27, 38-39.

³ There is some difference between the views of the Italian and French scholars. We have followed the latter. A study of the Aramaic version by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl has since appeared in *East and West*, September 1958, pp. 192 ff.

⁴ The use of Past Tense is required here since the following sentence makes it clear that the reference is to an earlier event.

- (C) Et le rois s'abstient des êtres vivants, et les autres hommes et tous les chasseurs et pêcheurs du roi ont cessé de chasser. (And the king abstains from [the eating or slaughter of] living beings, and other people and all the king's hunters and fishermen have given up hunting.)
- (D) Et ceux qui n'étaient pas maîtres d'eux-mêmes ont cessé, dans la mesure de leurs forces, de ne pas se maîtriser. (And those who could not control themselves have ceased not to control themselves as far as they could.)
- (E) Et ils sont devenus obéissants à père et mère et aux gens âgés, à l'inverse de ce qui était le cas précédemment. (And they have become obedient to [their] father and mother and to the old people contrary to what was the case previously.)
- (F) Et désormais, en agissant ainsi, ils vivront de façon meilleure et plus profitable en tout. (And henceforth, by so acting, they will live in an altogether better and more profitable way.)

It may be translated roughly into **Prakrit**, as used in Aśoka's inscriptions in general and, in particular, his edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī in the Peshawar District (as also Mansehrā in the Hazara District) of West Pakistan, as follows :

- (A) **daśa-vash-abhisitena** raña **Priyadraśina** janaspi dharm-anuśasti pravaṭita |
(**daśa-varsh-ābhishiktēna** rājñā **Priyadarśinā** janē dharm-ānuśastiḥ
pravartitā |)
- (B) tata chu tena muniśa baḍhataram dhrama-yuta kaṭa praṇa cha vaḍhita hita-sukhena
savra-puthaviyam | (tataḥ cha tu tēna manushyāḥ bāḍhataram dharmā-yutāḥ
kṛitāḥ prāṇāḥ cha vardhitāḥ hita-sukhēna sarva-prithivyām |)
- (C) raña chu praṇ-arambho paritijita savrehi cha manusehi luḍakehi cha savrehi kevaṭehi
cha raño paritijita vihimśa bhutanam | (rājñā cha tu prāṇ-ālabhaḥ parityaktaḥ
sarvaiḥ cha manushyaiḥ lubdhakaiḥ cha sarvaiḥ kaivartaiḥ cha rājñāḥ parityaktā
vihimsā bhūtānām |)
- (D) yesham chu n=asi saṁyamo te pi cha saṁyata bhuta yatha tena tena śakam | (yēśam
cha tu na āsīt saṁyamaḥ tē api cha saṁyatāḥ bhūtāḥ yathā tēna tēna śakyam |)
- (E) te pi cha mata-pitushu vuḍheshu cha suśrushamti yadiśam no bhuta-pruṇam | (tē
api cha mātā-pitṛishu vṛiddhēshu cha śuśrūṣanti yādṛiśam no bhūta-pūrvam |)
- (F) evam cha karamina te pacha hita-sukhena vaḍhiśamti baḍham cha vaḍhiśamti || (ēvam
cha kurvāṇāḥ tē paśchāt hita-sukhēna vardhishyantē bāḍham cha vardhishyantē ||)

The **Aramaic text** has been translated into French as follows :

- (A) **Dix ans étant révolus (?)**, il advint (?) que notre seigneur **Priyadarśi** le roi se fit l'instaurateur de la Vérité. (**Ten years having passed (?)**, it so happened (?) that our lord, king **Priyadarśin**, became the institutor of Truth.)
- (B) Depuis lors le mal a diminué pour tous les hommes, et toutes les infortunes (?), il les a fait disparaître ; et sur toute la terre [il y a] paix [et] joie. (Since then, evil became diminished among all men and all misfortunes (?) he caused to disappear ; and [there are] peace [and] joy on the whole earth.)
- (C) Et, en outre, [il y a] ceci en ce qui concerne la nourriture : pour notre seigneur le roi on [ne] tue [que] peu [d'animaux] ; en voyant cela, tous les hommes ont cessé [de tuer des animaux] : même(?) ceux qui prennent les poissons (=les pêcheurs), ces hommes-là sont l'objet d'une interdiction. (And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food : for our lord, the king [only] a few [animals] are killed ; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals] : even (?) those men who catch fish (i.e. fishermen) are subject to prohibition.)

- (D) Pareillement, ceux qui étaient sans frein, ceux-là ont cessé d'être sans frein. (Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint.)
- (E) Et [regne] l'obéissance à sa mère et à son père et aux gens âgés conformément aux obligations qu'a imposées à chacun le sort. (And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reign] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person].)
- (F) Et il n'y a pas de Jugement pour tous les hommes pieux. (And there is no Judgement for all the pious men.)
- (G) Cela (=la pratique de la Loi) a été profitable pour tous les hommes et sera encore profitable. (This [i.e. the practice of Law] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].)

The text may be roughly translated into the same Prakrit as follows :

- (A) **daśa-vash-abhishhitena** raña **Priyadrasīna** spamikena no tada dharm-anuśasti pravaṭita | (**daśa-varsh-ābhishiktēna** rājñā **Priyadarśinā** svāmikēna naḥ tadā dharm-ānuśastiḥ pravartitā |)
- (B) tata apayasa hini jata savraspi cha janaspi tena dupratibhaga nivaṭita | asti pi saṁti cha priti cha savra-putḥaviyam | (tataḥ apāyasya hāniḥ jātā sarvasmin cha janē tēna dushpratibhāgāḥ nivartitāḥ | asti api sāntiḥ cha prītiḥ cha sarva-prithivyām |)
- (C) eta cha pi bhutam | sup-aṭhaya chu raño no spamikasa lahukam arabhiyati | tasa cha draśana savra manuśa na arabhamti | evam pi ye cha kevaṭa te pi cha niyamena saṁyata | (ētat cha api bhūtam | sūp-ārthāya cha rājñāḥ naḥ svāmikasya laghukam=ālabhyatē | tasya cha darśanāt sarvē manushyāḥ na ālabhantē | evam=api yē cha kaivartāḥ tē api cha niyamēna saṁyatāḥ |)
- (D) evam pi yesham cha n=asi saṁyamo te pi cha saṁyata bhuta | (evam=api yēshām cha na āsit saṁyamah tē api cha saṁyatāḥ bhūtāḥ |)
- (E) savre cha mata-pitushu suśrushanti vudheshu cha suśrushanti yadiśam tasa tasa kaṭavam aropitam | (sarvē cha mātā-pitṛishu śuśrūshanti vṛidhēshu cha śuśrūshanti yādṛīśam tasya tasya kartavyam ārōpitam |)
- (F) Dharma-yutanam chu kho paratra n=asti vicharaṇa | (dharma-yutānām cha tu khalu paratra na asti vichāraṇā |)
- (G) sarve cha manuśa dhrama-charaṇena abhumnata cha abhumnamishanti ch=eva || (sarvē cha manushyāḥ dharmā-charaṇēna abhyunnatāḥ cha abhyunnamishyanti cha ēva ||)

The first sentence in both the versions suggests that Aśoka became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in the eleventh year of his reign. The same date is also suggested by the evidence of some of his other records.

It is usually believed that Aśoka's coronation took place about 269 B.C. and that he became a Buddhist after he had been greatly moved by the horrors of the campaigns in Kalinga which was conquered by him, according to Rock Edict XIII, eight years after his coronation, i.e., in his ninth regnal year.

Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued earlier than his Fourteen Rock Edicts.¹ They were promulgated when Aśoka had passed the 256th night of a long tour undertaken for the propagation of *Dharma*.² Minor Rock Edict I states that, at the time of its issue, Aśoka had already been an *upāsaka* (i.e., a lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two years and a half and that, out of this period of a little over two years and a half, he had not been zealous in respect of *Dharma* for one year at the beginning, but that, as a result of his close contact with the *Saṅgha* or Buddhist church,³ he became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* thereafter for a little over one year.⁴ To this period of zealous activity must be assigned the emperor's pilgrimage to Sambōdhi (i.e., Mahābōdhi or Bōdhgayā) undertaken, according to Rock Edict VIII, in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e., in the eleventh regnal year), and the creation of the posts of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the thirteenth year after coronation (i.e., in the fourteenth regnal year), which is referred to in Rock Edict V. The pilgrimage to Sambōdhi, the holiest of the Buddhist *tīrthas* where the Buddha attained enlightenment, may be regarded as one of the earliest acts of the active period of Aśoka's religious life, to which Minor Rock Edict I pointedly refers. Pillar Edict VI, issued in the twenty-sixth year after Aśoka's coronation (i.e., in the twentyseventh regnal year), states that he issued (i.e., first issued or began to issue) *Dharma-lipis*, i.e., edicts relating to the *Dharma* he preached, in the twelfth year after his coronation (i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year). Rock Edict III contains an order of Aśoka asking certain classes of his officers to set out on tour once in every five years for the propagation of his *Dharma* in addition to their normal duties, and this order was promulgated in the twelfth year after coronation, i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year. Rock Edict VI is stated to have been caused to be written down in the same year. These activities of the thirteenth regnal year of Aśoka must likewise be attributed to the period when he was a zealous propagator of *Dharma*.

On the basis of these facts, we suggested elsewhere⁵ (1) that Aśoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (i.e., nine years after his coronation, c. 260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church, became a zealous worker in the cause of *Dharma* and undertook a pilgrimage to Sambōdhi, in the second half of the eleventh regnal year (i.e., ten years after coronation, c. 259-258 B.C.), (3) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of *Dharma* about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (i.e., eleven years after coronation, c. 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued in the course of that tour in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year (i.e., twelve years after coronation, c. 257-256 B.C.).

The Shar-i-Kuna edict now corroborates the suggestion that Aśoka became an active propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in his eleventh regnal year, and sets at rest certain unwarranted speculations about the duration of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* when Minor Rock Edict I was issued.⁶ The nature of the Shar-i-Kuna edict is similar to that of Minor Rock Edicts I-II and both the former and the latter appear to have been issued in the same year and may be counted among the earliest edicts issued by Aśoka.

As indicated above, the imperial order contained in Rock Edict III was issued and Rock Edict IV was caused to be written down in the thirteenth regnal year of Aśoka. But Rock Edict V, belonging to the set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts including Rock Edicts III and IV, contains a reference to the creation of the posts of *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the following year.

¹ Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 18-19; my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 25, note 1; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 3.

² Cf. *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 29-30.

³ For the meaning of the words *upēta*, *upayāta* and *upagata* used in indicating Aśoka's relation with the *Saṅgha*, see *ibid.*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

⁴ This is quite obvious from the language of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I (see *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23-25) and is now corroborated by the evidence of the Shar-i-Kuna edict.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23 ff., 29-30.

The set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts could therefore have been engraved in Aśoka's fourteenth regnal year at the earliest. Amongst the Six Pillar Edicts forming another set, it is known from Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI that the set was issued twenty-six years after Aśoka's coronation, i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year. Pillar Edict VII added to the above set of six on the Delhi-Toprā pillar was caused to be written down in the following year and this particular set of Seven Pillar Edicts could not therefore have been engraved before Aśoka's twenty-eighth regnal year. There is a fairly long and rather inexplicable interval of more than a decade between the issue of Minor Rock Edicts I-II (thirteenth regnal year) and the set of the Rock Edicts (thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years) on the one hand and that of the Pillar Edicts (twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years) on the other. During this interval, Aśoka may have been busy with his tours of pilgrimage and with the schism in the Buddhist Church, both referred to in some of his records.

The Shar-i-Kuna edict (very probably of the thirteenth regnal year) suggests that the hunters and fishermen in Aśoka's service, who had originally been responsible for supplying animals and fish to the royal kitchen for the preparation of curries, gave up the practice of catching animals and fish under the king's orders. This reminds us of the fact that, according to Pillar Edict V, the emperor banned the slaughter of certain species of animals and fish totally and of all kinds of them on particular days of the month, in his twenty-seventh regnal year (i.e., twenty-six years after coronation). The general prohibition therefore came after many years of intensive propaganda, even though Pillar Edict VII says that, in the matter of the propagation of *Dharma*, Aśoka considered propaganda by far more effective than prohibition.

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[The figures refer to pages, *n.* after a figure to foot-notes, and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—*au.*=author; *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *de.*=deity; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *enr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=family; *fe.*=female; *feud.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *gr.*=grant, grants; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office, officer; *peo.*=people; *pl.*=plate, plates; *pr.*=prince, princess; *q.*=queen; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *te.*=temple; *t.d.*=territorial division; *Tel.*=Telugu; *tit.*=title; *tn.*=town; *tk.*=taluk; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work; *wt.*=weight.]

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